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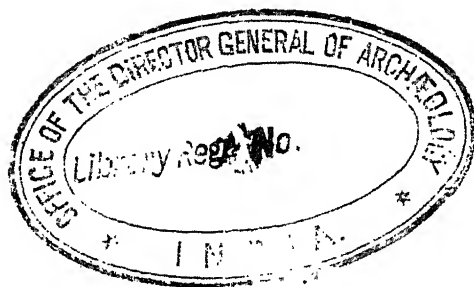
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PART I.—JANUARY

Notes on the Phonetics of the Gilgit Dialect of Shina

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THE publication of vol. viii, pt. ii of Sir George Grierson's monumental work, *The Linguistic Survey of India*, which contains a section on the Shina (ṣinā) language, and the appearance of a short but valuable critique of it by Dr. the Rev. T. Grahame Bailey in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* of July, 1921, are immediately responsible for the present essay on Shina phonetics.

In his article Dr. Grahame Bailey rightly states that many points of Shina grammar and pronunciation still require elucidation, and two questions of pronunciation in particular he claims to settle.

The first of these is the question of the existence of real cerebrals, which Sir George Grierson, judging from the discrepancies existing in the records on which he had to work, had called in question; the second relates to the question of aspirates.

During the past twelve months, subject to prolonged interruptions, I have spent a considerable amount of time

in studying on the spot the Gilgit dialect of Shina, and latterly I have devoted special attention to the question of its phonetics. I can lay no claim to being an expert trained phonetician, but I have some acquaintance with the theory of phonetics, and I have tried to make up for my deficiencies by the exercise of care and patience and the preservation of an open mind.

The result has been that, while agreeing with Dr. Grahame Bailey in many respects, I am inclined to query certain of his statements and conclusions, and I think it can only serve the cause of truth if I state my views for what they are worth. They will both widen and define the basis of doubt and disagreement, and future students and scholars will be the more easily able to adjudicate.

As the question of Shina phonetics has never been fully dealt with as a whole, I take the opportunity of traversing the entire ground. The examination is necessarily cursory, but it may suffice to bring to light other points of interest or contention.

To explain the exact character of the present study, and enable the student to judge the use to which its results—assuming them to be correct in themselves—can legitimately be put, it is necessary to offer some preliminary remarks regarding the material on which it is based.

Shina is the unwritten language of groups of people who are still to a considerable extent isolated, and in the past have been even more so. It is natural that it should exhibit itself in different dialects. Dr. Grahame Bailey mentions five which he has studied, and there are more, for instance "Punyālī".

These are main dialects corresponding to major geographical and ethnological differences, but subdivision is carried down much further. Of the village communities grouped in the small stretch of ground, about 3 miles by 1 mile, which constitutes Gilgit proper, I am assured

that no two speak exactly similarly, and from my own observation I can well believe this. I have worked with several local men, and have found marked variation in their pronunciation and some difference in vocabulary.

Where such differences are universal it is impossible to obtain any workable form which will embrace them all; and, in the absence of a wide knowledge and large experience of the language, it is equally impossible to work out any sort of average, which can be treated as the standard language.

This being so, the best course seems to me to be to confine one's attention to one type of speech, or in practice to the speech of one man. This individual should of course be selected as one who talks his language well and clearly and in a form which is generally approved.

Such a man after some experimenting I found in Sarfarāz, son of Bakhtawār, of the Amperi village of Gilgit proper. He belongs to the Kachatei (~~kačate~~.i), the leading section of the Yashkūn community of Gilgit. He is a man of marked intelligence and of some education, being able to read and write Hindustani well, and apart from this he has the linguistic sense well developed. He is strongly interested in his own language, and prides himself on the correctness of his pronunciation and idiom, which he claims reproduce those of the older generation of the upper class, materially untainted by the foreign influence of the Kashmiri shopkeepers of the Gilgit bazaar, and the Dogra and Gurkha sepoy and the Indian officials and clerks of the Gilgit headquarters. I believe his claims to be justified. He has the soul of a purist, rejecting a Hindustani word where there is a Shina equivalent, and his pronunciation emphasizes, rather than mitigates, the main phonetic peculiarities of the language. Accordingly, when after a few months I had discovered him, I made

him my chief medium for acquiring a knowledge of Shina.

My procedure in such cases is to eschew the assistance of all existing books and work out the grammatical forms and structure from the beginning. When I have obtained in this way sufficient knowledge of the elements and essential vocabulary of the language I then have folk tales repeated to me, which I take down verbatim. These show the language in natural operation and afford reliable material for the exact study of its morphology, syntax, and vocabulary. The evil effects of prejudice and theory on the part of the informant are largely eliminated, for he is prone to forget his little peccadilloes under the hypnotic influence of his own flow of talk.

By repudiating the help of pioneer books several dangers are avoided. One starts unhampered by initial prejudices or actual errors, for the sight of the printed page, when it precedes first-hand knowledge, exercises a subtle influence on the mind which it requires some effort to discount; and the printed page is frequently incorrect, especially in regard to the representation of sounds. The investigator cannot hope to prevent the entry of error into his early work, but these errors then are his own, unsupported by extraneous authority, and so more amenable to subsequent correction.

At a later stage a study of the books may be turned to excellent account, for it affords a check on one's own work and suggests points which have escaped one's attention.

Having given an idea of the general lines on which I have worked at Shina, I have only to add that the present article is the outcome of a re-examination of my material from the point of view of phonetics. The examination has been both extensive and detailed, but the scheme of sounds now given is based essentially on the speech of one man, the above-mentioned Sarfarāz

(hereafter "Sf."). Some account has indeed been taken of variants within the Gilgit dialect, but where this is not explicitly stated all sounds given are to be attributed to this one source.

I want to make it clear that no claim of universality is made for the following statement, even within the limited sphere of the "Gilgit dialect". I would further state, to avoid all chance of misunderstanding, that phonetics are *not* my hobby. I regard them as an unmitigated but inevitable nuisance.

Readers happier and more skilled than myself I would beg not to allow themselves to be irritated by the dogmatism and indecision between which a tyro is prone to oscillate.

Since writing the above I have gone through the whole of the draft of this article with Gushpūr Shāh Rāis Khān (Š.R.), eldest surviving son of the late 'Alī Dād Khān, Raja of Gilgit. He is a man of intelligence and some education, and, as the most prominent member of the ruling family of Gilgit, his diction may be regarded as an unimpeachable standard.

I append a note at the end of the article stating the chief results of this re-examination based on his speech and help, and it will suffice here to mention that in every case I was confirmed in the conclusions I had already arrived at and recorded. Further, Shāh Rāis's pronunciation is extraordinarily similar to Sarfarāz's, which is evidence that I was well advised in the choice of my first and chief informant.

For the present article I have adopted the symbols favoured by the International Phonetic Association—with hesitation and reluctance, for the human being clings to his accustomed symbolism, while his typewriter is a slave to the letter. A few deviations from the I.P.A. system, as in the use of ě, j, y, and š, will be remarked, but they are sufficiently explained in the course of the

text. The stress accent is represented by a vertical stroke inserted before the vowel of the syllable on which it falls.

The following contractions may be noticed :—

b.	=	bo.iki	to be, become
d.	=	do.iki	to give
t.	=	{to.iki tho.iki	}to do, make

VOWELS

1. The most striking general features of the vowel system in Shina are :

(1) The consistency with which almost every quality of vowel occurs in longer or shorter quantities.

(2) The existence of ultra-long vowels of most qualities.

(3) The existence of final vowels so weak that it is difficult positively to assert their presence, or of final vowels which may be dropped.

2. As regards (1), the existence of longs and shorts of each quality of vowel presents some difficulty to the Englishman who is in the habit of equating longs or semi-longs of one quality with shorts of another, as in the case of

the sound of i in *machine* and *chin*

the vowel sounds of *boot* and *put*

the vowel sounds of *sought* and *sot*

which are usually represented by i, i; u, u; and ɔ, ɔ respectively.

This confusion is acquiesced in even by phoneticians, though of course they correctly *describe* the sounds; cf. *The Pronunciation of English*, 2nd ed., 1914, by Daniel Jones.

In Shina the existence of a long and short of the i of *machine*, and of at least a short of the i in *chin*, necessitates for exact rendering the use of different symbols for the two qualities of i.

3. As regards (2), long vowels tend to become diphthongal, but pure very long vowels occur, as in :

'a:lo *thence*; yo:mo *winter*; pu:č *son*.

4. As regards (3), I am aware of only one or two cases :

niš or nišⁱ *is not*

buš bušⁱ *is not known*

Here it is difficult to affirm that there is a final vowel, but the š does not seem to stop dead.

Possibly these present examples of final unvoiced vowels the existence of which Dr. Grahame Bailey remarks.

In other cases a final vowel is optional, as in

the dative ending -tə, -tə, -t

the nominative ending -sə, -sə, -s

Some persons affect one form, some another. The same remarks apply to the final vowel of the 3rd person forms of certain tenses of the verb, and the

locative ending -r beside -ro

and to kɪri beside kɪr *below*

a:l beside a:lə, a:li *there*

and others.

5. Dr. Grahame Bailey gives the forms :

thoikⁱ, khoikⁱ, thyōn^u, khojōn^u

I do not know what he intends to convey by the final vowel in the air. As regards the first two, which are infinitives, I have heard only

-o.iki or -oiki

for the infinitive suffix.

The last two are 1st person plural future tense forms for which I have only heard

-o:n, -o:ən

without any final vowel.

The following are the *principal vowel sounds* in Shina :

6. i:, i. Approximately the vowel sound of *keen*, either long or short, as in French

"pi:r" (*pire*) and "pi" (*pis*)

7. **ɪ**. Approximately the vowel sound of *pin*. It frequently replaces the short of the last sound *i*, especially when it is unstressed.

It also tends to appear before **ʃ** and **s**.

It may also follow an **e** or **ɛ**.

I have not attempted to distinguish **ɪ** from *i* throughout this article. Ordinarily *i* in the text is to be pronounced **ɪ**; final *i* is normally *i*.

Note.—**Sf.** does not appear to possess this **ɪ** sound; his shortest and lightest *i*'s all appear to be of the *i* quality.

Examples—

ni:lo	<i>blue, green</i>
ki:mo	<i>black</i>
tiki	<i>bread</i>
tilɛn	<i>saddle</i>
čino.ɪki	<i>to cut</i>
čɪvi:	<i>put down</i>
g'ɪnimɪsɪs g'ɪnimɪsɪs	<i>I was taking (fem.)</i>
mišto mišto	<i>good</i>
niš nuš	<i>is not</i>
ɪrga:tak	<i>round about</i>
ɪʃpi:t	<i>lucerne</i>
ʃɪʃɪč	<i>on the head</i>
be.m	<i>he is, etc.</i>
-o.ɪki or -o.ɪkɪ	<i>the infinitive suffix</i>

8. **e:**, **e**. Approximately the French *é* as in *été*, etc. The sound may be long or short. When long, however, or stressed, it tends to become diphthongal

eⁱ, **e^ɪ**, **e^ə**

as in **de:ⁱ** *he will give*. It is most often final; I have few examples of it used medially or initially.

oke:ʃi *slope up* may be mentioned.

9. **ɛ:**, **ɛ**. Approximately the French *è* as in *père* (**pɛ:ɪ**). It may be decidedly long as in

le:l *known*, opposed to **ləl** *blood*

čɛ:ⁱ *key* „ „ **čɛ:ⁱ** *woman*

Examples—

ese of him, etc.

de.ine thou givest (fem.)

It is frequently difficult, however, to determine whether a vowel is e or ε, which probably means that there is a common vowel lying between these two. But I think there is also actual interchange.

10. æ. Approximately the vowel sound of the English cat. With Sf. at any rate this is a rare, if not doubtful sound. It may be heard in

æçi eye

and its derivatives, and sometimes in

mæpyo hip (otherwise mapyo)

and æçuruni hole

11. ə. The "mixed" vowel sound of e in English water. It is an indeterminate sound, usually occurring in unstressed syllables, and replacing ʌ especially before r.

Examples—

ʌnə these

čivi:ənən they place

hərɒm I shall take away

pašərum I shall show

12. a. I.P.A. ʌ. Approximately the sound of a in English father. It may be short, long, or ultra-long. When short and unstressed it is apt to degenerate into ʌ, or else it is developed from ʌ when stressed.

Examples—

short parujo.iki (or par-) to hear

maro.iki (or mar-) to kill

pašum (or paš-) I see

long ja:re brothers

ča:kur young man

ma:lo father

ultra-long a:p here

ja:k pity

ta:to hot

13. ã . I.P.A. ɔ : (?). Approximately the initial vowel sound of the English *awful*. This sound is of rare and irregular occurrence. I have only met it as a fairly long sound. Sf. admits it in

ãrə *without*

odãr *mortar* (for braying rice, etc.)

yãr *mill*

Otherwise it occurs in the speech of some for o .

e.g. $\text{kã.i} \parallel \text{ko.i}$ *cap*

$\text{kã'er} \parallel \text{ko'er}$ *virgin*

14. a . Approximately the vowel sound of the English *but*. It is apt sometimes to be confused with a , see § 12 above.

15. ə . I.P.A. ə ($\text{ə}?$). Approximately the vowel sound of the English *on*. It is rare. I have recorded

çən *leisure*

odãr *a mortar*

but in both cases Sf. pronounces a short, not very tense o .

16. ɔ : , o . Approximately the sound of the first part of the ou diphthong in the English *coat*, ko^{ut} , Scots *kot*. The sound in Shina is, however, I think, tenser than the English o and in certain cases both closer and tenser. It occurs short, long, and ultra-long.

Examples—

short	bodo	<i>sacrifice</i>
	$-\text{o}$	ending of the nominative singular and genitive plural when not stressed, as in
	a:po	<i>a little</i>
	kilai.o	<i>of female ibexes</i>
long	bo:do	<i>much</i>
	go:t	<i>house</i>
	to:m	<i>own</i>
ultra-long	mo::s	<i>meat</i>
	ox:šo	<i>guest</i> (more correct, $\text{au:šo}?$)
	po::ŋko	<i>footstep</i>

It is of course difficult in this and other similar cases to draw any definite dividing line between the different grades. The vowel length may vary owing to difference of individual pronunciation, or to stress of emphasis, the general tendency of stress of any kind being in all cases to increase length.

17. u, u. Approximately the vowel sound of the English *boot*. It occurs short, long, and ultra-long.

Examples—

short	final unstressed -u	
	unstressed -u in general	
	dukuri	<i>hut</i>
	duguro	<i>double</i>
long	kuro	<i>strong</i>
	ju:k	<i>wood</i>
	ju:k t.	<i>to touch</i>
ultra-long	pu:č	<i>son</i>
	ju:k	<i>pain</i>
	ku:ro	<i>hoof</i>

u is sometimes preceded by a y-sound, as it is in the English *due*, *dyu*.

dibyu.o	<i>forty</i>
hyu.o, hi:wo	<i>heart</i>
minelyu.o	<i>beautiful</i>

18. u. I.P.A. u (?) is approximately the vowel sound of the English *put*, *look*. I do not think it occurs finally.

Examples—

sum	<i>earth, ground</i>
muzul (muzel)	<i>pestle, pounder</i>
udu:	<i>dust</i>
tur	<i>whip</i>
-ut	<i>dative plural suffix</i>
šaderut	<i>to servants</i>

19. ü. I.P.A. y or Y. Approximately the vowel sound of the German *Füsse* is sometimes heard in words like

čüni yüli

the feminine forms of

čuno *small*

yu:lo *different*

where the original u is modified by the following i. čini is also heard.

With Sf. the modification, if it occurs, is slight and negligible.

DIPHTHONGS

20. The principal diphthongs in Shina are ai, ao, and au.

In addition to these, the long vowels

a: e: ε: o:

tend to develop into various diphthongs such as

a:ʌ e:ʲ e:ə ε:ʲ ε:ə o:ʌ o:ʲ o:ə

while i: occasionally gives i:ʲ, i:ə.

Some persons pronounce oi for ʌ.i, o:ʲ.i. This sound approximates to the diphthong in the English *boycott*.

This diphthongal sound does *not* occur in the Infinitive ending -ʌo:ʲki in which the o: and the ʲ are kept distinct.

21. ai. I.P.A. ai. Approximately the vowel sound in English *fly*. Finally it tends to develop into ai.i. (An occasional variant is

əi as in Scots *tight*.)

Examples—

ai ^h	<i>mouth</i>
ai(.i)	<i>they</i> (nom. plur. of o)
aiyo	<i>such</i>
baiya	<i>both</i>
dai.o.iki	<i>to burn</i> (vb. trans.)
čai.ī	<i>bird</i>
a:gai.i	<i>sky</i>
mu:lai(.i)	<i>girl</i>
lai.ɪk b.	<i>to be obtained, procurable</i>

22. ao. I.P.A. ao. I doubt if this sound occurs except finally, and it is questionable if it is not generally to be regarded as two distinct vowels

a.o, a:ʌ.o.

Examples—

bač̣a:o	kind of trap
č̣ao t.	to milk
ispao, ispa:o	sweet
sao sɛʷo	bridge
tanao, tana:o	braid of choga
tsirao	razor

Perhaps also in

taote	skin foot-bandages
-------	--------------------

23. au. I.P.A. au, approximating to the vowel sound of English *how*. It occurs medially and is usually followed by *w* + a vowel. Finally, it tends to a.u.

Examples—

initial	ausat o:sat	superior
medial	jauwo	brother's son
	pl. jau.u:we	
	nauwo	new
	fem. nai.i	
	sauwi	sister's daughter
	sauwe sɛwe pl.	bridges
final	ba:u	thing
	pl. bawi	
	dau	fatty meat
	nau, na:u	nine

Examples of Diphthongs developed from Single Vowels

a: ^ʌ	ra: ^ʌ ti	night
	sā: ^ʌ ti	with
	ra: ^ʌ n	he says
e: ⁱ , etc.	le:i	torch wood
ɛ: ⁱ , etc.	tɛ:ɛnɛn	they do
	tɛ:ɛn (tɛ:n)	now
o: ^u , etc.	do: ^ʌ n	we shall give
	ko: ^ɛ r	virgin
	šo: ^ɛ m	spleen
	go: ^u	he went
i: ⁱ , etc.	dī:ɪz	pit
	(also di:s)	

VOWEL VARIATION

24. There is a considerable amount of variability in the quality of the vowel sounds in Shina words. Even one individual speaker is not constant in his pronunciation, though he usually resents the charge of inconstancy, while the pronunciations of different individuals talking the same main dialect are often considerably divergent.

This makes it difficult to take any record which will give permanent satisfaction.

The incidence of the sentence stress accent has doubtless a good deal to say to this variation. In Shina, as elsewhere, vowels are apt, in the absence of stress, to relapse into less distinctive neighbouring sounds, that is extremes of tenseness, openness or closeness tend to be reduced.

Vowels are also liable to be affected by Assimilation. The following are common equations. All examples are not from Sf.

i = ɪ = u see § 7	nuš nɪš	<i>is not</i>
e = ε	mel mɛl	<i>buttermilk</i>
	čɛ.i čɛ.i	<i>woman</i>
	-eɪ -ɛ	<i>suffix of genitive singular</i>
ɛ = ɪ = i	kertɛ kɪrtɛ kirtɛ	<i>downwards</i>
a = ʌ = æ	amuš ʌmuš	<i>forget</i>
	ʌš aš	<i>to-day</i>
	gano.iki gano.iki	<i>to tie</i>
	ʌçi æçi	<i>eye</i>
	ʌčo.iki æčo.iki	<i>to penetrate</i>
ʌ = ə = ε	jakur jɛkur	<i>hair</i>
	ʌwe:lu ɛwe:lu	<i>year</i>
ʌ̌ = o	kʌ̌.i ko.i	<i>cap</i>
o = u = u	pu:č po:č	<i>son</i>
	amuš amu:š	<i>forget</i>
	joto juto	<i>chicken</i>

o = u = ʊ	-o -u	in the termination of nouns and adjectives
-ai.i = -e ⁱ = -ε	wai.i wε.i we.i	water
	ɟawai.i, -e ⁱ , -ε	of a brother
-ai.ε = -ai.i ← -a + ε	muša:, gen. mušai:ε	man
	ga, gen. gai.ε	nalah
	čaga, gen. čagai.i	talk

CONSONANTS

25. The following Consonant Sounds occur in Shina:

<i>Plosives</i>	k	t (t)	p	g	d (d)	b
<i>Fricatives</i>	[χ]	f	[ɣ]	w, v		
<i>Sibilants</i>	s	š	z	(ž)		
<i>Nasals</i>	ŋ	ɲ	n			
<i>Liquids</i>	l	r	y			
<i>Aspirate</i>	h					
<i>Compound Sounds</i>		č	j	pf,	pf	
<i>Cerebral Sounds</i>		š	č	(ž)	j	
		(t-)	d			
		ɲ				
		(r)				
<i>Aspirates</i>	kh	th	(ph)	(not recorded throughout this article; v. § 84 infra).		

PLOSIVES

Voiceless.

 26. **K.** Approximates to the sound of **k**, **c** (before **o** and **a**) in English and does not present any practical difficulty.

Its place of production varies considerably from back to front under the influence of adjacent vowel sounds.

 There is no ultra-velar sound like the Arabic **q** (ق), still less any such strained association as in Arabic "daqīqa" as pronounced by a Persian.

 On the other hand, there is no distinctly palatal **k**.

The "back" vowels in Shina are o, u, and ʊ and the back position of k occurs chiefly in association with them. There is also, I think, an ʌ which is produced further back than the ʌ of the English *but* (is not the ʌ of the English *guglet* more back than that of *but*?), which may be added to the back vowels mentioned above.

a. The following are words in which I diagnose the k as being "back":—

ko:ɲen	<i>inquiry</i>
ko:l	<i>crooked</i>
ko:no	<i>thorn</i>
ko:t	<i>fort</i>
kuro	<i>strong</i>
ʃuka	<i>choga</i>
bukak	<i>a kind of bean (the first k)</i>
muk	<i>face</i>
to:k	<i>mud (on road)</i>
tuk tuk t.	<i>to peck</i>

The following are less certain:—

kačɔ	<i>bad</i>
kačɔ:n	<i>carrot</i>
kan	<i>hill, pass</i>
kai.a:s	<i>cotton</i>
bulka	<i>farrier's hammer</i>
da:ki	<i>loins</i>

b. The opposite extreme is found where k is accompanied by one of the "front" vowels i, ɪ, ɛ, as in

ki:l	<i>ibex</i>
kɪr	<i>below</i>
kino	<i>black</i>
ʌki:	<i>self</i>
jek	<i>what?</i>
lɪki:gas	<i>I wrote</i>
mi:kə	<i>urine</i>
gɪk	<i>flank</i>
tiki	<i>bread</i>

In these words the position of the *k* is, I think, somewhat advanced, but from repeated examination I have come to the conclusion that the *k*'s are not really palatal. In a few words a glide *i* or *y* is sometimes inserted between the *k* and the following front vowel, and at first I assumed that in these the *k* was necessarily palatal, but this, I now think, is not the fact; the *i*, *y*, is in fact a glide between the relatively back *k* and the front *i*, *ε*, etc.

Examples are:

<i>kε</i> or <i>kⁱε</i>	<i>why</i>
<i>k^m</i> <i>k^ym</i> , <i>k^yεn</i> (Sf.)	<i>why not?</i>
<i>kεn</i> <i>k^yεn</i>	<i>time</i>

Perhaps the vowel tends to produce a preceding *y* for no easily explainable reason, for I have noticed it in

	<i>j^yεk</i> <i>jεk</i>	<i>what?</i>
also	<i>kⁱo</i> , <i>k^yo</i>	<i>how?</i>
and	<i>pyō:lo-</i>	<i>shoulder blade</i>

The development of a *y* sound before *u* is referred to in § 17 above.

My general conclusion is that while *k* in Shina varies within certain limits, as it does in English, these limits are not so far apart as to require the use of different symbols.

27. *t*. In Shina *t* is normally alveolar. When, however, it occurs initially, immediately followed by *r*, as *tr-*, it appears to be more or less dental.

Examples of *tr-*:

<i>tra:g</i>	<i>ruined building</i>
<i>tra:m</i>	<i>copper</i>
<i>trak t.</i>	<i>to tear</i>
<i>tran t.</i>	<i>to fire (a gun)</i>
<i>traŋ</i>	<i>half</i>
<i>tri:k</i>	<i>dirty</i>
<i>tro:g b.</i>	<i>to burst (of a bud)</i>

As in the case of *k*, the place of production is, I think,

liable to be drawn slightly back by a back vowel, the result being a post-alveolar or palatal t.

Thus in	gɔ:t	house (when the o: is pronounced far back).
	kɔ:t	fort
	ku:to	knee
	mut	fist
and perhaps in	kat	bedstead
	bat	stone

In addition to these a number of words have been quoted to me in which an initial t- is said to be produced slightly further back than the normal t. I cannot say that I note any appreciable difference in the sound in ordinary speech, but it is recognized by Shina speakers. The following are examples:—

tag	rascal
tʌŋ t.	to push, shove
tər b.	to fall (of leaves)
tər t.	to cut (wood, etc.)
təri:	polo-ball
te:ro	crooked
ti:n	a "tin"
tu:ru	wooden vessel

Of these tag is to be compared with Hind. *thag*,

	te:ro	"	"	"	te:rha
and	ti:n	is the	Hind.	ti:n,	English tin

This sound does not in my opinion approximate to a Cerebral, nor can it be rightly described as such. See further below, § 71.

For all practical purposes this slight variation from the normal may, I think, be ignored.

28. p. The normal p sound in Shina calls for no remark.

It does not differ apparently from the English sound. Thus:

pa:r	<i>beyond</i>
pu:ç	<i>son</i>
lu:po:ki	<i>to light (lamp, fire, etc.)</i>
ši:pi	<i>forearm</i>
lap	<i>mouthful</i>
lip t.	<i>to fling away</i>

It is sometimes difficult to tell whether a final sound is p or b. Thus:

čərap or čərab t.	<i>to cut, trim</i>
dərap „ dərab	<i>wooden trap for chikor</i>

Perhaps the sound is an unvoiced b, but more probably it is p, as there seems to be a general tendency for words in Shina to end in a voiceless, in preference to a voiced consonant. Final p for b appears in loan-words. Thus :

sa:ɪp for ʃa:ɦɪb
ai:ɪp „ ‘a:ɪb
ji:ɪp cf. Hind. ji:bh

cf. durt, also dɪ:d cf. Hind. dɪ:dh

P replaces final f in kulɒp *lock* for Arabic qɒlf.

Voiced.

29. g. Follows the general analogy of k. It may be more or less advanced in the guttural position, but it does not become palatal nor ultra-velar.

In some cases it may, like k, be followed by a y glide, e.g.

gye ge	<i>having gone</i>
gyen plur. gyma:re	<i>wife</i>

There is some uncertainty as regards final -k and -g. Some individuals, including Sf., appear practically to reject final g altogether :

dok b. do:g b.	<i>to meet</i>
ki:k ← P. χi:g	<i>inflated skin for raft</i>
prik d. prig d.	<i>to jump</i>
tra:k tra:g	<i>ruined building</i>
tro:k b. tro:g b.	<i>to open (of bud)</i>

30. *d*. The normal Shina *d* is alveolar and does not call for any special remark.

Final *d* is either non-existent or rare in Shina.

There is a *d* which is produced slightly further back than the normal *d*. It corresponds to post-alveolar *t*. I think I can detect a slight difference, but it is not of practical significance.

The following, marked *d*, may be cited on the authority of Sf.:—

<i>da: t.</i>	<i>to take up on the shoulders</i>
but, <i>da: fero.iki</i>	<i>to overturn</i>
<i>d̠ad̠aŋ</i>	<i>teeth-chattering</i>
<i>d̠ad̠ər</i>	<i>tumbled mass of boulders</i>
but, <i>d̠ad̠ər b.</i>	<i>to shiver</i>
<i>d̠am bə wa:</i>	<i>come along all together</i>
but, <i>du d̠am</i>	<i>twice</i>
<i>da:ki</i>	<i>loins, waist</i>
<i>d̠id̠iŋ</i>	<i>hard, smooth ground</i>
<i>do:ko</i>	<i>hole in the ground</i>
<i>d̠uk b., d̠ok b.</i>	<i>to meet</i>
but, <i>do:k</i>	<i>gum</i>
<i>d̠ukuri</i>	<i>hut, shelter</i>

Apart from this *d*, a decided cerebral *ḍ* exists. See below, § 69.

31. *b*. Shina *b* calls for no special remark. As has already been stated, it is doubtful if *b* occurs finally, while medially it occurs but sparingly in native Shina words.

Medially it sometimes alternates with *w*, *v*.

E.g.	<i>ḍba:to</i> (Sf.)	<i>slack, lazy</i>
	<i>ḍbate:i</i> <i>ḍwate:i</i>	<i>slackness</i>
	<i>ḍrbo.iki</i> <i>ḍrvo:iki</i> (Sf.)	<i>to place</i>

Examples of b:

initial	<i>ba:li</i>	<i>string</i>
	<i>bano.iki</i>	<i>to put on (clothes)</i>
	<i>bilén</i>	<i>medicine, gunpowder</i>
	<i>bo:la</i>	<i>(head of) polo stick</i>

medial	babalá b.	to float
	buburlo	lukewarm
	daborn	master
	dubo.iki	to be unable
	gaburn	bottom

Medial *m* in loan-words is liable to be converted into *b*, but this is not considered correct :

E.g. gubá:n || gumá:n *suspicion, belief*
cf. the obviously earlier borrowing

laban *skirt* which may be referred to P.
da:man, and again cf. Afγ. laman.

FRICATIVES

Voiceless.

32. *χ*. The voiceless guttural spirant as in Scots *loch*. This sound does not appear to be native to Shina.

Doubtful instances are :

χalawo.iki	to make dough into balls
mυχia:n	verandah

In the former, however, *χ* tends to pass into *h*; thus *halawomus*, and in the latter it alternates with *k* *muk^hi.a:n*. It is possible that both words are of foreign origin :

mυχia:n may be equated with Khowār *mυχu.en*.

In loan-words *χ* is frequently retained, as the Shina-speaker is capable of pronouncing it, but generally it is transmuted into *k*. Some allege that there is a difference between *k*, *ex χ*, and ordinary *k*, but I doubt it.

Examples—

a:kun a:χun	akhund, mulla
kat χat	letter
kaiya:l χaiya:l	thought, intention
ko:ni = χu:ni	} murderer
kunda:r = χu:nda:r	
kuš t. χuš t.	to like, approve
kuša:n χuša:n	happy

but usually

mište χair χairiyat hana? *is all well?* (stock phrase
for "how do you do?")

maχmal

velvet

33. **f**. This sound is somewhat difficult to deal with. It is doubtful if pure **f** ever occurs *initially* as distinguished from the very common sound which is preceded by a more or less distinct sound of **p** and which may be represented by **pf** or **ɸf**.

This **f** sound is replaced by some by aspirated **p**, i.e. **ph** or **p^h**, while by others it is pronounced almost like a pure **f**.

Medially pure **f** occurs in a few words:

E.g. **bafur** *down of ibex or ducks*

lafar *pace, step*

nifai.o.iki *to arrive*

and in **ma:fer** beside **ma:per** *middle-aged, elderly person*

It is also found in loan-words.

E.g. **kafan** *shroud*

safa: *clean*

I know of no case of final **f** in a Shina word.

For the discussion of **ɸf** see below, § 54.

Voiced.

34. **ɣ**. The voiced guttural spirant as in German "Tage". This, again, like **χ**, is not a sound native to Shina, though the following two examples have been quoted to me:

him ərzam be:in *the snow gives under foot*

ɣul *fine broken straw, or straw dust
(chaff?) left after winnowing*

ɣ may be preserved by individuals in loan-words, but it is ordinarily changed to **g**, or when final to **k**.

Thus: **ka:ga:z** ← **ka:ɣa:z** *paper, letter*

gaib ← **ɣaib** *invisible*

gula:m ← **ɣula:m** *slave*

bager ← **baɣair** *without*

ba:lek ← **ba:lɣ** *adult*

(Sf. says *yaibi*: *hidden*)

kalte *mistake, error, lie* seems to be an acclimatized form of Arabic *yalat*, *yalat*.

kalte rai.o:iki is the regular expression for *to lie*.

35. *δ*. I do not think this sound, the *th* of the English *this*, exists in Shina. I have once or twice used the symbol, but have always eventually had to change it to *d* or *l*.

36. *w*, *v*. These sounds, approximating to the English *w* and *v* respectively, both occur in Shina.

The ordinary sound is *w*, not, I think, so much rounded as in English, and *v*, as far as my observations have gone, occurs only in a few instances in association with *i* or *ɪ*. Some persons use only *w*.

Neither of these sounds occurs finally.

Examples—

<i>v</i> .	<i>vi.o:iki</i>	<i>to throw, spread, etc.</i>
	<i>vi.ajo:iki</i>	<i>to be open</i>
	<i>čivo:iki</i> ; imper. <i>čivi</i> :	<i>to place, set down</i>
	(also with some speakers <i>čibo:iki</i>)	
<i>w</i> .	<i>walo:iki</i>	<i>to bring</i>
	<i>wai.i, we:i</i>	<i>water</i>
	<i>wai.o:iki</i>	<i>to come</i>
	<i>awa</i>	<i>yes</i>
	<i>awajo:iki</i>	<i>to be necessary</i>
	<i>awe:lu, ewe:lu</i>	<i>year</i>
	<i>šewarm</i>	<i>polo ground</i>

w also frequently occurs as a glide:

<i>bawi</i> plur. of <i>bau</i>	<i>thing</i>
<i>ja:wet</i> dat. of <i>ja:</i>	<i>brother</i>
<i>səwi</i> (Sf.) <i>sauwi</i> plur. of <i>səwo</i> <i>sao</i>	<i>bridge</i>
<i>šəwo</i> (Sf.) <i>šau.o</i>	<i>blind</i>
<i>šū:wi</i> plur. of <i>šū:</i>	<i>dog</i>

Medial *w/v* alternating with *b* has been mentioned above,
§ 31.

SIBILANTS

37. Voiceless *s* in Shina is alveolar.

Voiceless *š* is palatal. There is also a cerebral *š*. The two sounds are discussed further on, §§ 59–62.

Voiced *z* is the voiced equivalent of *s*.

Voiced *ž* is similarly the voiced equivalent of *š*. It is used by some to replace *j* (*dž*), or as an alternative to it. Other speakers, including Sf., do not use this reduced sound at all, but always the full *j* (*dž*).

There is also a cerebral *ž*, to which the same remarks apply. It corresponds to the cerebral *j* (*dž*). These sounds are discussed fully further on, §§ 66–8.

Here it is only necessary to note a few points regarding *s* and *z*.

Final *s* is sometimes found corresponding to medial *z*.

mo:s	<i>meat</i>	locative	mo:zər
ma:s	<i>month</i>	nom. pl.	ma:zi
ba:s	<i>halt for the night</i>	gen.	ba:ze ⁱ pl. ba:zi

On the other hand, *z* may occur finally as in

dɛ:z (not dɛ:s)	<i>day</i>	pl. dɛ:zi
di:z	<i>pit</i>	

and in loan-words; while *s* may be retained medially as in

da:s	<i>open country</i>	loc. da:sər
giyu:s	<i>widow</i>	pl. giyu:si
tis	<i>fault</i>	pl. ti:sɛ

From this it seems legitimate to draw the conclusion that in the *mo:s* type of word the *z* is the essential sound. For the unvoicing of other voiced sounds when final see §§ 28, 29.

NASALS

38. *n*. The normal *n* sound in Shina appears to be alveolar as in English. It occurs in all situations—initial, medial, final.

In the search for cerebral *n*'s I sometimes think I have noticed a peculiarity, not of the nature of cerebralism, and have come to the conclusion that it is in most

circumstances the result of the speaker's endeavouring to make the sound clear. To produce the required emphasis a stronger current of air than usual is driven down the nasal passage and is apt to be continued when the n-closure is relaxed.

It is possible also that *n* is sometimes post-alveolar.

39. *ŋ*. Guttural *ŋ* is common. It does not occur initially. Medially it usually stands between vowels ; but in a few cases it is immediately followed by *g*, occasionally by *k*, and at least once by *s*. It occurs principally as a final.

It is sometimes difficult to say whether there is a full *ŋ* or only a nasalization, of a guttural character, of a vowel.

Medial *ŋ* is frequently produced by the addition of an inflectional suffix to a word ending in *ŋ*.

Examples—

Medial (original)	a:šɨŋaiyo	<i>suddenly</i>
	bəŋut	<i>loophole</i>
	čəŋul	<i>tripod</i>
	dəŋhəɛ təl	<i>a kind of oil</i>
	jiŋa:t	<i>stone shoot on a hill</i>
	kəŋər	<i>sword</i>
	ləŋi:duk	<i>something that has</i> <i>happened, is past</i>
	šəŋa:li	<i>chain</i>
	šəŋo	<i>voice</i>

Followed by a consonant :

a:əŋgər (L.W.)	<i>blacksmith</i>
əŋga:ro	<i>Tuesday</i>
bəŋsa	<i>shed, shelter-hut ?</i>
pəŋkə	<i>advantage, benefit</i>
kəŋkuro:čo	<i>cock</i>
(perhaps kōkuro:čo)	
ləŋgər	<i>permanent practice of</i> <i>giving food as alms</i>
pəŋko	<i>footstep, step</i>

raŋgiŋe ʕi:lo	<i>a kind of black piece-</i>
	<i>goods</i>
zaŋgər	<i>rust</i>

These are the principal instances of medial ŋ I recollect having met with.

The word for "chikor" is, I think,

kā:ka:s	rather than	ka:ŋka:s
So also pumū:ko	first	fem. pumu:iki
In ʕumunkʲər	marriageable girl	
	(cf. Khowār ʕumutke:r)	

and monkʲər (L.W.) *denying*

the nasal is the ordinary alveolar n.

<i>Medial, derived</i>	ʕiriŋet	(on) the day after to-morrow
	kiŋawa:r	to a side
	-siŋet	till, up to (time)
	-taŋet	up to, as far as
	traŋak	a half

Final. Examples are very numerous :

ʕiriŋ	day after to-morrow
fa:taŋ b.	to fall
hu:ŋ d.	to take oath
na:ŋ	lead
ri:ŋ	a piece of woollen homespun ("pattoo")
sa:ŋ	light (not dark)
tur:taŋ	dark

40. *p.* A distinct palatal p is found in a few words in Shina. I have noted :

a:p	here
ko:ip	where
ma:pʲo	hip

The palatal p is specially noticeable where followed by an o as in the third case above and in the ablative forms of the two first, obtained by adding -o to them. In such cases there is something approximating to a y glide.

I do not think the combinations $n + j$, $n + \check{c}$, or $n + \check{s}$ are native to Shina. There is the loan-word

satranji *cotton carpet* ("durri")

but it is doubtful whether the n in it is palatal, so also

gunji *receptacle in the wall for putting money in*

40 (a). η . An approximation to a cerebral η occurs sometimes in the vicinity of another cerebral consonant. *Vide* below, §§ 72-6.

NASALIZATION OF VOWELS

41. Nasalization of Vowels is very common in Shina and some individuals are specially addicted to it.

Where the vowel is long, the nasalization appears to me not always to begin simultaneously with the vowel, but to supervene at some point during its progress.

Nasalization occurs with vowels in all positions, and varies considerably in intensity. When strong it is not always easy to determine whether it is not a weak η or n of the quality of the following consonant.

Examples—

Initial	$\tilde{a}:\check{\text{šo}}$	<i>tear</i>
	$\tilde{a}:\text{tə}$	<i>flour</i>
	$\tilde{a}:\text{ti}$	<i>bone</i>
	$\tilde{a}:\text{iyar}$	<i>hail</i>
	$\tilde{a}:\text{ər}$	<i>in the mouth</i>
	$\tilde{u}:\check{\text{ču}}$	<i>tongs</i>
Medial	$\text{b}\tilde{u}:\text{yal}$	<i>earthquake</i>
	$\text{bu}:\check{\text{yē}}:\check{\text{i}}\check{\text{č}}\check{\text{o}}$	<i>weaver</i>
	$\check{\text{č}}\tilde{a}:\text{lo}$	<i>wide</i>
	$\text{p}\tilde{f}\tilde{u}:\check{\text{ško}}$	<i>empty</i>
	$\text{p}\tilde{u}:\text{ε}$	<i>moustache</i>
	$\text{py}\check{\text{č}}:\text{lo}$	<i>shoulder-blade</i>
Final	$\text{bri}:\tilde{u}:$	<i>rice</i>
	$\check{\text{č}}\tilde{\text{i}}:$	<i>pine-tree</i>
	$\text{dai}:\tilde{\text{i}}$	<i>beard</i>
	$\text{he}:\check{\text{č}}:$	<i>yes</i>

kā:	<i>crow</i>
ko:ō	<i>instep</i>
papa.ō	<i>thin wafer-like bread</i>
po:i	<i>five</i>
saiyō:	<i>flour (for journey)</i>

In such words as

ōi:š	<i>mountain</i>
kā:kas	<i>chickor</i>
sō:ōi	<i>female</i>
sū:ōo	<i>straight, true</i>

the character of the nasalization appears to me to be affected by the quality of the succeeding consonant, and in the last two of them quoted I originally wrote a full nasal.

LATERAL

42. 1. The ordinary l in Shina does not seem to differ essentially from the average English l, that is to say, it is alveolar and unilateral and probably varies between lⁱ and l^u (*vide* "Pronunciation of English", Daniel Jones, 1914).

Examples—

Initial	la:o	<i>much, very</i>
	lel	<i>blood</i>
	liko:i.ki	<i>to write</i>
	lo:ko	<i>swift, quickly</i>
Medial	di:le	<i>bark of tree</i>
	futi:lo	<i>it broke</i>
	halo:l	<i>nest, lair</i>
	pa:lo	<i>young (of animal)</i>
	šidalo	<i>cold</i>
Final	ča:l	<i>kid</i>
	ki:l	<i>ibex</i>
	mel	<i>buttermilk</i>
	na:l	<i>bride's party</i>

I originally noted what I thought was a peculiar l in the speech of certain "Punyālis" (Pū:ye:i) and others. It

seemed especially marked in the Imperfect of the verb *to be*, *asul*, etc.

At first I diagnosed it as bilateral. I have failed, however, to detect any difference in Sf.'s speech between this *l*, other suspected *l*'s, and the ordinary *l*, and on further study of Punyali speech I find the difference, if any, slight.

The *l* in question may with some people be bilateral; it is not voiceless.

Words which I have at one time or another stigmatized as having a peculiar *l* are :

asul, etc.

mu:lai.i *girl*

muzul *pestle*

šumi:lun *he is tired*

tanu:lo *thin*

In a few words *l* seems to be associated with an *i* or *y* sound. I am not certain whether this adventitious sound is to be regarded as appertaining to the *l* or to the vowel

lo:i:lo, *lo:i:lyo* *red*

lo:i:li *small-pox*

mineliyu:o *beautiful*

(fem. *mineli:li*, *mineli*)

ROLLED

43. *r*. The normal *r* in Shina is, I think, post-alveolar, and is trilled. The trill is not always very marked, but it is distinctly perceptible

(1) When a word is carefully and slowly pronounced.

(2) When it is final.

(3) When it occurs initially in the combination *tr-*, which is more or less dental.

Examples—

Initial	<i>ra:</i>	<i>raja</i> , chief
	<i>rato.iki</i>	to prevent, stop
	<i>ri:l</i>	brass
	<i>ro, rε</i>	he, she

Medial	dərum	<i>up to now, yet</i>
	doras	<i>hostage</i>
	girpa	<i>sorrow</i>
	čuro:iki	<i>to place, put down</i>
Final	aga:r	<i>fire</i>
	mo:r	<i>speech, affair</i>
	ni:r	<i>sleep</i>
	tur	<i>whip</i>

For examples of tr- see above, § 27.

44. Cerebral r. I have found no examples of independent cerebral r. See below, Cerebrals, § 71.

45. It is to be noted that there is a sound in Shina which on first hearing I personally mistake, as a rule, for r.

This is found on closer examination to be a cerebral d.

It is recognized by the people as being a "d", not an "r". See below, § 69.

46. y. There is no marked difference between the y of Shina and that of English.

It occurs initially and medially. Initially, it is most frequently found followed by a back vowel. I know no case in which it is followed by i.

It seems probable that medially it only occurs as a glide. It appears most frequently between two back vowels. Between other combinations of vowels it is usually lacking, or optional and slight, but no strict rule can be laid down.

Personally, I should write (without a y glide) :

mai.a:ɾɛ	<i>game animals</i>
pai.a:lo	<i>herdsman</i>
ba:.anɛt	<i>you are becoming</i>
rai.o:iki	<i>to say</i>
dai.o:iki	<i>to burn (vb. trans.)</i>
wai.o:iki	<i>to come</i>

In the three last the root appears to be ra-, etc., and the ai has resulted from a + y

ni.o:iki	<i>to squeeze</i>
vi.o:iki	<i>to cast</i>
bo:ī	<i>sleeve, roof-tree</i>

After *ai*, however, the glide is very near, and I have written

<i>daiyom</i>	<i>I burn</i>
<i>baiyo:iki</i>	<i>to sit</i>
<i>bai(y)umus</i>	<i>I sit</i>
<i>baiya</i>	<i>both</i>

47. *y* has perhaps a philological value where it replaces medial *g*, as it frequently does in vulgar speech in verbal inflection. Thus :

<i>tiyas</i>	...	<i>tɛ:gas</i>	<i>I did</i>
<i>tyu:</i>	...	<i>tɛ:gu</i>	<i>he did</i>
<i>diyanus</i>	...	<i>dɛ:gunus</i>	<i>I have given</i>

48. The occurrence of an *i* or *y* glide after *k* and *g* has been referred to in §§ 26*b*; 29, above; its occurrence before *u:* has been mentioned in § 17, and its tendency to appear after *p* in § 40.

It also appears in

<i>pyō:lo</i>	<i>shoulder-blade</i>
<i>suryo</i>	<i>in the day-time</i>
<i>(surri sun, daylight)</i>	

and doubtfully in

<i>lo:ilʸo</i>	<i>red</i>
----------------	------------

With some speakers a similar glide tends to appear occasionally after *š*. This may be compared with its occasional appearance after the palatal *j* (*dž*), as in *jʷek*, § 26*b*.

An example is *šʷaŋ b.* for *šʷŋ b.* (Sf.) *to awake*
and *šya:l* *wolf*

I draw attention to these various occurrences of *y* without intending to imply that they are all to be accounted for on one principle.

The following examples of *y* may be studied. The list of words with it as an initial is fairly comprehensive.

<i>ya:ro:iki</i>	<i>to cause to progress</i> (caus. of following)
------------------	--

yaiyo:iki	<i>to proceed, walk, move</i>
yār	<i>mill</i>
yamyār	<i>handmill</i>
yap	<i>small irrigation channel</i>
yat	<i>reason</i>
yaško	<i>equal, suitable</i>
yer	<i>in front</i>
yero	<i>an interjection, "look here!"</i>
yo	<i>barley</i>
yoja:lε	<i>twins</i>
yo:mo	<i>winter</i>
yoza:li	<i>miller</i>
yu:lo	<i>separate, different</i>
yu:m	<i>liver (?)</i>
yu:n	<i>moon</i>
yu:to	<i>pair</i>
yudo:m	<i>yoke-strap</i>
yupo:iki	<i>to compose (a quarrel)</i>
Medial b̄u:yal	<i>earthquake</i>
buyet	<i>representation, petition</i>
bu:yo:iki	<i>to weave, plait</i>
buyumus	<i>I weave</i>
bu:i:gas	<i>I wove</i>
bu:yero:iki	<i>to have (something) woven</i>
go:yel	<i>cow-house</i>
gūyo:re	<i>cow-dung</i>
haiyo:n	<i>sign, token, present</i>
oyāno	<i>hungry</i>
saiyō:	<i>flour (for journey)</i>
uše:yō	<i>hare</i>
yayo:iki yaiyo:iki	<i>to proceed</i>
yaiyumus	<i>I shall go</i>
yaiyet	<i>you will go</i>
(i)yaiyen	<i>they will go</i>

BREATHING

49. The Shina *h* is similar to the English "breathed glottal fricative" *h*.

It occurs initially. I know no certain example of its occurring medially in a true Shina word, and even in loan-words it tends to disappear. It may perhaps occur finally in a reduced form in a word like

ai^h *mouth*

or with a voiceless plosive

e.g. *ha^ht* *hand*

but in neither case is it of serious practical import.

It is occasionally prefixed by some speakers, in the Cockney fashion, to words beginning with a vowel:

<i>haga:r</i>	for	<i>aga:r</i>	<i>fire</i>
<i>hoʃe:yō</i>	beside	<i>uʃe:yō</i>	<i>hare</i>

Examples of h:

<i>hai t.</i>	<i>to run</i>
<i>hai(y)a t.</i>	<i>to play</i>
<i>halwo:iki</i>	<i>to pacify, quiet</i>
<i>hat</i>	<i>hand</i>
<i>hin</i>	<i>snow</i>
<i>hē:ʃ, hī:ʃ</i>	<i>breath, sigh</i>
<i>ho: t.</i>	<i>to call (to)</i>
<i>hu:ʃ</i>	<i>field terrace</i>
<i>hyu:o hi:wo</i>	<i>heart</i>

Medial (all loan-words):

<i>meherba:ni</i>	<i>kindness, present (from a superior)</i>
<i>maher</i>	<i>marriage gift (given by bridegroom to the bride)</i>
<i>siher</i>	<i>magic</i>
<i>mehnatga:r</i>	<i>bondsman</i>

COMPOUND CONSONANTAL SOUNDS

50. The following compound consonantal sounds are of importance:

č (tš)

j (dž)

with the corresponding Cerebrals.

č (tš)

j (dž)

and

pf

č and j present in themselves no special difficulty. In their extreme forms they are easily distinguished from their Cerebral counterparts, but border cases occur which are not always easy to determine.

Some people usually reduce j (dž) to a simple ž; and that is sometimes replaced by y, but this is considered incorrect. (This suffix appears to be a reduced form of the adv. and prep. *Δje*, *up*, *upon*.)

As far as I have observed, there is no corresponding reduction of č to š. (It occurs in Chilasi.)

In certain cases final -č is preferred by some to final -j, e.g. in the suffix -č || -j = *on*.

Which is the essential sound is hard to determine; j appears to prevail when a vowel is added after it:

girsč || *girsj*, pl. *girsje* a kind of bird of prey

The following are examples of č and j. More will be found in §§ 63, 66, where the question of their relation to č and j is dealt with.

čar

four

čako:iki

to look

mučo:

before

-kač

in the possession of; to
(motion to a person)

jaro, žero

old man

iji:lu, ži:lu

sheep

maja

middle, among

51. The power of combining a sibilant with a plosive is a matter in which languages differ considerably, and is therefore a characteristic trait.

The following combinations occur in Shina :

sk	uskun	relation, kinsman
st	a:sto:m	act of justice, decision
sp	ispao	sweet
šk	iška:ra	wasp
št	ašto:n	groom
šp	ašpo	horse

These combinations do not occur initially, nor, at any rate as a rule, finally. I think I have heard

Δšt for Δš *eight*

52. It may be noted incidentally that at some time in the history of Shina or its ancestors an s or š sound before t was rejected. Thus :

ā:ti	bone, cf. Skr. ásthi-
ō:ti	lip „ óštha-
mut	fist „ muští-
dit	span is to be compared with Khovar di:št

53. Besides č (tš) and j (dž), the following combinations are to be found in which the plosive precedes the sibilant :

ts	common in all positions, e.g. <i>tso</i> , <i>you</i> ; <i>mitser</i> , <i>stone marten</i> ; <i>pfuts</i> , <i>dew</i>
ɖʒ	I have only met with in <i>dəru:ɖʒ</i> , <i>hunting</i> ; <i>dəru:ɖʒ</i> , <i>shikari</i> , <i>hunter</i> ; <i>dəru:ɖʒ šū</i> , <i>hunting dog</i>

54. Pf. This sound fluctuates within wide limits, and is consequently difficult, or rather, impossible, to fix. I have at different times, and from different people, recorded it as

ph p^h pf pf and f

In most, if not all, cases, Sf. excludes ph and p^h, and for practical purposes it is probably safest to compromise on pf.

By pf, pf, I represent an ordinary fricative f preceded by a slight, or very slight, explosion as for p. The sound is not to be equated with the German pf, in which the p element is much stronger.

ph may perhaps be presumed to have been the original sound, and the spirants to be derivatives from it which have not yet won universal acceptance. Compare the **ph** in Hindustani, which is generally pronounced **f** in N.W. India, though I do not remember to have met any grammar which admits this fact.

Was not **ph** recorded in various dialects of Old High German before the **pf** arising in the so-called "Second Sound-Shift" (from West Germanic **p** in certain positions) eventually established itself?

55. This sound, or series of sounds, appears not to occur finally, at least in any fricative form, while it is rare or doubtful in a medial position. This supports the theory of its being a variant of **ph** or **p**. (The High German **pf** arose only when initial in word or syllable.)

A few instances of medial pure **f** have already been given, § 33, above.

The **pf** sound is very common initially :

Examples. (In all cases the **pf** may be reduced to **f**. Cases where **ph** has been recorded are noted in parentheses.)

<i>Initial</i> Pfa:l t. (also ph)	<i>to throw</i>
Pfakuzo:iki (ph)	<i>to open</i>
Pfal b. (ph)	<i>to mount</i>
Pfaš b.	<i>to be finished</i>
Pfat t.	<i>to leave, let</i>
Pfatako	<i>bald</i>
Pfatu	<i>after, afterwards</i>
Pfai.o:iki	<i>to tear (verb trans.)</i>
Pfero:iki (ph)	<i>to turn round (vb. trs.)</i>
Pfiti:k	<i>vexed</i>
Pfunər (ph)	<i>flower</i>
Pfurgo (ph)	<i>feather</i>
Pfuto:iki	<i>to break (verb trans.)</i>

Medial dampfus || damfus *cudgel*
 pfaper || pfapfer || pfafər b. *to spin round*
 (the Medial sound is elusive)

Pfu:pu:l || Pfu:pa:l *front part of head*
 seem more correct than Pfu:fu:l.

I have recorded

pi:pi, p^hi:pi, pfi:pi, fi:fi *father's sister*
 Hindi, phu:phi

CEREBRALS

56. Having cleared the ground by the consideration of the other sounds of the language, we may now turn to the vexed question of Cerebrals.

First, I will state the definition of "Cerebral" to which I am working. Much perplexity and factitious disagreement is produced by a lack of precision in defining the exact meaning of technical terms used.

To ensure that the angels may be on my side, I will quote the definition given by Mr. Noël-Armfield, which I believe has the authority and blessing of the International Phonetic Association. It runs as follows:—

"A class of tongue-tip consonants . . . is that which is produced with the tip of the tongue somewhat curled back so as to come in contact with the highest part of the roof of the mouth, that is somewhere about the junction of the hard and soft palates . . . Indian grammarians class these consonants as *Cerebrals*. The name for them in the terminology of Phonetics is *retroflex* or *cacuminal*." ("General Phonetics" by G. Noël-Armfield. Heffer, 1915, pp. 98-100.)

Further on, in his instructions for producing the Cerebrals, Mr. Noël-Armfield says: "The tip (of the tongue) must be pressed firmly against the highest part of the roof (of the mouth) to form the obstruction, and kept in this position for the greater part (sc. of the ?) stop. It then glides rapidly along the hard palate till it reaches the gum ridge, whence it falls as it were by its own weight on the floor of the mouth with a kind of flap."

57. I shall now proceed to state briefly the conclusions

I have arrived at, and shall then give in detail the material on which these conclusions are based. This will, I think, make the material appear less of a confused jungle.

Primary Cerebrals.

1. There is in Shina a strong original Cerebral *ʃ*.
2. This in combination with *t* and *d* gives the Cerebral combinations *tʃ* and *dʃ*. *dʃ* is by some reduced to *ʃ*.
3. There is a distinct original Cerebral *ɖ*. It is not of as common occurrence as the sounds mentioned in 1 and 2.
4. The above four sounds occur in any situation quite independently of their surroundings.

Secondary Cerebrals and Pre-Cerebrals.

5. *t*, *d*, and *r* in direct contact with one of the primary Cerebrals are cerebralized.
6. *n* does not occur in such a situation, but in certain cases it may be similarly influenced by an original Cerebral in close proximity to it.
7. I have been unable to establish that the same process operates in the case of *t*, *d*, and *r*. It would seem that at the most they are slightly retracted. If it is desired to take notice of them they may be called Post-Alveolars or Pre-Cerebrals or Palatals.
8. Back vowels may in like manner tend to draw back the point of production of neighbouring sounds, and *t*, *d*, *r*, and *n* may, I think, be thus affected by contiguity with a back vowel. The resulting sounds, however, are certainly not Cerebrals. They, too, are at the most *Post-Alveolar*, or *Pre-Cerebral*.

58. I will now proceed to deal with each of the Cerebral sounds just mentioned in its relation to the corresponding non-Cerebral sound, attempting to ascertain whether the difference between them coincides with any difference between their cognates, where they exist, in other languages, particularly in Sanskrit, where the distinction between Cerebrals and non-Cerebrals exists; and how far, if at all,

the Shina Cerebrals may be referred to any other source than that which has given birth to the Sanskrit Cerebrals.¹

In this connexion I shall, where I can, draw attention to any relations existing between the vocabulary of Shina and that of Sanskrit.

I shall sum up my conclusions on these points after I have presented the material.

As my equipment for determining such philological matters is slender, I will provide a considerable body of material from which some better qualified scholar may be able to work out more far-reaching and more reliable results than I can hope to obtain.

In the lists given below, B. indicates that the word is also in use in the Burushaski language. Where B. is followed by another form, that form is the Burushaski equivalent of the Shina one in the main column.

It may be explained here that the two series of sounds š, ṣ̌; č, č̣; j or ž, j or ẓ̌; d, ḍ; n, ṇ occur in Burushaski, but that the cerebrals, with the exception of ḍ, are not, as far as I have had an opportunity of observing, so decided as in Shina.

Burushaski is spoken by the people of the Hunza and Nagir states, and in a variant form by some of the population of the Yasin valley. It is supposed to have been the language of the people inhabiting the Gilgit region prior to the irruption into it of an alien race whose language was Shina.

The linguistic affinities of Burushaski have not been determined, but some theory has been advanced claiming points of resemblance between it and the Munda languages.

I may here just mention the existence of cerebral sounds

¹ The affinities of the sounds of Shina have, I do not doubt, been dealt with by Sir George Grierson, with his unrivalled learning, in his *Pisāca Languages of N. W. India*. Unfortunately, my copy of that valuable work is in Ireland, or at least is reported "missing" in that inauspicious country.

in Wakhi, the Iranian language of Wakhan, and reserve fuller discussion for the end of this section.

59. š.

This sound in its more pronounced forms is a strongly-marked cerebral and is then readily distinguishable from the typical š. But Nature does not favour hard and fast classification in Phonetics any more than she does in the natural sciences, Botany and Zoology, and intermediate forms are found which it is difficult to refer definitely either to the š or to the ʃ category.

In more than one instance I have transferred a sound from one to the other and then back again.

šiš *head* may be adopted as the extreme type word for š, while šai.ɔr *father-in-law* and diš *place* will serve as types of ʃ.

Examples—

Initial

	š		ʃ
ša:	<i>green vegetables</i>	šā: B. ša:	<i>respiration (?)</i>
ša.ko	<i>arm</i>	ša	<i>six</i>
šai.l, šya.l	<i>wolf</i>	ša.ko	<i>noose, loop (?)</i>
ša.ru:ko	<i>autumn</i>	ša.l	<i>fever</i>
šak (L.W.)	<i>doubt</i>	šalu B.	<i>torch-wood</i>
			(unprepared)
šal	<i>100</i>	šak B. šək	<i>full</i>
šat	<i>power, strength</i>	šak	<i>nape of neck</i>
šai.o	<i>white</i>	šako:n d.	<i>to tie in a bow</i>
šai.ɔr	<i>father-in-law</i>	šeruŋ	<i>kind of henna (?)</i>
šera	<i>big game (ibex,</i> <i>etc.)</i>	še:wo	<i>fem. šei blind</i>
šero	<i>autumn</i>	šin	<i>horn</i>
šie:lo	<i>generous</i>	šin	<i>Shin</i>
šidalɔ	<i>cold</i>	šin'a	<i>Shina</i>
šipi	<i>forearm</i>	šido:iki	<i>to strike</i>
šiti B. šiti	<i>dais round three</i>	šo:iki	<i>to affix</i>
<i>floor</i>	<i>sides of room</i>	šoulu	

	š		š
šo B. šua	<i>good, better ; yes</i>	B. šulto (?)	<i>twig, shoot</i>
šon B. šan	<i>care</i>	šo:to	<i>throat</i>
šū:	<i>dog</i>	šū: t.	<i>to smell</i>
šu:lo B. šuli	<i>muzzle of gun</i>	šuḍu:iki	<i>to whistle</i>
šu:o	<i>boy</i>	šyu: t.	<i>to whistle</i>
šu.o:iki	<i>to dry (vb. trs.)</i>		
šugulo B.	<i>friend</i>		
šumi:lonus	<i>I am tired</i>		
šušo:iki	<i>to become dry</i>		
ppe. šu:ko	B. <i>dry</i>		
šuti	<i>corner</i>		

Medial

aša:to B.	<i>weak, thin</i>	ā:šo	<i>tear</i>
ašpo (ašpo)	<i>horse</i>	kašap	
		B. yašap	<i>magpie</i>
ašto:n	<i>groom</i>	kiši B.	<i>line</i>
bašo:iki	<i>to play (musical instrument)</i>	mašo	<i>voice</i>
bišo:iki	<i>to rest</i>	oke:šo	<i>slope up, ascent</i>
damši t. B.	<i>to approve</i>	ši:šo	<i>ear of corn</i>
gušpur B.	<i>aristocrat</i>	uša:rin	<i>debtor</i>
hu:ši t. B.	<i>to plunder</i>		
d.			
i:ša B.	<i>sluice</i>		
išpi:t			
B. šipi:t	<i>lucerne</i>		
kušulo B.	<i>broken</i>		
li:šo:iki	<i>to hide (vb. intrs.)</i>		
muš'a:	<i>man, "vir"</i>		
nišo:iki	<i>to go out (of fire)</i>		
o:ši	<i>wind</i>		
o:šo, aošo			
B. aušo	<i>guest</i>		
pašo:iki	<i>to see</i>		

	š		š
teši	<i>top of roof</i>		
tušo:iki	<i>to be sated</i>		
tuša:r B.	<i>very much</i>		
yaško			
B. yaški	<i>equal, suitable to</i>		

Final

aš (Δš ?)	<i>eight</i>	ba:ruš	
		B. pferi:š	<i>duck</i>
Δš, aš	<i>to-day</i>	biš	<i>poison</i>
Δbaš B.	<i>unfavourable</i>	či:š B. či:š	<i>mountain</i>
buš	<i>is not known</i>	hē:š B. hi:ž	<i>breath, sigh (?)</i>
diš B.	<i>place</i>	kaš t.	<i>to wipe</i>
pfaš b.	<i>to be finished</i>	kī:š t.	<i>to push, pull</i>
pfupuš	<i>hearth</i>	laš t. B.	<i>to lick</i>
laš	<i>shame</i>	maiyu:š B.	<i>buffalo</i>
niš, nuš	<i>is not</i>	nu:š	
		pl. nuja:re	<i>daughter-in-law</i>
praš	<i>rib</i>	pa:š	<i>manure</i>
subaš B.	<i>favourable</i>	ro:š	
		loc. ro:šer	<i>anger</i>
ušuš b. B. u:š	<i>to shiver</i>	šaš	<i>mother-in-law</i>
		šiš	<i>head</i>
		tΔš b. B.	<i>to slip</i>
		u:š B. u:š (?)	<i>debt</i>

(To be continued.)

Some Remarks on Free Will and Predestination in Islam, together with a translation of the Kitabu-l Qadar from the Sahih of al-Bukhari

BY PROFESSOR ALFRED GUILLAUME

THE problem of reconciling man's free will with God's omnipotent will and prescience has exercised the minds of the theologians of those religions which claim to present an almighty and a moral god to their votaries. In the following pages my aim is to show how the Muhammadan dogma of Determinism, despite the revolt of the most vigorous thinkers of the early Muslim church, was developed and consolidated ; to indicate in more detail than earlier writers how dependent that reaction was on Byzantine Christianity ; and how completely عقل has been put to flight by قَدَر in the traditions universally accepted as authentic.

Although the subject has been comprehensively dealt with elsewhere, I may be forgiven a passing reference to some of Muhammad's statements in the Quran. It has long been notorious that he made no attempt to grapple with the difficulty his self-contradictory revelations on this subject caused to subsequent thinkers ; indeed, it may be confidently asserted that the intellectual problem and the moral issues involved were not apparent to him. "All men would believe did God so will and none believes but by God's permission" (Sur. x, 99 ff.). Over and over again we read that God leads man either in the way of salvation or of perdition—no reason for His action being assigned in either case. He it is who opens man's heart to the Quranic message or renders him blind and deaf to its revelation. It would seem from Sur. vi, 149, that the obvious retort was made by the unbelievers that they were what God had made them, and His was the responsibility, not theirs. To this Muhammad can only reply that they are without knowledge and are liars.¹

¹ D. S. Margoliouth, *The Early Development of Muhammadanism*, London, 1914, pp. 46 ff.

"Prophets are not theologians," said the late Professor Goldziher; and certainly Muhammad was no exception. The righteousness of God and His scrupulousness in rewarding those who do well is emphasized in iv, 123; a moral purpose underlies the creation of heaven and earth, and none shall be wronged by God (xlv, 21). Such passages, taken by themselves, show that Muhammad would have shrunk in horror from attributing arbitrariness and injustice to the deity. Yet, as will be seen, this is the conclusion from the orthodox doctrine of God if we accept as a premise "All who punish others for what they have themselves ordained and effected are unjust".

Disposed as the Semitic mind is to accept the arbitrary decrees of a despot—celestial or terrestrial—a new religion which left nothing to the free will and choice of the convert could hardly hope to make its way. If one were damned already why put forth effort? A religion must have something to offer. And Muhammadanism, like Judaism and Christianity its parents, offers eternal salvation to those who believe. Forgiveness of sins, true guidance and paradise are the portion of those who believe in the Prophet's message (Sur. xlvii). Those who die fighting in the way of God may count on an eternal reward; moreover, a bargain may be struck with God: help Him and He will help you (iii, 24). Such a message could not fail to produce a contempt for death in those who accepted Muhammad as a prophet.

Valuable as fatalism is in a time of war, there were devout men in peaceful avocations who found a doctrine of resignation to the decrees of an inscrutable providence unpalatable. The statement that "God makes whom He will to err¹ and whom He will He guideth and ye shall be called to account for your actions" (xvi, 95) left men the victims of an unrighteous

¹ Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, Heidelberg, 1910, pp. 92 ff., points out that *aḍalla* should be translated *allows* to err rather than *makes* to err. But if this and the many similar verses can be thus withdrawn from those that predicate *irreleiten* of God, an imposing number still remains on which Islam has based the dogma of predestination.

God. If God had predestined certain men to damnation and hell, then the Prophet's call to repentance was an invitation to such men to rebel against the decree of God!

In the centuries that elapsed between the redaction of the Quran (A.H. 30) and the publication of the first authoritative collection of traditions (c. 245) a school arose which in its comprehension of moral and ethical truth is almost unique in the whole course of Muslim theology. This school's connexion at the Umayyad court of Damascus with the Christian theologians Johannes Damascenus and his pupil Theodorus Abū Qurra has long been known, and passing references have often been made to the influence of Christian theologians on the tenets of the early Mu'tazilites. But what is so remarkable is that orthodox Islam, as it is reflected in the *ḥadīth* literature, shows such slight traces of any modification of the Quranic doctrine of predestination.

The first protest against determinism was made in Damascus as early as the end of the seventh century. A number of pious and thoughtful Muslims began to teach that man had a free will and possessed power (*qudra*) over his actions; hence they were known as Qadarites.¹ The saintly lives of the early Qadarites, who gave themselves up to prayer, meditation, and study and the practice of an ascetic life, show that the movement was a genuine revolt of the human soul against an immoral conception of the universe. Qadarism, at any rate in its early days, was not primarily a speculative and philosophical rebellion against the orthodox dogmas of Islam. The sect became identified with the Mu'tazila (i.e. those who separate themselves) or the "people who maintain the divine unity and justice", whose tenets have been admirably summarized by Macdonald² and need not be recapitulated here.

¹ It is probable that their name is to be derived from *qudra* rather than from *qadar* (as Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, London, 1903, p. 128); for *qadar* properly applies to a decree of God. See Lane, p. 2495, col. 3 *ad fin.*; and also *Al-Mu'tazila*, ed. Arnold, Leipzig, 1902, p. 12.

² Op. cit., pp. 135 ff. See also Al-Shahrastani *in loc.*

So thoroughly did the orthodox reactionaries stamp out the literature of this sect that until comparatively recently we had to rely on them alone for a statement of Mu'tazilite doctrines. But the text of the *Kitābu-l Milal wal Niḥal* by Al Mahdī lidīn Allah Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Al Murtaḍā (A.H. 764-840), published by Sir Thomas Arnold,¹ provides material invaluable for a study of the Mu'tazila, written as it is by a sympathizer. The writer's object is to show the reasonableness of the Mu'tazilite dogmas, and at the same time to prove that they were not innovations; hence the first "class" of authorities begins with Ali and the other rightly guided Caliphs. The writer is at great pains to show the absurdity of the belief that man's evil actions are decreed by God, and he reconciles a belief in God's foreknowledge and God's omnipotence in the same way that Jewish and Christian theologians did long before his day.² Thus he says:—

كان ذلك (crime) في علمه انهم يفعلونها ولم يحملهم علم (a)
الله على فعلها

God knows that men will commit crimes, but his (fore)-knowledge does not impel them so to do.

And again: As one cannot escape the domain of heaven and earth, so one cannot escape the domain of God's knowledge; and the one is no more the instigator of crime than the other (pp. 8 and 9).

(b) God wills nothing but that which is good (p. 12)³

ان الله لا يشا الا خيرا.

(c) Everything happens by the decree and predestination of God except evil works (المعاصي "disobediences").

¹ Op. cit.

² For the Jewish view cf. Ab. iii, 24, "Everything is foreseen but free will is given" הכל צפוי והרשות נתונה.

³ In Judaism cf. Ber. 60b. All that God does is for a good purpose.

The dependence of the Murjiites, Qadarites, and Mu'tazilites on the Greek theologians of Damascus was first pointed out by von Kremer¹ as long ago as 1873; and he refers to the model dialogue between Christian and Muslim, written by John of Damascus, as a proof that discussion went on in the eighth century between the Christian theologians, who stood high in the caliph's favour, and their Muslim fellow-subjects. He has shown how the Murjis, like many Oriental Christians, scouted the idea of eternal punishment in hell, and that the preoccupation of the Qadarites with the nature and attributes of the deity was precisely that of their Christian contemporaries. The doctrine that man has a free will is expressed in almost identical words by John and the Mu'tazilites quoted above (a): "illud quoque scire oportet, Deum omnia praescire sed non omnia praefinire."

But the extraordinary similarity between the thought and language of Johannes Damascenus and his Muslim imitators does not end here. In the *Disputatio Saraceni et Christiani* (which might well bear the same title as the book of Bukhari translated below) we find the Christian expressly denying that God is the author of evil; but that it is of the devil and of man's own will to evil; while of good he says: "omnium bonorum neminem dicimus esse causam praeter quam Deum"² (cf. (b) and (c) above). If we compare the dialogue in John with that given on page 49 of the *Mu'tazila* we cannot escape the conclusion that the Mu'tazila employed in their disputations with their orthodox brethren the same arguments and the same means of promulgating their doctrines as the Christians did in their controversies with the Muslims. The following examples will illustrate this:—

(1) *Mu'tazila*. (Arnold, p. 49.)

Abu-l 'Abbās al Halabī: Tell me about the devil. Did he wish that Pharaoh should be an unbeliever? Abu-l Ḥusain al

¹ *Culturgeschichtliche Streifzüge auf dem Gebiete des Islams*, Leipzig, 1873, p. 7.

² *Bibliotheca Veterum patrum . . . cura Andreae Gallandii*, p. 272.

Khayyāt : Yes. Al Ḥalabī : Then the devil overcame the will of God. Abu-l Ḥusain : That is not a necessary assumption. For God (may He be exalted !) said : " Satan promises you poverty and commands you to act unseemly, but God promises you pardon and favour." Therefore it is not necessary to assume that the command of the devil overcame the command of God. So it is with the will : for if God had willed that Pharaoh should believe against his will he would have believed (sc. but God did not influence Pharaoh's will).

John.

Saracenus : Quem dicis causam esse malorum ? Christianus : Eum scilicet qui ex sententia sua diabolus est, ac nos etiam homines. Sar. : Cujus rei gratia ? Chr. : Propter liberum arbitrium.

(2) *Mu'tazila.* (Arnold, p. 8.)

(a) The people are fornicators, winebibbers, and murderers, and they say : " Our crimes lie in God's (fore)knowledge ; therefore we must needs commit them."

(b) 'Umar asked a thief why he stole, and the man replied : " God decreed thus concerning me." Thereupon 'Umar commanded that he should have his hand cut off and then be scourged : the first for the crime of theft, and the second for uttering a lie against God.

John.

Christianus : Quoniam enim Deus praecepit, ut tu inquis, fornicatorem fornicari et furem furari et homicidam caedem facere, mercede digni sunt hujusmodi, voluntatem enim Dei fecerunt.

(3) The teaching of Bishr ibn Al Mu'tamir (*taulīd* and *tawallūd*) of a primary cause acting on the first object which goes on to affect others is reminiscent of John's argument with the Saracen. The latter asserts that as God " format infantes in uteris mulierum ", He must in some cases be a fellow-worker with adulterers, and therefore an author of

evil. The Christian is made to reply that it is written that God created all things in the beginning, and only then was He the immediate cause of phenomena. Afterwards man and nature work, as may be seen from the words "And Adam begat" and "The earth brought forth", and so on.

But the controversy that most clearly marked off the Mu'tazila from their co-religionists, and finally brought about their overthrow, was their affirmation that the Quran was created. Orthodox Islam maintained that it existed from all eternity, and, as the word of God, was uncreate. "Whatever proofs of this doctrine may have been brought forward later from the Quran itself, we can have no difficulty in recognizing that it is plainly derived from the Christian Logos, and that the Greek Church, perhaps through John of Damascus, has again played a formative part," says Macdonald.¹ This may be so, but the following passage from John (which incidentally contains the earliest non-Muslim reference to the Mu'tazilites, and has, I believe, been unnoticed hitherto by scholars) rather suggests that John's Muslim contemporaries did *not* borrow the idea from him.² It would seem that the identification of the Muslim scriptures with the Logos is already an established dogma, and that those who dissent therefrom are ostracized.

¹ Op. cit., p. 146.

² The use of the Bible in these controversies is a subject that calls for further investigation. It is quite clear from the way in which Scripture is turned against the Christians that the Muslims were familiar with the Old Testament at least. (Al-Nazzām, the Mu'tazilite, is said to have known by heart the Quran, the Taurāt, the Anjīl, and the Zubūr.) It may be that in some cases the adversary was a Jew—such a one is referred to in *Joannis Hierosolymitani Narratio* (Gallandi, p. 270, *ecclesiae Dei hostis*). The doctrine that the Torah was created before the foundation of the world is, of course, Jewish; cf. *Mid. Rab.* on Gen. i, 1. The tone of the *Disputatio* hardly suggests that the Christian was disputing with an apostate, though in the days of the first Umayyad caliphs the line between Christians and Muslims was by no means clearly drawn. (See on this point Lammens, *Études sur la régence du Calife Omayyade Mo'awiya . . . Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale*, Beyrouit, 1906, p. 54.)

John.

Si interrogeris a Saraceno dicente : Quem ais esse Christum ? Responde illi Verbum Dei. Nihil in hoc aberrare arbitror, quoniam et Verbum dicitur a scriptura et Sapientia et Brachium et Virtus Dei . . . Tu vero vicissim interroga eum dicens Quid vocatur a scriptura Christus ? . . . Respondebit tibi dicens A scriptura mea Spiritus et Verbum Dei dicitur Christus. Et tunc dic illi tu quoque : Spiritus Dei et Verbum a scriptura tua increata dicuntur an vero creata ? Ac ubi responderit creata esse, dic ei : Ecquis creavit Dei Spiritum et Verbum ? Quod si ad incitas redactus dixerit tibi, Deum illa creasse, regere . . . te interrogo : Antequam crearet Deus Verbum et Spiritum non habebat Spiritum neque Verbum ? atque declinabit a te non habens quid respondeat. *Haeretici enim sunt qui hoc affirmant apud Saracenos maximeque sunt abominabiles et propudiosi ; et si huncce volueris traducere apud reliquos Saracenos timebit te admodum.*

The relation of Islamic theology in the formative period to that of the contemporary Christianity of Syria deserves closer attention than it has hitherto received.¹ But we will turn now to the foundation and support of orthodoxy. The following translation of the Book of Predestination from the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Al Bukhārī² will best illustrate the treatment Mu'tazilite doctrines have received at the hands of the orthodox party. As a self-contained book of some length it may serve as an introduction to the *ḥadīth* literature, hardly second to the Quran in its importance for the study of Muhammadan origins, on which I hope soon to write at greater length.

¹ Practically all the tenets of the earlier Mu'tazilites are to be found in John's writings : besides those mentioned there is, e.g., the explanation of anthropomorphisms in the scripture and the assertion that the qualities in the divine essence must be expressed by negations or relations.

² I gratefully acknowledge Professor Margoliouth's kindness in reading my translation and suggesting alterations which I have everywhere adopted.

THE BOOK OF PREDESTINATION¹

1. Bāb concerning Predestination.

(a) Abu'l Walid Hishām ibn 'Abd il Mālik informed us² (saying): Shu'ba informed us (saying): Sulaimān al Ā'mash told me as follows: I heard Zaid ibn Wahb on the authority of 'Abd Ullah³ say: The Apostle of God (may God bless and preserve him,⁴ for he is the Veracious and the Verified) told me as follows: Verily (each) one of you is assembled in his mother's womb forty days; then he becomes a clot for a similar period, and then a lump of flesh for the same period. An angel is sent to him and given four commands with reference to his sustenance, the duration of his life, and he is to be wretched or happy. By Allah! each one⁵ of you may do the works of the people of hell so that between him and it there lieth but a fathom or a cubit, and that which has been written shall overcome him, and he will do the works of the people of paradise and shall enter therein. And verily a man may do the works of the people of paradise so that between him and it there lieth but a fathom or a cubit, and that which has been written shall overcome him, and he will do the works of the people of hell and shall enter therein. (Variant: Adam [i.e. Ibn Abi Iyyās] said: "except a cubit.")

(b) Anas ibn Mālik. The prophet said: God commands an angel concerning the womb. The angel says: Lo, Lord, a drop! a clot! an embryo! And when God wills to decree its creation the angel says: Is it to be male or female, wretched

¹ Kitābu'l Qadar 82. *Le recueil des Traditions Mahométanes*, par Abou Abdallah Mohammed ibn Ismaïl el Bokhāri, publié par M. Ludolf Krehl, continué par Th. W. Juynboll, Leyden, 1908, vol. iv, p. 251.

² *Haddathanā*. The expression implies that the authority to recount this tradition was given with a general licence; consequently the original narrator could not always control the form in which his traditions were promulgated. See Goldziher, *M.S.*, vol. ii, pp. 189 ff.

³ i.e. Ibn Mas'ūd. The *isnād* will be omitted in future, only the name of the original guarantor being given.

⁴ The customary blessing on Muhammad will be omitted throughout the book.

⁵ Textual variant, or "a man" of you.

or happy, and what is to be its sustenance and duration of life, O Lord ? In the mother's womb the answer is written.¹

2. Bāb. The pen is dry (that wrote) according to the (fore)-knowledge of God, and the saying "According to (fore)-knowledge God leads him astray" (Sur. xlv, v. 22). And Abū Huraira said : "The Prophet said to me 'The pen is dry (that wrote) of what will befall thee'." ² Ibn 'Abbās said : With regard to the words *lahū sābiqūna* (Sur. xxiii, v. 63) the meaning is that those who hasten after good deeds happiness has hastened unto them.

(a) 'Imrān ibn Ḥuṣain. A man said : "O Apostle of God, are those (destined) to paradise known from those (destined) to hell ?" "Yes," replied he. The man answered : "Then of what use are deeds of any kind ?" He answered : "Everyone does that for which he was created or that which has been made easy for him."

3. Bāb. "God knoweth better what they would have done."

(a) Ibn 'Abbās said : The Prophet was asked about the children of idolators (*mushrikīn*). He replied : "God knoweth better what they would have done."

¹ The word "drop" (*nutfa*) suggests that the form of the tradition (a) in the *Mishkāt* (p. 12) may be the original, though it reads rather like a conflation : "Verily the creation of each one of you who is assembled in his mother's womb forty days is a drop." The same recognition of the origin of man's life, but in a nobler context, will be found in *Pirqē Ābhōth*, pereq iii, 1. The source of both these traditions is to be sought in the Jewish Haggādah, cf. *Yelammedenu* (*Midrash Tanḥuma*), Lublin, 1879, p. 261 : "In the embryo sex, constitution, size, shape, appearance, rank, livelihood, and all that will befall the creature save its moral nature are preordained." Cf. also *Niddah*, 16b, where the angel presents the *ṭippah* before God and asks what it is to be : strong or weak ; wise or foolish ; rich or poor ; but he does not ask whether it is to become a wicked or a righteous man. The *Kanzu'l 'Ammāl* (vol. i, p. 29), which refers this tradition to both Bukhārī and Muslim, agrees in the main with the version given in the *Mishkāt* (Bombay, 1880).

² The many references to writing require some elucidation. It would seem that here the *lahū mahfuz* or preserved tablet is meant. The Quran, uncreate and existent before all worlds, was inscribed on this tablet, as were the deeds and thoughts of men : all that has been and is to be, the believer's faith and piety, the kāfir's unbelief and impiety, are decreed by the writing on the preserved tablet.

(b) Abū Huraira : The Apostle of God was asked about the offspring of idolators. He replied : " God knoweth better what they would have done." ¹

(c) Abū Huraira. The Apostle of God said : " None is born but in the religion of Islam. It is his parents who make him a Jew or a Christian just as you breed cattle. You do not find maimed cattle unless you yourselves first maim them." They said : " O Apostle of God, have you considered the case of him who dies as a little child ? " He answered : " God knows better what they would have done." ¹

4. Bāb. " The command of God is destiny predestined " (Sur. xxxiii, v. 38).

(a) Abū Huraira. The Apostle of God said : " A woman shall not ask that her sister be divorced so that she may enjoy her share of conjugal rights.² Let her marry, for verily she shall have what has been decreed for her."

(b) Usāma. I was in the company of the prophet when the messenger of one of his daughters came—Sa'd and Ubay ibn Ka'b and Mu'adh were with him at the time—to report that her son was at the point of death. He sent word to her : " To God belongeth what He taketh and to God belongeth what He giveth. Everyone (departeth) at the appointed time. Let her therefore be patient under bereavement and earn the reward of patience."

(c) Sa'idu-l Khudrī. The Prophet said : Every living soul whose coming forth into the world has been written by God must come into being.

(d) Hudhaifa. The prophet preached us a sermon in which

¹ *Bimā kānu 'āmilīn*. The meaning is : This is not a matter for you to inquire into, for God knows better what their actions would have been had they lived ; and therefore their eternal destiny will be decided in the light of His omniscience. In these two *ḥadīth* we have an excellent example of Bukhārī's faithful adherence to his principle. The second *ḥadīth* adds nothing to the first ; yet it is not a mere variant because the *isnād* is entirely different throughout. Consequently both traditions, being duly authenticated, must *ex hypothesi* be held genuine utterances of Muhammad.

² *Istafraqha fulānun mā fī ṣakfatihī* is a proverbial saying meaning " So-and-so took as his share (or exhausted) what was in his bowl".

he spoke of everything that will happen until the hour of the resurrection. He that knoweth it knoweth it ; and he that is ignorant of it is ignorant thereof. If I see a thing which I have forgotten I shall recognize it just as a man knows the face of an absent acquaintance and recognizes him when he sees him.¹

(e) 'Ali. We were sitting with the prophet who had a stick with which he was writing on the ground. He said : " There is not one of you whose resting place in hell or paradise has not been written." Whereupon one of the people said : " Then may we not (abandoning effort) trust in (our destiny), O Apostle of God ? " ² He replied : " No ! Do (good) works for everything has been made easy." ³ Then he read (Sur. xcii, v. 5) : " He that giveth to the needy and feareth," etc.

5. Bab. " Works (are to be judged) by their results."

(a) Abū Huraira said : We were present with the Apostle of God at Khaibar when he said of one of those who were with him and professed Islam : " This fellow is one of the people of hell." When battle was joined the man fought with the utmost bravery, insomuch that he was covered with wounds and disabled. One of the Companions of the prophet came up and said : " O Apostle of God, do you see that the man you said was one of the people of hell has fought with the utmost bravery in the way of God ⁴ and is covered with wounds."

¹ This implies that not only has everything been decreed by God but that the whole course of the history of posterity was revealed by Him to the prophet. The *Midrash Rabba* on Ex. xxxi contains an account of how God showed Moses all the kings, principal men, and prophets who would appear in the generations until the hour of the resurrection.

² The *Mishkāt* adds to the two words *afalā nattakilu* the gloss *'alā kitābinā wanada'u-l 'amal*, i.e. " May we not abandon ourselves to what has been written of us and forsake (good) works ? "

³ Or prepared. See *Al-Nihāya* in *loc.*

⁴ *Fī sabīl Illāh*. The surprise of Muhammad's followers is due to the supreme merit attached to the act of fighting unbelievers. In Sur. iii, 163, there is the proclamation : " Do not reckon those who are slain in the way of God to be dead : nay, alive with their Lord are they sustained." Cf. Sur. ii, 149. To fight in the way of God is synonymous with joining in the *jihād*. For the meaning given to the phrase in later times see Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, pp. 387 ff.

The Prophet replied : " Nevertheless, he is one of the people of hell." And while some of the Moslems were on the point of doubting, lo the man, in anguish from his wounds, put forth his hand to his quiver, plucked out an arrow, and pierced his throat therewith. Some of the Moslems then ran to the Apostle of God and said : " O Apostle of God, God has confirmed thy saying. So-and-So has pierced his throat and killed himself." The Apostle of God said : " O Bilāl, rise and proclaim : Only believers shall enter paradise. Verily God strengtheneth this religion with an impious man."

(b) Sahl. The prophet looked at a man who did most service to the Muslims on a raid he made in company with the prophet, and said : " He who would see one of the people of hell let him look at this fellow." So one of the people followed him—now he was the most violent of men in contending with the idolators—until he was wounded, when he proceeded to hasten his death by putting his sword point to his breast so that it came out between his shoulders. The man quickly went to the prophet and said : " I bear witness that thou art the Apostle of God ! " He said : " But why ? " The man replied : " Thou saidst of so-and-so, ' He who would see one of the people of hell let him look at this fellow.' Now he was one who did the Muslims most service, and thou knewest that he would not die thus.¹ And when he was wounded he hastened his death by suicide." Thereupon the prophet said : " Verily the slave may do the works of the people of hell when he is really one of the people of paradise. And he may do the works of the people of paradise when he is really one of the people of hell. Actions are to be judged by their results."

6. Bāb. A vow delivers a slave to fate.

(a) Ibn 'Umar. The prophet forbade vows,² saying : " Verily they cannot frustrate anything though something is extracted from the avaricious thereby."

¹ i.e. that he would not meet his death in the *jihād*.

² The blessings of paradise are expressly promised in the Quran to those who fulfil their vows (Sur. lxxvi, v. 7), *yāfūna binnadhri*.

(b) Abū Huraira. A vow brings nothing to a son of man that has not been decreed for him. Nevertheless, a vow does precipitate a man towards (his) destiny, and it has been decreed that something shall be extracted from the avaricious thereby.

7. Bāb. There is no power and no might save in God.

(a) Abū Mūsā. We were raiding with the Apostle of God, and whenever we climbed or ascended a height or went down into a valley we lifted up our voices and shouted "Allah Akbar!" The Apostle of God approached us and said: "Restrain yourselves, O men. For ye do not call to one who is deaf or absent, but ye call to one who hears and sees." Then he said: "O 'Abd Allah ibn Qais, I will teach thee a saying which is one of the treasures of paradise, 'There is no power and no might save in God.'"

8. Bāb. The Protected is he whom God protects (عَصِمَ)

(in Sur. xi, v. 45, the word عَاصِمٌ is the equivalent of مَانِعٌ).

Mujāhid said: سَدًّا (in Sur. xxxvi, v. 8, "we have placed before and behind them an obstacle" means) a barrier against the truth. They repeatedly fall into error. The word دَسَّاهَا¹ (Sur. xci, v. 10, in "Miserable is he who has corrupted it" [i.e. the soul] means) أَغْوَاهَا misled.

(a) Sa'idu-l Khudri. Everyone who is appointed caliph² has two kinds of intimates: one advises him to do good and incites him thereto; the other suggests and incites to evil. The protected is he whom God protects.

9. Bāb. It is a necessary lot of (the people) of a city which

¹ On the form of this word and the rival meanings given to the verse, see Lane, p. 878, col. a.

² This anachronism need cause no surprise. It is to be explained by Muhammad's foreknowledge; cf. 2 (d) *supra*.

we have destroyed that they shall not return¹ (Sur. xxi, v. 95). None of thy people will believe save those who have already believed (Sur. xi, v. 38). "And they will beget only impious unbelievers" (Sur. lxxi, v. 28).

(a) Ibn 'Abbās. The word حَرَم in Abyssinian means وجب.

(b) Ibn 'Abbās. Nothing seems to me more insane² than Abū Huraira's report that the Prophet said: "God has written every man's portion in adultery. It must certainly befall. Now it is adultery of the eye to gaze; it is adultery of the tongue to utter (the thought thus engendered); the appetite longs and desires and the body consents or denies." (Here follows the isnadic authority for the *ḥadīth* of Abū Huraira to which Ibn 'Abbās takes exception.)³

¹ This is the interpretation of the verse generally accepted by the native authorities. Ibn Jumāna (quoted by Lane, p. 554, col. 3) uses the word حَرَام

as equivalent to وَاجِب. The ordinary meaning "forbidden" would seem

to make the following لَا redundant. But see Rodwell and Sale *in loc.*

Some native authorities read حَرَم. Although Arabic supports faintly

Ibn 'Abbās' explanation, the Ethiopic lexicon does not. Probably "ban" (Heb. יָרַם) is the meaning.

² أَشْبَهَ بِاللَّيْمِ. Following the Nihāya I take this to be the meaning. Cf. *Muh. Stud.*, p. 49, for an unfavourable judgment on Abū Huraira. Al Qastallānī explains it as "a venial sin".

³ This tradition is obviously an expansion of Matt. v, 28. It is interesting to notice that the compiler of the *Mishkāt* (p. 12) omits Ibn 'Abbās' fair comment on Abū Huraira. Contrary to his usual custom, too, he gives Muslim's version as well as that of Bukhārī. The former, which is rather more full, runs: "Man's lot, so far as adultery is concerned, has been written. It must certainly befall. The adultery of the eye is to gaze; of the ears to listen; of the tongue to speak; of the hand to seize; of the foot to step forward; the heart longs and desires and the body consents or denies." Muslim's version obscures the point. Bukhārī has transmitted a tradition

10. Bāh. We have made the vision that we showed thee a cause of dissension for men (Sur. xvii, v. 62).

(a) Ibn 'Abbās. This is the vision of the eye which the Apostle of God was shown when he was conducted on the night journey to the temple of Jerusalem.¹ He said: "The tree which is cursed in the Quran" is the tree of Al Zaqqūm.

11. Bāb. Adam and Moses argued before God (to Him belong might and majesty).

(a) Abū Huraira. The Prophet said: "Adam and Moses were arguing, and Moses said: 'O Adam, thou art our father. Thou hast brought loss upon us and caused us to be excluded from paradise.' He replied: 'O Moses, God chose thee by His word and wrote for thee with His hand. Do you blame me for a matter which God decreed concerning me forty years before He created me?' And Adam confuted Mose: three times." (The same tradition is reported with a change of two names in the intermediaries between Abū Huraira and the compiler.)²

to the effect that unlawful desire is as the sin of adultery; whereas Muslim, by irrelevantly introducing ears, hands, and feet, simply describes the physiological course of the sin.

¹ For a full account of the vast growth of tradition which sprang up on the subject of the Mī'rāj see Asin Palacios, *La Escatología Musulmana en la Divina Commedia*, Madrid, 1919, pp. 8 ff.

² The original form of this *ḥadīth*—which clearly presupposes considerable knowledge of the products of Jewish midrashic fancy—is expanded in Muslim's version (quoted in the *Mishkāt*, p. 11) so that the vulgar may easily understand its point: "Adam and Moses argued before their Lord and Adam confuted Moses. Moses said: 'Thou art that Adam whom God created with His hand and breathed into thee of His spirit and made His angels prostrate themselves before thee and made thee to dwell in paradise. Then didst thou bring men down to the earth in thy degradation.' Adam replied: 'Thou art that Moses whom God chose with His apostleship and with His word and gave thee tables in which is the explanation of all things and favoured thee with His confidence. Then how long was the Torah written before I was created?' Moses replied: 'Forty years.' Adam replied: 'Then do you find in it the words "And Adam disobeyed his Lord and went astray"?' 'Yes,' said he. Adam rejoined: 'Then do you blame me for doing something that God wrote that I should do forty years before He created me?' The Apostle of God said: 'Thus Adam confuted Moses.'" An interesting discussion of this *ḥadīth* will be found in *Al Mu'tazila* (p. 46), where it is condemned as *ḵabar bāṭil*.

12. Bāb. None can withhold what God giveth.

(a) Warrād, the client of Al Mughīra ibn Shu'ba. Mu'āwīya wrote to Al Mughīra as follows: "Write for me an account of what you heard the prophet say at the end of the prescribed prayer." Al Mughīra then dictated to me: "I heard the prophet say at the end of the prescribed prayer, 'There is no God save God alone; he is without associate. O God, there is none that withholdeth what Thou givest and none that giveth what Thou withholdeth, and good fortune will not profit the fortunate in place of Thee.'" ¹ Ibn Juraij said 'Abda told him that Warrād told him of this. "Then," said he, "I afterwards went on a mission to Mu'āwīya and heard him laying commands on men in accordance with these words."

13. Bāb. He that taketh refuge in God from the misery that overtaketh him and from the evil of fate.² And God's Word: "Say: I take refuge in the Lord of the Dawn from the evil He hath created" (Sur. 113).³

(a) Abū Huraira. The prophet said: "Take refuge in God from grievous adversity, from misery that overtaketh, from evil fate, and from the reviling of enemies."

14. Bāb. (God) intervenes between a man and his heart (Sur. viii, v. 24).⁴

¹ This is the probable meaning of the words (taking the preposition *min* as the equivalent of *badala*, i.e. the wealth or good fortune that cometh of Thee). Zamakhshari understands this to mean "instead of the obedience and submissiveness due to Thee". Others interpret *minka* as '*indaka* "Will not profit with Thee". Others, "will not defend him from Thee." See Lane, p. 385.

² *Qadā* is used of a decree of God which is universal in application, and so here of some misfortune suffered by the victim when coming under a law of nature. *Qadar* means generally a man's own particular fate and destiny.

³ This is one of the texts that the Mu'tazilites read differently. By the slightest possible alteration in the punctuation it was possible to say: "I take refuge in the Lord of the Dawn from evil which he hath *not* created."

Instead of شَرٍّ they read شَرٍّ; the following مَا could then form a negative relative sentence. (See Qasṭallānī, Bulaq, 1285, p. 397; quoted by Goldziher, *M.S.* ii, p. 240.)

⁴ The commentators understand these words to mean that God turns man from his desire by influencing his will; cf. Sur. xxxiv, v. 53.

(a) 'Abd Ullah. The prophet used often to take an oath "No, by the Reverser of hearts!"

(b) Ibn 'Umar. The prophet said to Ibn Ṣayyād: "I have a riddle to ask of thee."¹ He replied: "Smoke."² The prophet said: "Go away, for thou shalt not exceed thy measure (*qadr*)."³ 'Umar said: "Give me permission to strike off his head!" The prophet replied: "Let him alone. If it is he (the Dajjāl) you cannot do it, and if it is not he then you will gain nothing by killing him."

15. Bāb. Say "Nought will befall us save what God has written for us" ("written" here means) "decreed" **قضى** (Sur. ix, v. 51). Mujāhid said: (In Sur. xxxvii, v. 162, the word) **بِأَنِّينَ** means **بِمُضِلِّينَ**; (ye are not able to) seduce means "lead astray", save those of whom God has written that they shall burn in Gehenna. "He decreeth and guideth" (Sur. lxxxvii, v. 3) means "He decreeth misery and happiness and He guideth the sheep to their pastures".

(a) 'Āisha said that she asked the Apostle of God about the plague.⁴ He replied: "It is a punishment which God sends against whom He wills. And God makes it a mercy to believers. There is not a servant in a plague-stricken country who remains therein without removing thence in patient belief, knowing that nought will befall him save what God has written for him, but receives the reward of a martyr."

16. Bāb. We should not be guided aright were it not that God guideth us (Sur. vii, v. 41). Had God guided me, verily I had been of the godly (Sur. xxxix, v. 58).

¹ Or, "There is something that I have concealed from thee."

² **الدُّخَانُ**. Qaṣṣallānī explains that he wished to say **دخان**, but was unable to utter it, after the custom of soothsayers who snatch their words. The traditions on this legendary person are collected in the *Mishkāt*, p. 470.

³ The word would seem to have this meaning here; cf. the similar expression *jawaza qadrahū*.

⁴ This subject is more fully discussed in the *Kitabu-l-Tibb*, No. 30, *Bāb mā yudhkaru fi-l-Ta'ūn*. Krehl, iv, p. 59.

(a) Al Barā ibn 'Āzib. I saw the prophet on the "day of the Trench" helping us to remove the earth, saying the while:

"If God were not our Guide, then we should stray
From His straight paths and should not fast nor pray.
Then keep us strong and calm in danger's hour;
Stablish our feet by Thy almighty power.
The idolators have wrong'd us, we sought peace,
But they, rebelling, fight and will not cease."

Had we no knowledge of any formal protest against the awful doctrine of predestination, with its implication that God first decrees and effects a man's transgression and then punishes him eternally for what he could not by any means avoid, the very vehemence of the traditional utterances recorded by Bukhari would lead one to suspect that so much emphasis and stress on predestination as a principle of the divine economy could not be spontaneous. And it is certain that here, as throughout the *ḥadīth* literature, school doctrines are clothed in the form of traditions put in the mouth of the prophet in order to secure their recognition as dogmas binding the conscience of the faithful.¹

It is impossible to find in the foregoing book one clear statement that man is left to work out his own salvation even aided by divine revelation. There is perhaps a suggestion in Bāb 3 (c) that heredity and environment are contributory causes to damnation, while 4 (e) suggests a connexion between good works and salvation; and Bāb 13 speaks of God as a refuge from calamity and evil fate. But these faint voices are lost in the chorus that proclaim man's fate predestined from the womb. Almost every page of the Arabian Nights, with its allusion to man's destiny written on his brow—the "writing" has become as it were localized—witnesses to the enormous influence predestination exercised on Muslim minds.

As we have seen, the Quran itself can be made to give considerable support to a doctrine of salvation through faith

¹ See on this point Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, pp. 88–130.

and good works; and therefore the all but complete disappearance of a sane and moral conception of the character of God and of man's relation to his Maker provokes inquiry. The Quran, like the sacred books of the Jews and Christians, contains statements which might fairly be held to support the doctrine of Determinism or of Free Will; yet Islam, in spite of the opposition of enlightened minds within it and of much of the teaching of Muhammad himself, stands alone in its assertion of Predestination. A full discussion of the forces which eradicated a wholesome view of Providence from canonical *ḥadīth* would involve a history of the theological controversies of the first few centuries; but it may be of interest to record the principal factors which deleted all trace of Mu'tazilite doctrines from the Kitabu-l Qadar.¹

(1) The source of the views of those who championed the cause of man's free will and maintained that God could not act arbitrarily, that he could not do evil and was under a moral compulsion to act in righteousness, was tainted. It must have been notorious that those ideas sprang from men who had free intercourse with Christian theologians. Indeed, it is not without significance that as Mu'tazila doctrines were born in an age when relations with Christians were genial and unimpeded, as in the days of the Damascus caliphate, so under Ma'mun, when the sumptuary laws against Christians had fallen into desuetude, learning, scholarship, and religious philosophy attained their highest point of development.

(2) The weight of the Government was thrown against the Mu'tazilites. The Umayyads, who wished to keep the empire united and tranquil, discouraged all opposition to a patient acquiescence in the *status quo*. They claimed to reign by the *qadar* and will of God as his vicegerents. And it was a corollary—since Islam has no dividing line between things religious and secular—that any speculation as to man's freedom to think and act for himself was likely to promote

¹ It is not our purpose to investigate the influence of Mu'tazilite doctrines on orthodox philosophers.

a ferment among people none too well disposed towards the Umayyad house. Consequently, those who have always been branded by the Muhammadans as a godless dynasty served orthodoxy well by crippling a sect which would have done more to preserve a connexion between morality and religion than any other theological school which has ever arisen in Islam. God Himself in the orthodox system cannot be cleared of the charge which the Mu'tazilites brought against the God of their opponents' theology; for there is no inherent reason why He should act in equity and righteousness.¹

(3) The Mu'tazilites afterwards adopted many extravagant notions which brought them into ill odour with the people; and in controversy with their opponents the issues became confused.

(4) The terrible bigotry, cruelty, and intolerance exhibited by the Mu'tazilites and their supporters in the short-lived day of their triumph under Ma'mun and his successors brought about a popular reaction which was so thorough as to sweep away practically all trace of their voluminous writings.

February, 1923.

¹ I am entirely at a loss to understand the ground of Baron Carra de Vaux's statement (the italics are mine) in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* [Article "Fate" (Muslim)], vol. v, p. 794: "It is true that there have been scholars who taught fatalism in Islam, and that the books of Muslim theologians and the Quran itself contain propositions apparently inculcating fatalism. At the same time *it must be remembered that the doctrine of fatalism has always been expressly repudiated by orthodox Islam, which believes in the free will of man*, although it encounters serious difficulty in reconciling this with the all-powerful will of God," unless orthodox tradition is to be ruled out of court.



The Babylonian and Persian Sacaea¹

By S. LANGDON

ACCORDING to Strabo, xi, 8, 4, the Sakai, a Sythian tribe, built a temple to the Persian deities Anaitis, Omanus, and Onadatus, and celebrated yearly the festival τὰ Σάκαια,² which the people who inhabited Zêla celebrated even in his own day. The passage affords evidence for the celebration of a festival at Zêla in Pontus as late as the beginning of our era. For some reason Zêla, far removed from the old home of these Persian deities, had long been the seat of these Persian cults, from which fact alone it had any importance at all. Anaitis, or the old Persian Anâhita, "the undefiled," was a river goddess, and probably identical with the Elamitic goddess Nahuntî. This old Iranian deity, Anâhita, was also a goddess of love and beauty,³ the Venus or Artemis of Persian religion, and consequently an identification with the Babylonian Ishtar, "queen of heaven," was at once made, as soon as the cults of Babylonia became known to the Persians in the sixth century, and perhaps even earlier. But Strabo, who obviously believed that this Persian festival was connected with the Sacae or Sythians both historically and philologically, gives another explanation of its origin. Cyrus, he says, was defeated by the Sacae and devised this ruse to overcome them. He hastily retreated, leaving behind his camp and all his equipment. The Sythian Sacae pursued him, captured his abandoned camp, in which Cyrus had purposely left much wine and food, and gave themselves over to drinking and feasting. When they had become completely impotent in drunkenness and debauchery, Cyrus fell upon them and destroyed them utterly. Attributing his victory to the national goddess,⁴ he instituted a festival in memory of that day called *sakaia* (Σάκαια). Wherever a temple of this goddess stood, it was ordered that the "festival

¹ Paper read at the Centenary of the *Société Asiatique*, Paris, July, 1922.

² Var. τὰ Σάκα.

³ Moulton, *Early Religious Poetry of Persia*, 129.

⁴ Anaitis.

of the *sakaia*” (ἡ τῶν Σακαίων ἐορτή) be celebrated, when men and women drank day and night lying together in lascivity.¹

Strabo has left no information concerning the length of this festival, and, more serious matter still, he says nothing about the season in which it was held. The tale concerning Cyrus is only a myth derived from the erroneous assumption that the *sacaea* was derived from the Scythian tribe the Sakai, and hence Strabo calls it the “Sakaian things”, or the “feast of the Sacae”. Athenaeus in his *Dipnosophistae*, 639 c., quoting Berossus, says that in the month Lōos, on the sixteenth day, the festival *sacaea*² was celebrated at Babylon. At that time the masters were ruled by slaves, and one of them governed the house, being clothed like a king. This bogus king was called *Zôgânes*.³ The Babylonian festival lasted five days. On the other hand, Dion Chrysostomus, in *De Regno*, iv, 67, says that the festival⁴ was Persian, and at that time they chose a malefactor and set him on the king’s throne. He was permitted to rule the land and sport with the king’s wives. Afterwards he was scourged and hung. Frazer, in his *Golden Bough*, *Scapegoat*, 306 ff. *et passim*, makes much of this privilege of licence with the king’s wives, and concludes that the “King of Misrule” was a real king for the short period of the carnival, and was slain as a substitute for the king himself. He has made much of this theory of the slaying of a king at the end of each year in the history of religion, and holds that the whole institution of the *sacaea* and similar carnivals, in which a fool became a bogus

¹ Strabo, xi, 8, 5.

² ἐορτὴν Σάκαια, var. σακέαν.

³ Zimmern, *Zum Babylonischen Neujahrfest*², p. 10, n. 4, suggests that this is the Babylonian word *sukallu*, a vizier or minister, derived from the Sumerian *sukkal*. Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 68, connects it with the word *šaknu* “governor”, construct *šakan*, *šakin*, Hebrew *sāgān*, Aramaic *signā*. Sayce’s suggestion is apparently the correct one, although it is not mentioned by Zimmern.

⁴ ἡ τῶν Σακῶν ἐορτή, var. τῶν Σακκῶν. These variants all point to an original ἐορτή σακέα and to a Babylonian original *isinni sakkūti* “feast of the fools”, or *ām sakkūti* “day of the fools”, or *isinni sakki* “feast of the fool”.

king, arose from the desire to find a substitute for the king at the end of each year. We now know the history of Sumerian and Babylonian religion for a period of 4,000 years, and there is nowhere the slightest trace of the practice of slaying a (divine) king at the end of each year as a ritual of sympathetic magic to propitiate the powers of nature. A few of the kings of Isin in the twenty-fourth and twenty-third centuries, in the period when the cults of deified kings was at its height, were actually identified with the god Tammuz, who died and was resurrected each year.¹ This might be explained by Frazer's theory, but it cannot be regarded as a probable explanation.

Our best Greek source is Berossus, and he assigns the festival to Babylon and to the month Lôos, whose precise place in the year has not been determined. It is generally identified with July–August, or, in any case, a late summer or early autumn month. That would seem to rule out any connexion with the Babylonian *zagnuku*,² or New Year festival held at the spring equinox in the month Nisan. But it will be seen presently that in the late period the New Year festival of Nisan, called both *zagnuku* and *akitu*, actually contained features unmistakably connected with *sacaea*. That in no way disproves the connexion with an autumn *sacaea*, for the old Sumerian calendar contained two New Year festivals, one in the spring and one in the autumn, and the festival of the *zagnuk*, mentioned in the inscriptions of Gudea and identical with month "festival of Bau" at Lagash, was clearly an autumnal festival.³ Moreover, the ancient calendar of Umma contained a name for the seventh month *mín-ész*, or month of

¹ See my *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 26. "Tammuz" is now known to have been the name of a prehistoric Sumerian ruler of Erech, identified with the older Abu, the dying god of Sumerian religion.

² See for this word my *Neubabylonische Königsinschriften*, 372. The original Sumerian word *zag-mu* occurs early (Thureau-Dangin, *SAK.*, 80, v, 1; 84, iii, 5; 72, viii, 11), and seems to be pre-Sargonic (Genouillac, *Tablettes Sumériennes Archaiques*, p. xvii).

³ See my *Archives of Drehem*, p. 12, n. 2, and p. 15; Landsberger, *Der kultische Kalender*, 34 (second New Year at Nippur); Thureau-Dangin, *Rituel Accadiens*, 86–99 (second New Year at Erech, month Tešrit, seventh month).

the second festival. In all these calendars of the Sargonic and post-Sargonic period the year undoubtedly began at the spring equinox, and the second New Year fell at the autumn equinox. Since the terms *zagnuku* and *akitu* originally designated the autumn New Year, it seems certain that the prehistoric Sumerians began the year in the autumn. It is entirely fallacious to discuss the periods and character of the Babylonian New Year festival exclusively on the basis of the *zagnuk* or *akitu* as celebrated at the city of Babylon in the late period. When the year universally began in the spring, the old terms *zagnuk* and *akitu*, applied originally to the autumn New Year festival, became current terms for the great New Year festival at Babylon and in Assyria. But Assyriologists seem to be obsessed with the idea that the cults and calendar festivals of other cities had no influence upon contemporary peoples. In fact, an old New Year festival of the *akitu* at Erech, a much more ancient and influential city than Babylon, was held in the autumn. In any case, the *akitu* or New Year celebration held in honour of Ishtar at Erech is frequently mentioned in texts of the Persian period. It is highly probable that it was an autumn festival, connected like the festival of Ishtar of Arbela with the rising of Sirius in the month of Ab.¹ The old autumn festival of the mother goddess Bau at Lagash and of Ishtar, goddess of love and licentiousness at Erech, seem to be well documented. A celebration with a carnival of the Lord of Misrule was most probably held at the autumnal New Year festival from most remote antiquity in honour of the marriage of the god Ningirsu and the goddess Bau at Lagash, and in honour of the queen of love, Ishtar, at Erech. At the latter seat of one of Sumer's most ancient cults the festival survived until the last century before our era, and it was from there that the carnival passed into Persia under the patronage of Anaitis. The calendars at Ur and Erech both contained two New Year

¹ *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 169. On the *akitu* of Ishtar at Erech, see Thureau-Dangin, *Rituel Accadiens*, 111-18.

festivals,¹ and when Berossus assigns the *sacaea* of the city of Babylon to an autumnal season it is certain that this city also celebrated a New Year festival in the autumn.

We possess rather full details of the *zagmuk-akitu* Nisan festival at Babylon for the first six days of this eleven day celebration, and some details of the rituals of the last six days.² A ritual and pantomime of the death and resurrection of Bêl-Marduk formed part of the New Year celebration at Babylon and in Assyria.³ The tablets which describe the *zagmuk* at Babylon are only partially recovered, and if they contained a description of the *sacaea* it is yet to be found. But even these incomplete sources permit the inference that a carnival of a similar kind was held during this spring festival. It originally belonged to the older autumnal New Year festival, but was probably transferred to the spring *zagmuk*. One of the important details of the ritual of the fifth day was the temporary abdication of the king of Babylonia. On that day the king went in the early morning to the chapel of Marduk in the great temple Esagila after the high priest had finished the prayers assigned for matins on that day of the festival. The high priest met the king at the door of the chapel, but did not permit him to enter. The king's crown and sceptre were taken from him, together with all his royal garments. These were taken into the chapel and placed on a hassock before Bêl. The high priest returned to the king kneeling at the doors of Bêl's chapel. He smote the king's cheek, boxed his ears, and scourged him. If the king wept the reign of the next year would be prosperous. If the king wept not the reign would end suddenly in disaster. The king was now introduced into the chapel before Bêl, to whom he addressed a penitential prayer professing his humility and virtue. He had received

¹ See *ibid.*, p. 87.

² Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels Accadiens*, 129-48.

³ The texts of this important ritual were excavated at Assur and translated by Zimmern, *Zum Babylonischen Neujahrfest* ², 14-21. I have recently recovered two more fragments in the British Museum, and a new edition of the entire ritual is given in my *Babylonian Epic of Creation*.

his royal power from Bêl; to Bêl it had been surrendered. Temporarily the king of Babylonia and of all Western Asia was reduced to the rank of a layman, scoffed at, and punished by Bêl's vicar upon earth. The high priest now spoke to the royal penitent, promising him Bêl's blessing and the augmentation of imperial power. The royal insignia were restored to him.

We have here, at any rate, definite information concerning the yearly abdication of the king. The ritual allows us to infer that this act was based upon the belief in the derivation of royal authority from Bêl. Yearly this authority must be renewed, and yearly the king must resign his power for a brief moment to receive it again from Bêl. There is absolutely no intimation that the king was put to death in the more primitive ritual. It was during this brief ritual that the whole social order was inverted. A bogus king was installed, and slaves ruled their masters. The custom was ancient, for it is referred to in the Sumerian inscriptions of Gudea, patesi of Lagash about the twenty-seventh century. In the inscription of Gudea, Statue B, vii, 26-34, it is said that when the temple Eninnû was completed for seven days obedience was not observed. The maids made themselves like their mistresses, and the slave was the equal of his master. The strong and the weak slept side by side.¹

In the celebration of the death and resurrection of Bêl, a ritual held during the Babylonian *zagnuk* of Nisan, one of the acts consisted in a mad race of the celebrants in the streets of Babylon, and in all the sacred places where this ceremony obtained. The commentary on the pantomime says that when the celebrants ran a frenzied race in the streets it referred to the pursuit of the storm bird and demon Zû by Ninurta. Now Zû symbolized the winter darkness and Ninurta was the spring sun. Ninurta was sent forth by the sun-god Ashur against the dragon of winter and he returned, saying, "Zû

¹ Meissner in his article "Die Entstehung des Purimfestes": *ZDMG.*, vol. 1, 296 ff., first connected this passage with the *sacaea* carnival.

is conquered." And Ashur spoke unto Nusku, the messenger of the gods, and said, "Hasten unto all the gods and announce the tidings." The racing and uproar in the streets at the New Year festival symbolized the conquest of the spring sun over the winter season, and the hastening messenger of the sun-god who reported the glad news to the gods. By combining the acts of both rituals the origin of the *sacaea* seems to be fairly evident. The bogus king who ruled for five days represented the winter, and he became a king because the real king was compelled to abdicate, originally for a period of five days.¹ The carnival and licence permitted at this festival appear to have originated in two disparate sources, the theory of the yearly abdication and reinstatement of a king and the myth of the conquest of winter by the spring sun. The dying season of cold and darkness was represented by a fool and jeered at by the throng, who greeted the beneficent spring with hilarity. In fact, the Persians had a similar festival of their own, celebrated in Ataro (November), called the *Kūsaḥ barnišin*, or, in Arabic, *Rukūb al-kasai*, "The ride of the beardless one"; according to Gray, in *Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, v, 873, the old Persian festival was also held in the spring. A simpleton, chosen as a bogus king, rode naked upon a horse, holding a fan and complaining of the heat. He was escorted by the king's servants, and demanded tribute from everybody. He had the right to seize everything in any shop which refused tribute, and from a pot of reddened water he bespattered all who refused him *dirham*. The people pelted him with snow and ice. The contributions received before the first prayers went to the king (at 7 a.m.), and the contributions before the second prayers (11 a.m.) were retained by himself. He was then beaten and scoffed. Sir James Frazer properly interpreted this Persian festival as a celebration of the passing

¹ Winckler, *Forschungen*, ii, 353, adduces a Sabeian inscription to prove that the king of the saturnalia-sacaea carnival held his office during five days at the end of the year as interrex, the real king abdicating at the end of 360 days or twelve lunar months; the bogus king held office during the remaining five days of the solar year.

of winter. See for the ceremony Hyde, *Historia veterum Persarum*, 249-51, and Albiruni, ed. Sachau, in *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, 211.

The corresponding *sacaea* borrowed from Babylonia, and more especially from the autumnal festival, is clearly connected with the *zagnuku*. The difficulties which scholars have found concerning the date recorded by Berossus were self-imposed. There were, in fact, two New Year festivals in ancient Babylonia, and the Persian *sacaea* came from Erech rather than Babylon, since it was associated with Ishtar-Anaitis and not with Marduk. As for the derivation of the word *σακκαία*, it may be said at once that any connexion with the word *zagnuku* is most improbable. I have suggested in a previous note a derivation from the word *sakku*, fool. The bogus king was known not as a fool, but as *šaknu* or *Zôganes*, or governor. *Sakku* may have been a title of the bogus king, however, and at present it appears to be the only plausible conjecture.

The problem of the corresponding Hebrew feast of *Pûrim*, also held in the spring, has been thoroughly dealt with by Dr. Johns in Cheyne's *Encyclopedia Biblica*, J. A. McClymont in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, Haupt in his brochure *Pûrim*, Meissner in *ZDMG.* L, 296 ff., and by Frazer in his *Golden Bough, Scapegoat*. The word *pûrim* is now known to mean "lots", and is derived from the Sumerian loan-word *pûru*, a stone bowl. Hesitation on this point is now entirely dispelled by the recently recovered Assyrian law code which contains the phrase *pur-šu isallî*, "he shall cast his lot." It is clear that the Hebrew *Pûrim* was also derived from the Babylonian New Year festival when the gods assembled to decree the fates or lots for the ensuing year. The historical myth to explain the origin of this festival in the Book of Esther involves other problems which conduct us far outside the scope of this article.

October, 1922.

The Religion of Ahmad Shah Bahmani

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[References to *Firishta* are to the Bombay text of 1831.]

FIRISHTA records¹ that Yūsuf ‘Ādil Shāh of Bijāpūr, the founder of the ‘Ādil Shāhī dynasty, on learning that Shāh Ismā‘īl I, Ṣafavī (1502–24), had established the Shī‘ah religion in Persia, caused the call to prayer and the *Khuṭbah* to be recited, in the month of Zī-‘l. Ḥijjah, A.H. 908 (June–July, 1502), in the Shī‘ah form, and attempted to establish that faith as the state religion of Bijāpūr. He adds that Yūsuf was the first sovereign in India to make such an attempt. This does not necessarily mean that he was the first Shī‘ah monarch in India. All that it means is that he was the first monarch of that religion who attempted to force his people to conform to his own faith.

Mr. Talboys Wheeler, in his *History of India*, made a strange error in describing the rebellion in the Dakan, in A.D. 1347, as a Shī‘ah revolt, and its leader ‘Āla-al-dīn Ḥasan, Bahman Shāh, as a Shī‘ah by religion. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that this theory was invented for the purpose of dividing the history of Islām in India into four arbitrary periods, which Mr. Wheeler described as the Sunnī, the Shī‘ah, the Ṣūfī, and the Sunnī revival; but the history of the progress of Islām in India cannot be so conveniently arranged, and it is quite clear, from the records which have been preserved, that Bahman Shāh and the first seven kings who followed him on the throne of the Dakan, were orthodox Sunnīs, and that the Sunnī religion was established throughout the Dakan until Yūsuf ‘Ādil Shāh disturbed the establishment in Bijāpūr.

Mr. Talboys Wheeler is not a safe guide on this subject.

He asserts ¹ that the historian *Firishta* was a *Shī'ah*, although *Firishta's* remarks ² on the *Shī'ah* custom of cursing the first three Caliphs clearly indicate to which sect he belonged, and in describing ³ the establishment of the *Shī'ah* religion in *Aḥmadnagar* in A.D. 1537-8, by *Burhān Nizām Shāh I*, at the instigation of *Shāh Tāhir*, he says: "He omitted the names of the three Caliphs from the *Khutbah*—May God be our refuge and preserve us [from the like]!"

But although the *Bahmanī* dynasty was, like other dynasties of contemporary origin, *Sunnī*, *Aḥmad Shāh Valī*, the ninth king of the line, adopted the *Shī'ah* religion. His conversion was purely a personal matter, and he alienated no portion of his subjects by attempting to establish the religion of his adoption.

He had always shown an inclination for the society of holy men. In A.D. 1399, in the reign of his brother and predecessor, *Fīrūz*, the saint *Sayyid Muhammad Gīsū Darāz*, whose shrine is still the best known in the *Dakan*, came from *Dihli* and settled at *Gulbarga*. He was at first received with much honour, but the accomplished and cultured *Fīrūz* soon wearied of the rude and unlettered saint, and treated him with neglect. *Aḥmad*, simpler and more devout than his brother, built a hospice for *Gīsū Darāz*, and was unremitting in his devotion to him. The misfortunes of *Fīrūz* in the latter part of his reign were attributed by many to his neglect of the saint, and *Aḥmad* certainly enjoyed the active sympathy of *Gīsū Darāz* in his intrigues to supplant his brother.

When *Fīrūz*, towards the end of his reign, fell sick, he was persuaded by his ministers, *Hūshyār 'Ain-al-Mulk* and *Bīdār Nizām-al-Mulk*, that his brother, *Aḥmad*, aspired to the throne, and that, unless steps were taken to curb his ambition, *Hasan Khān*, the king's son, stood but little chance of succeeding his father. *Fīrūz* thereupon resolved to blind his brother, but *Aḥmad*, becoming aware of his intention, fled with his son, *'Alā-al-dīn Aḥmad*, and took refuge in the

¹ Vol. iv, p. 84, n. 6.

² ii, 18.

³ ii, 212.

hospice of Gīsū Darāz. The saint, on being requested to read the *Fātiḥah* (the first chapter of the *Qur'ān*) for the fugitives, removed his turban, bound one half of it round the head of the father and the other round the head of the son, and assured them that they should both, in due course, ascend the throne. The hospice was not likely to remain a safe refuge for long, and Aḥmad, having made his preparations, fled the next morning with a body-guard of 400 horse, accompanied by his devoted partisan, the merchant *Khalaf Ḥasan* of Baṣrah, probably a *Shī'ah*.

While he was still hesitating whether to withstand the army sent against him by his brother, he is said to have been decided by a dream which he dreamed as he was reposing under a tree during his retreat. A man dressed in the habit of a *darvish* appeared to him and placed on his head a green crown¹ of twelve points, saying, as he did so, "This is the crown of sovereignty which one of the *shaiḫs* who sits in seclusion has sent for you." The crown of twelve points was symbolical of the twelve *Imāms* of the *Shī'ahs*.

Aḥmad's troops defeated the royal army, chiefly by means of a stratagem resembling that of the Gillies' Hill at Bannockburn, and the citadel of Gulbarga was eventually surrendered to Aḥmad, who was recognized as king by Fīrūz. Fīrūz died very shortly afterwards, on 2nd October, 1422, and was said to have been suffocated by his brother's orders.

Aḥmad *Shāh*, on his accession to the throne, distinguished Sayyid Muhammad Gīsū Darāz with an even greater measure of his favour, with the result that the cult of the saint became the fashion among all classes. The predecessors of Aḥmad on the throne of the Dakan had been disciples of the family of Muhammad Sirāj-al-dīn Junaidī, but Aḥmad forsook the representative of this family and became the professed disciple of Gīsū Darāz, on whom he bestowed large endowments which were long enjoyed by his descendants.

¹ The hat of a *darvish*, to which this name is given.

Early in his reign Aḥmad himself earned the title of *Valī*, or "saint", by the prompt answer to his prayer for rain, which terminated a famine which had already afflicted his kingdom for a year.

He had certainly not adopted the *Shī'ah* religion in 1429, for in or very shortly after that year he approached Naṣīr *Khān*, the ruler of *Khāndesh*, with a proposal for a marriage between his son and heir apparent, 'Alā-al-dīn Aḥmad, and Naṣīr *Khān*'s daughter. The marriage was one of policy, for the design originated in Aḥmad's desire to act as arbiter between the small state of *Khāndesh* and the kingdoms of Gujarāt and Mālwa, but a newly converted, and therefore zealous, *Shī'ah* would not have sought a bride for his son in a family which vaunted its descent from 'Umar the Discriminator, who is especially anathematized by *Shī'ahs*.

At some subsequent period in his reign Aḥmad heard the fame of the *Shī'ah* saint, Shāh Ni'mat-Allāh of Māhān,¹ near Kirmān in southern Persia, and sent a mission composed of *Shaikh* Ḥabīb-Allāh Junaidī, Mīr Shams-al-dīn of Qum, and others to Kirmān to act as his proxies in demanding admission to the circle of the saint's disciples. Ni'mat-Allāh sent in return Shāh Mullā Quṭb-al-dīn of Kirmān with a box which, he said, contained something which he had long held in trust for Aḥmad Shāh. On Quṭb-al-dīn's arrival at court Aḥmad recognized him as the *darvish* whom he had seen in his dream under the tree, and when Quṭb-al-dīn informed him that he had been commanded to convey to him a crown which Shāh Ni'mat-Allāh had held in trust for him since a certain date, but had hitherto had no opportunity of delivering, Aḥmad, in a state of great excitement, said: "If this is a crown of twelve points my dream has come true." Quṭb-al-dīn calmed him and replied: "It is, indeed, a green crown of twelve points, and I am that person who, by command of the saint, appeared to you in your dream."

The king then embraced the *mullā*, seated him beside him.

¹ Now always pronounced Māhūn.

and opened the box, which was found to contain the "crown" described. Firishṭa quotes the following verse:—

شاه در هند و شیخ در ماهان* تاج بخشی چنین کنند شاهان

"The king in India, and the Shāikh in Māhān—

Verily thus can (true) kings bestow crowns."

Ni'mat-Allāh, in the letter which he wrote with his own hand to the king, styled him "the greatest of kings Shihāb-al-dīn Aḥmad Shāh, Valī (the Saint)", and Aḥmad, whose modesty had hitherto restrained him from assuming the title bestowed upon him by public acclamation, no longer hesitated to use it in the *khutbah* and in all official documents.

Aḥmad now sent to Shāh Ni'mat-Allāh another mission, consisting of Khayāja 'Imād-al-dīn of Samnān and Saif-Allāh of Gulbarga, with a request that one of the Shāikh's sons might be sent to India to act as a spiritual guide to the king, but the saint had only one son, Shāh Khalīl-Allāh, living, and could not spare him, so sent instead Khalīl-Allāh's son, Mīr Nūr-Allāh, who was received with great honour and was entitled by the king *Malik-al-Mashā-īch*, or "King of *Sharīchs*". On the spot where the king received him a village, named Ni'matābād, and a mosque were founded, and Aḥmad bestowed on him one of his daughters in marriage.

On the death of Shāh Ni'mat-Allāh in A.H. 834¹ (A.D. 1430-31), his son Khalīl-Allāh visited India with his other two sons, Shāh Habīb-Allāh Ghāzī and Shāh Muhibb-Allāh, and it is believed in the Dakan that he remained at Bīdar until his death, for a shrine known as that of Khalīl-Allāh *Butshikan* is there pointed out as his tomb, but the myth appears to be a fiction of reverence, and the shrine to be a cenotaph, for Khalīl-Allāh's grave is in his father's beautiful shrine at Māhān, where the traveller is ever welcome. Habīb-Allāh and Muhibb-Allāh seem to have settled permanently in India,

¹ The author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* (King's translation, p. 57) places the saint's death in A.H. 843 (A.D. 1439-40), but this is evidently a mistake, for Aḥmad Shāh was himself then no longer living.

and both received royal brides, the former a daughter of Aḥmad himself and the latter a daughter of his son, 'Alā-al-dīn Aḥmad. Ḥabīb-Allāh received a grant of the town of Bīr and adopted the profession of arms, receiving from Aḥmad Shāh the title of Ghāzī on account of his numerous campaigns against the infidels. Muḥibb-Allāh occupied a hospice outside the town of Bīr.

The author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*¹ tells a story which indicates Aḥmad's religious belief. Sayyid Nāṣir-al-dīn of Karbalā visited his court and received from him, besides other valuable gifts, a large sum of money for the construction of an aqueduct to carry water into Karbalā. As he was returning homewards, he passed through the camp of Shīr Malik, one of the leading nobles of the kingdom and sister's son to Aḥmad. As the Sayyid did not salute Shīr Malik with sufficient ceremony, the latter caused him to be pulled from his horse and the Sayyid returned to court and complained of the indignity which had been put upon him. Aḥmad Shāh at once summoned Shīr Malik and, to the horror of the courtiers, caused him to be trampled to death by an elephant, without even giving him an opportunity of defending himself, remarking as the execution proceeded, "Thus only can insult to the descendants of the prophet be suitably requited; and the protection of Islām is incumbent on all." It may be inferred from Aḥmad's benefaction to Karbalā that he was already a Shī'ah, and though Sunnīs respect Sayyids, it is improbable that a Sunnī monarch would have carried his respect to such lengths as these.

Aḥmad's tomb at Bīdar proves conclusively that he was a Shī'ah. The interior of the dome is decorated with inscriptions arranged in concentric circles, of which the innermost calls down blessings on Muḥammad, his daughter Fāṭimah, and the Twelve Imāms of the Shī'ah—'Alī al-Murtaḍā, Ḥasan, Ḥusain, 'Alī Zain-al-'Ābidīn, Bāqir, Muḥammad Ja'far, Mūsā Kāẓim, 'Alī b-Mūsā al-Riḍā, Muḥammad Taqī, 'Alī al-Naqī, Ḥasan

¹ King's translation, pp. 64, 65.

al-'Askarī, and Muḥammad al-Mahdī. The first three Caliphs are nowhere mentioned in any inscription in the tomb.

The second and third inscriptions, counting outwards, are lists of the names of holy men, the second of twenty-one and the third of twenty-four. Each begins with the name of Muḥammad and ends with that of Shāh Ni'mat-Allāh, and they probably represent one the natural and the other the spiritual line of descent of Ni'mat-Allāh from Muḥammad.

To those acquainted with the history of the relations between the Sunnis and the Shī'ahs during the past three or four centuries it may appear strange that a Shī'ah king should have been able to rule quietly and without opposition over subjects of whom the majority were Sunnis, but the difference between the two sects is mainly academical, and from the time when the right of succession to the Caliphate ceased to be a question of practical politics until the establishment of the Shī'ah religion in Persia by Shāh Ismā'il I Ṣafavī, Sunnis and Shī'ahs, excepting occasional quarrels, seem to have agreed to differ; but the adoption of the Shī'ah faith as the state religion of Persia was a political move expressly calculated to create religious, as well as political, differences between the Persian and the Ottoman empires, and it was with the object of embittering relations between the two that the Ṣafavī Shāhs, after securing the allegiance to their own faith of almost all their subjects, and persecuting the few who remained staunch to the Sunnī tenets, introduced the foolish custom of publicly cursing the first three Caliphs and of burning the second in effigy. These customs exasperated the Sunnis, and the reprisals which followed permanently estranged the two sects, but before the misplaced zeal of the Ṣafavis produced these results Sunnis and Shī'ahs were able to live together in amity. The great Tīmūr was a Shī'ah who ruled over Muslim subjects of whom the great majority were Sunnis, and it is no part of a Shī'ah's duty to force his religion where it is unwelcome, or to run any risk in attempting to propagate it. On the contrary, he is permitted to take refuge in *taqiyyah*,

which consists in denying or even reviling his religion among those to whom it is distasteful.

Mr. Talboys Wheeler, in describing the rebellion of the southern provinces against Muḥammad Tughluq as a Shī'ah revolt, was perhaps misled by the later history of the Muslim kingdoms of the Dakan. The Bahmanī kingdom remained a Sunnī kingdom as long as it lasted, but at the end of the fifteenth century it fell to pieces, and of its dominions were formed the three greater kingdoms of Bījāpūr, Aḥmadnagar, and Golconda, and the two smaller kingdoms of Berar and Bīdar. Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh and Sultān Qulī Quṭb Shāh, the founders of the dynasties of Bījāpūr and Golconda, were Shī'ahs, and although Aḥmad Nizām Shāh, founder of that of Aḥmadnagar, was a Sunnī, his son, Burhān Nizām Shāh I, was converted to the Shī'ah faith, and the dynasty remained thenceforward Shī'ah. The two small Sunnī kingdoms were absorbed by their more powerful neighbours and the Shī'ah religion thus became established throughout the Dakan, but this did not happen until about 300 years after what Mr. Talboys Wheeler described as the Shī'ah revolt. The custom of reviling the first three Caliphs prevailed in Golconda and Bījāpūr after the absorption of Aḥmadnagar in the Mughul Empire, and furnished Aurangzīb with a pretext, of which he stood in little need, for proceeding to extremities against them.

3rd April, 1922.

The Pictures, etc., of the Royal Asiatic Society

By W. FOSTER

IT is perhaps not unfitting that the recent centenary festivities should be supplemented by a brief survey of the various objects of interest which the Society has accumulated during the hundred years of its existence. Apart from the intrinsic value of many of the items, the collection includes portraits of most of the scholars who were prominent during that period in Oriental research—amongst them many of the Society's office-bearers. It also testifies to the liberality of our members in the past; and it seems a mere act of justice that, after commemorating those who have benefited the Society in other ways, we should spare a little attention for those who have presented the artistic treasures that decorate its premises.

Let us begin our survey with the Council Room on the ground floor. Immediately inside the entrance, on the side nearest to the windows, we find a portrait of Lieut.-Col. William Lambton. This was painted at Hyderabad in 1822 for G. Lamb by William Havell, and was presented to the Society in March, 1828 by Sir William Rumbold. Lambton was the founder of the Trigonometrical Survey of India, and the present year is the centenary of his death, after twenty-five years of steady labour at his great task.

Close by this portrait stands an antique coat of chain armour presented by Col. Knox-Niven. It was dug up near Rawalpindi, close to the reputed site where Bucephalus, the horse of Alexander the Great, was buried.

Between the windows is a plaster bust of Brian Hodgson, the well-known scholar and the donor to the Society of many Sanskrit MSS. The original bust, which was made in 1844 by T. E. Thornycroft, is in the possession of the family, and a photograph of it is given in Sir William Hunter's biography of Hodgson.

Next we come to a portrait in oils of the Earl of Munster, presented by the artist, James Atkinson. The Earl, better known perhaps as Col. George Augustus Frederick Fitzclarence, was a son of William IV. He saw a considerable amount of military service, both in the Peninsular War and afterwards in India, where he acted as A.D.C. to the Marquess of Hastings. Sent home by way of Egypt with dispatches, he published in 1819 an account of his journey, which is still read. He took much interest in Oriental subjects; joined the Society on its formation; became a member of the Council in 1825; was a Vice-President for many years, and was elected President in 1841—a year before his death. He also played an active part in the management of the Oriental Translation Fund, and was President of the Society for the Publication of Oriental Texts. This sustained interest in all matters relating to the East was perhaps one of the reasons that caused Lord Munster to be looked upon for a time as a likely successor to Lord William Bentinck, when the latter resigned the post of Governor-General of India.

Passing by the fireplace, which, as it does not belong to our Society, cannot claim our attention, in spite of its interesting wood carvings and its Dutch tiles, we come to a large and striking portrait of Ernest Rénan, by Edwin Long, R.A. There does not appear to be any record of the circumstances in which this painting came into the possession of the Society.

On the other side of the room we find an oil painting, presented in April, 1828, by Sir Alexander Johnston, representing the reception by Governor Falk of the ambassadors sent to Colombo by the King of Kandy in 1766 to sign the treaty of peace by which that monarch ceded to the Dutch East India Company the whole of the sea coast of Ceylon. In front of this picture stand several objects of interest. In the centre is a plaster cast from a black basalt stone presented to the British Museum in 1860 by the Earl of Aberdeen. The inscription, which is in archaic Babylonian, belongs to the reign of Esarhaddon (681–668 B.C.). This cast is flanked on

either side by two models in black marble, each 13 inches high, of Egyptian obelisks at Heliopolis and Zan. These were presented in 1832 by Capt. P. Rainier, C.B., R.N. On the right of the group is placed a frame containing a cast of the seal of Sarvavarman, of the Maukhari Varmans (sixth century A.D.). The seal was found at Asirgarh. It is described in the Society's *Journal*, Vol. iii, p. 377, and in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. iii, p. 220.

Leaving the Council Room, we proceed to examine the works of art in the Hall. In one corner we find an interesting relic in the shape of a framed letter from King William IV, dated 20th July, 1830, consenting to become the Patron of the Society. The next object that presents itself, deservedly occupying a place of honour, is a marble bust of Henry Thomas Colebrooke, the founder of our Society and its first Director (1823-37). This bust, presented as the result of a subscription raised amongst the members in 1837-8, is a replica, probably by Henry Weekes, of the bust by Sir Francis Chantrey in the India Office Library. A photograph of it forms the frontispiece of the centenary volume. Behind may be noticed a small engraved portrait of Sir William Jones, who founded the Bengal Asiatic Society. This engraving, which is reproduced as the frontispiece to Jones's collected works, and again in Lord Teignmouth's biography of him, was presented by Col. Francklin in 1836.

Proceeding round the Hall, we find in a recess by the window a plaster bust of Sir Radha Kant Deb, K.C.S.I., the well-known Sanskrit scholar. This bust is a copy of one by Edward Geflowski, now in the Town Hall, Calcutta, and was presented to our Society in 1872 by the Radha Kant Deb Memorial Committee. Another copy was given at the same time to the India Office, where it was placed in the Library. On the table is a cast of a stone bowl with Hittite characters. The original bowl, now in the British Museum, was found at Abu Habba, the ancient Sippar, in Babylonia. The cast was formerly the property of the Society of Biblical

Archæology. Hard by is a stone figure of Ganga, seated on a crocodile.

As we ascend the stairs we notice a coloured engraving showing Shuja-uddaula, Nawāb of Oudh, and his sons, including his successor, Āsaf-uddaula. This is the work of E. Renault, based upon a painting by Tilly Kettle, and was published in 1796. Next we come to an oil painting by a Persian artist depicting a couple of Persian ladies ; this was a gift from Sir Gore Ouseley in 1828. We then reach the largest of the Society's pictures, representing the Peshwa Mādhu Rao, with his minister, Nāna Farnavis, and two attendants. This painting, which was presented by the wife of General Robinson in 1854, may be confidently identified as the work of James Wales. At some time or other it has been taken off its stretcher and folded in four—a fact which suggests that it was part of the loot of the last Marāṭha War. The centre of the folds was at or near the left eye of the Peshwa, which has had to be retouched in consequence.

Near this picture is a cast of a stone pillar, now in the Brussels Museum, which was dredged up in Ostend Harbour, having probably been brought home as ballast by some ship trading to the East Indies. It is a record of the Chola dynasty of Southern India, and bears an inscription of the reigning king, Rājendra Deva, in his seventh year (about A.D. 1058). The cast was procured through the good offices of Mr. Robert Sewell.

Behind this pillar hangs a frame containing a full-size copy of the inscription on the tomb of Hāfiz at Shirāz. This drawing was presented to the Society by Sir Frederic Goldsmid. A translation of the inscription will be found in Professor Browne's *Year Amongst the Persians* (p. 280). On a window-ledge is a gilded wooden figure of Buddha ; while in front of the companion window are two more images of him, both in alabaster. All three were given in 1837 by Col. J. Hopkinson. Between the two windows hang a couple of water-colours, supposed to have come from the collection of

Col. Colin Mackenzie. One represents the Kuth Minār, near Delhi ; the other a group of Hindu temples.

At the top of the stairs is a cast of a stone slab found at Hamath, with a Hittite inscription ; while standing on this cast is another of a stone lion, covered with Hittite characters. This lion, Dr. Hall tells me, was found at Mar'ash, and is now, he believes, at Constantinople. Both these casts were formerly the property of the Society of Biblical Archæology. Over the lion hangs a water-colour drawing of Tirumala's Mantapam at Madura ; while on the other side of the doorway is another view of the same building. The second drawing is known to be the work of an Indian artist, Alagheri Sare Naig, and we shall probably be safe in ascribing the first to him also. Beneath the second picture, on the left of the door, is a black stone block with a Sanskrit inscription, an account of which has been given by Dr. Barnett in the Society's *Journal* for 1915 (p. 505). This stone came from the collection of General Stewart.

The short passage to the left contains a sculptured stone from Java, presented by Mr. Van der Palni in 1832. It represents a fruit-tree with two figures, male and female, one on either side, the whole surrounded by two snakes. Above this is placed a picture representing the Court of Fath Ali Shāh of Persia, who is shown seated on his throne, surrounded by his sons and courtiers. The six figures in European dress are Sir Gore Ouseley, Sir Harford Jones, and Sir John Malcolm on the right of His Majesty, and General Gardanne, M. Jouannin, and M. Jaubert on his left. Turkish, Arab, and Indian envoys are also included in the picture. This painting appears to be a copy made by Robert Havell (and subsequently engraved by him) from one in the possession of Thomas Alcock, of Kingswood, which had been copied from the original on a wall in the palace at Nagaristān.

On either side of this painting, arranged in two groups of four each, we find a series of Indian paintings representing the eight Dikpatis or Lords of the Cardinal Points (the sun,

moon, and principal planets). At the end of the passage hangs a large photograph of Dr. John Muir, C.I.E., the first Principal of the Benares Sanskrit College, and founder of the chair of Sanskrit at Edinburgh. This has been reproduced in the centenary volume. Underneath is a plaster cast given by Sir Walter Budge in 1922, bearing an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II.

Entering the Lecture Hall, through a door elaborately carved, we find on the right a water-colour drawing presented in 1856 by Sir George Thomas Staunton. It represents the reception by the Chinese Emperor Kienlung in 1793 of the British embassy under Lord Macartney. The ambassador is seen on the right, clad in the robes of a Knight of the Bath ; and by his side is Sir George Leonard Staunton, in the scarlet gown of a Doctor of Laws of Oxford University. The page in attendance on the ambassador is Staunton's son, the donor of the picture. The drawing was the work of William Alexander, who was attached to the embassy as artist, and who afterwards became Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum. It has been reproduced in Staunton's account of the embassy, and again in a recent work entitled *Our First Ambassador to China*.

Between the two front windows is a marble bust of General Sir Henry Worsley, G.C.B., a generous donor to the Society. The bust was the work of William Behnes, and the cost was defrayed by the proceeds of a subscription among the members in 1837-8. Behind the bust is a photograph of Lord Reay, our late President.

Between the windows and the first of the two fireplaces hangs an oil painting presented by Sir George Thomas Staunton in 1834. It is the work of a Chinese artist, and depicts a judicial inquiry held at Canton in 1807, to investigate a charge of murder brought against some seamen of the *Neptune*. The inquiry, which resulted in a verdict of accidental homicide, was held in the hall of the English factory, in the presence of the Select Committee. In a pew on the left are

represented Capt. Rolles, R.N., Sir George Thomas Staunton, and John William Roberts, Thomas Charles Pattle, and William Bramston (the three members of the Select Committee). These facts are taken from an interesting article by Dr. Morse in the Society's *Journal* for October, 1922; to which we may add that a lithograph by Gauci (of which the Society possesses a copy) was based upon this painting.

On the other side of the fireplace we find an oil painting which forms a rather incongruous feature of the collection. It represents a Brahminy bull, and was given to the Society by Mr. R. Clarke in 1832. Its chief interest is as a specimen of the work of George Chinnery.

The next picture we come to is a water-colour drawing by J. Stephanoff, representing the High Court of Justice at Kandy in Ceylon. A trial is taking place before two judges, and many of the figures appear to be likenesses. On the back is a note referring to an engraving made from this painting by W. Bennett, and stating that the picture was intended to commemorate (1) the establishment of the High Court, and (2) the abolition of domestic slavery in Ceylon. The name of the donor is not recorded, but probably we shall not be wrong in surmising that it was Sir Alexander Johnston.

Beyond the second fireplace hangs an oil painting given by Sir Alexander in July, 1828. It portrays the Rev. Dr. Adam Clarke with the two Singalese priests who were taken by Johnston to England in 1818 at their earnest request in order to be instructed in the learning of the West. Dr. Clarke offered to undertake this task, and they studied with him for two years; after which they returned to Ceylon, where one became Translator to Government and the other was employed by the Wesleyan missionaries settled in that island. In presenting the picture, Sir Alexander said that it contained excellent likenesses of the only two Buddhist priests that had been in England up to that time.

Next to this picture is placed an Indian painting of a Rājput prince on horseback at the door of a house, with attendants.

On the other side of the door leading into the Library are two more Indian water-colours, depicting respectively (1) a nobleman and eight ladies in a garden, and (2) the Rās Mandal, with figures of Krishna and the Gopis. On the back of the second of these pictures is an equestrian portrait of a Mughal noble. We next encounter a marble bust by Richard Westmacott of Dr. George Henry Noehden, of the British Museum, who was the Society's first Secretary. Then we come to an Indian drawing of a Hindu lady with a child on her lap; and beyond that to a large portrait in oils of Horace Hayman Wilson, the celebrated Sanskrit scholar, librarian first at the East India House, and then at the India Office, Boden Professor of Sanskrit, Director of this Society from 1837 to 1860, and President from 1855 to 1859. This portrait was painted in 1840 by Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Watson Gordon, and was presented to the Society by its members. An engraving was made from it by William Walker, and a reproduction will be found in the centenary volume.

To the left of this painting hang three Burmese water-colour drawings of King Theebaw of Burma and his wives. These were a gift from Mr. W. Judson Addis in July, 1880. Then comes a copy of the well-known engraving by Charles Turner of Thomas Daniell's picture of the Darbar at Poona in 1790, when the ratified treaty was handed to the Peshwa by Sir Charles Malet. This engraving was presented to the Society in 1830 by Mr. William Huttman. The next object of interest is an Indian painting given by Major Charles Stewart in 1834, depicting the court of the Emperor Jahāngīr at Agra. In addition to the Emperor, thirty-nine members of his court are represented, and in most cases named; among them are the Princes Parwez, Khurram, and Shuja. The picture, which was brought to England in 1776 by Col. Alexander Champion, has been attributed to Abdu-s-Samad, a painter of Jahāngīr's time, but this is now doubted. A description of it will be found in the first volume (p. 325) of the Society's *Journal*. Next to this is another Indian painting, representing Bhīm Singh of Mewār on horseback, with attendants.

Continuing our progress round the room, we next meet a pair of oil paintings in one frame, presented by Sir Charles Forbes in 1836. The persons represented are Jamsetjee Bomanjee and Nowrojee Jamsetjee, two well-known master shipbuilders in the Bombay Dockyard between 1792 and 1844. Round this picture are grouped three small water-colour drawings. The first is a view at Ajanta, from the entrance of one of the cave temples ; the second depicts Bombay Harbour at sunset as seen from Malabar Hill. Both these sketches are by James Griffiths, and they were given by Mr. W. F. Sinclair in 1883. The third water-colour, which is unfinished, was presented by Mr. R. P. Fulcher in 1824 ; its subject is the interior of the temple of Govind Deva at Brindāban.

I have now described briefly the contents of the hall and the two principal rooms, and little remains to be said about the works of art in other parts of the building. The Secretary's room has upon the mantelpiece a painted figure of Ganesha, given by the late Dr. Fleet, while near by is a circular bronze plaque of Sir Richard Burton. Above these hang several engraved portraits and photographs, as well as a pen-and-ink sketch by A. D. Butler (1856) of Col. Rowlandson, the Professor of Hindustani at Addiscombe Military Seminary. Above these again is a large Burmese painting of the King of Ava's palace, presented by Lieut.-Col. Burney in March, 1841. In another part of the room will be found a water-colour drawing of the fort of Hindoli, in the Bundi State. The Librarian's room contains a photograph of a bust of Thomas Manning, the well-known Chinese scholar and friend of Charles Lamb. His collection of Chinese books was presented to the Society by his executors in 1841.

On the back staircase and in the lobbies appertaining thereto will be found a large number of pictures, mostly photographs or engraved portraits. Time will not permit me to mention more than a few of these. The top lobby contains, amongst other pictures, an oil painting presented by Major-General Hardwicke in 1827, depicting "The Sheep-eater, as

he exhibited at Fatehgarh in 1796". An account of the performance was given in the Society's *Transactions*, vol. iii, p. 379. This rather unpleasant production was lithographed, and the Society possesses a specimen print, also presented by General Hardwicke. Descending the stairs we notice another oil painting, given in 1834 by Capt. Melville Grindlay, representing a Bairāgi (Hindu devotee); two Indian drawings of Jagannāth, presented by General Hardwicke in 1829; a water-colour drawing by G. R. Sargent of the Grant Medical College at Bombay; a large plaster medallion of Sir Walter Elliot, given by his widow; a signed photograph of King Chulalongkorn of Siam, sent by himself to the Society; and a photographic reproduction of a drawing by William Daniell of the Queen of Kandy, of which an engraving will be found in the *Oriental Annual* for 1834. Another item not to be missed is a water-colour drawing representing Colonel Colin Mackenzie, Surveyor-General of India, with his peon and his two Indian assistants. This appears to be a copy of the oil painting by Thomas Hickey (1816), now in the India Office.

In the window recess stands a plaster bust of Lord Metcalfe, by E. H. Baily (1843). The original bust was formerly in the Metcalfe Hall at Calcutta, but has recently been transferred to the Victoria Memorial Hall in the same city. Other copies are to be found in the India Office Library and the Oriental Club.

So far I have dealt merely with the items that are exposed to view. In addition the Society has a large collection in portfolios of Indian, Siamese, Singalese, and Burmese drawings which still await expert examination. It also possesses a number of drawings in water-colour, sepia, pencil, and pen and ink by European artists, including Lieut. J. Harris, Joseph Perry, William Daniell, Dr. George Lynch, Capt. J. Low, and Lieut. W. E. Lynch, besides numerous engravings, plans, lithographs, and photographs. Finally there is a portfolio, given by Colonel James Tod, containing, amongst

other drawings, the materials for the illustration of his well-known *Annals of Rajasthan*. These are particularly interesting, including as they do the original drawings (many by Capt. Waugh), and in some cases the drawings made from these by professional artists, with proofs of the resultant steel engravings.

I have now run in a summary fashion through the whole collection, leaving fuller information to be sought, by anyone desirous of it, in the manuscript catalogue prepared by the late Dr. Codrington, and now preserved in the Society's library. That catalogue, which has served as a basis for my paper, was the outcome of a movement started in 1914, when the Council, on the initiative of Sir Percy Sykes, nominated a committee to compile a detailed catalogue for issue in printed form. The committee consisted of Sir Percy Sykes, Mr. Crewdson, and myself; and on the lamented death of Mr. Crewdson his place was taken by Mr. Longworth Dames. Dr. Codrington took a lively interest in the scheme, and with the assistance of Miss Hughes (now Mrs. Frazer) drew up a list of the pictures, etc., adding such details as he could collect from the scanty records of the Society. The committee met several times, and a good deal of labour was bestowed upon the work. Delay was caused by the war, and by the Society's removal to fresh premises; and finally a standstill was imposed by two very different reasons. In the first place the strained condition of the Society's finances rendered it unlikely that funds would be available for printing the catalogue; and secondly it was found that a large proportion of the Oriental pictures could not be properly described without expert assistance of a laborious character. Whether these obstacles will be overcome at some future date remains to be seen. Meanwhile I have offered as a stopgap this cursory sketch.

December, 1923.



MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

KARSA, KARSAPANA

On page 366 of the volume of this *Journal* for 1916 Mr. F. W. Thomas writes : " The word *karša* in the sense of a certain weight, whence the coin *kārṣāpaṇa* = *paṇa*, etc., is regarded by Cunningham (*Coins of Ancient India*, p. 6) as ' probably indigenous, as it is derived from *kṛish*, to mark or furrow '. This view is no longer tenable." He bases this opinion on the occurrence of *karša* in Old Persian and of *karša* in Aramaic, and holds that the word in Sanskrit is an importation from Western Asia.

In Aramaic the word occurs in documents of the Persian period. It does not seem to be of Semitic origin, and it reasonably may be inferred that its use in Aramaic is due to its employment by the ruling race. We thus have to consider *karša* from the point of view of Iran and India.

In Sanskrit the root *kṛṣ* means : (1) " to draw, attract, drag, pull " ; (2) " to draw or make furrows, to plough." The noun *karša*, in addition to the meaning of a particular weight, has the sense of " drawing, dragging, ploughing, a furrow, a scratch ".

In Modern Persian the verb کشیدن means " to drag, bring, bear, carry ; hang (a man on a gibbet) " and also colloquially " to weigh " (Phillott, *Colloquial English-Persian Dictionary*, 1914 ; Wollaston, *English-Persian Dictionary*, 1894).

The primary meaning thus is " to drag ". Now, in Greek, ἔλκειν σταθμόν is " to draw down the balance ", i.e. " to weigh so much ", and the verb is used absolutely in the intransitive sense of " to weigh ". Further, the noun ὀλκή constantly is used for " the weight " *par excellence* sc. the drachma (F. Hultsch, *Metrologicorum Scriptorum Reliquiae*,

p. 207 ff.), an exact parallel to the Old Persian *karša* and Sanskrit *karṣa*. It, therefore, is submitted that there is no necessity to suppose importation from the West.

H. W. CODRINGTON.

[It is not very clear what Mr. Codrington understands to be the facts. The Sanskrit *kṛṣ* and the Iranian *karš* have not the meaning "weigh" (a modern Persian colloquialism is certainly not in place), and therefore there is no possibility of deriving *karṣa* therefrom in that sense. Moreover, *karṣa* never means weight. Being found in Aramaic documents of the sixth century B.C. in Egypt, the word is clearly not derived from India, and there is no evidence of its having come from Persia; my contention, however, was merely that it came to India from Western Asia, which need not exclude Persia. In a passage to which I referred, Professor Williams Jackson notes the word on a weight of Darius.

The Greek *ὀλκή* seems to be cited as an analogy merely, and we should also note that for this word the meaning *drachma* is quite late; Liddell and Scott cite Sextus Empiricus and Galen only. For *σταθμός* the meaning "balance" is secondary to that of "measure".—F. W. T.]

A GRANT OF THE VAKATAKA QUEEN PRABHAVATIGUPTA: THE YEAR NINETEEN OF PRAVARASENA II

During a short visit to Poona Sardar Abasahib Muzumdar, on behalf of the Bhârata-Itihâsa-Saṁsôdhaka Maṇḍala there, handed over to me four copper plates for decipherment and taking estampages, two for the Maṇḍala, one for my reading, and two to illustrate an article in the *Epigraphia Indica* or elsewhere. On examining the plates, measuring $6\frac{3}{4}$ by $3\frac{3}{4}$ in., I found that they contain a most valuable grant of the Gupta period, viz. one of Prabhâvatiguptâ, daughter of Chandragupta II, and the chief queen of Śrî Mahârâja Rudrasena (II) of the Vākâṭakas. The most interesting point is that she calls herself

the mother of Mahârâja Sri Dâmôdarasena Pravarasena. Another important point is that the record is dated in the nineteenth year of the reign of Pravarasena प्रवरसेनस्य राज्यप्रशासत¹ संवत्सरे एकोनविंशतिमे, the actual date being the 12th day of the bright fortnight of Kârttika. In the grant of the same queen edited by Professor Pâṭhak and we. K. N. Dikshit (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. xv, p. 40) the date given is the 12th day of the bright half of Kârttika in the thirteenth year. The editors remark: "This might be either from the accession of Rudrasena II or from that of the young prince in whose name the queen mother was ruling; the former supposition appears to be more probable." On the analogy of this grant of the same queen it is reasonable to infer that the thirteenth year is that of Divâkarasena. But who was this Divâkarasena? Was he the same person as Dâmôdarasena or Pravarasena? Dr. Fleet has edited two grants of Pravarasena II, viz. the Chammak and Siwani copper-plate inscriptions, both of his eighteenth year (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. iii, pp. 235-49). These grants were made at Pravarasena's command or instructions (वचनात्). The present record is of his next year.

To judge from the wording of this grant, as also from the other, one is inclined to believe that Prabhâvatiguptâ was more proud of her paternal relations, the imperial Guptas, than of her connexions with the Vâkâṭaka family.

The grant is issued from the feet of the god of Râmagiri, which appears to Râmtek in the Central Provinces. The Bhaktakâbhôgakshetra is conferred on the Brâhmanas of the Taittiriya Śâkhâ of the Pârâśara gôtra. They are the inhabitants of Aśvatthanagara.

The dûtaka is Vevanda Svâmin, and the writer of the grant Prabhusingha (Prabhusingha).

I have given my preliminary readings of the text in my article read before the Bhârata-Itihâsa-Saṁsôdhaka Maṇḍala

¹ [राज्यं प्र००तः? or राज्यप्रशासन?—F. W. T.]

for me. The grant will be edited in full in the *Epigraphia Indica* or elsewhere. I am indebted to the Secretaries of the Maṇḍala for kind permission to publish this summary of a most valuable record.

Y. R. GUPTA.

SURESVARA AND MANDANA-MISRA

In the April number of the *Journal* of this year I draw attention to some facts showing that the current view which identifies Sureśvara with Maṇḍana-Miśra is in all probability erroneous. There is another piece of evidence pointing to the same conclusion. The extensive metrical commentary, known as *Vārttika*,¹ of Sureśvara on Śaṅkara's *bhāṣya* on the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, has been summarized by Vidyāraṇya in his *Vārttika-sāra*.² On page 573 of this work we find the opinion of the author of the *Brahma-siddhi* cited, as that of "a knower of the true teaching of the Veda" (*veda-rahasya-vit*), in support of a certain interpretation of the well-known *Upaniṣadic* formula *neti neti*. We know that the *Brahma-siddhi* was written by Maṇḍana-Miśra, and the commentator on the *Vārttika-sāra* also mentions him as its author.³ Now, the *Vārttika-sāra*, as its name implies, purports to be an abstract of the views of Sureśvara; and, if Sureśvara were identical with Maṇḍana-Miśra, there would be no point at all in the citation of the opinion in question. The reference here should, therefore, be to an authority other than Sureśvara.⁴

¹ Published by the Ānandāśrama, Poona.

² Published in the *Chowkhām̐ba* Series, Benares. Regarding the authorship see st. 3 at the beginning of the printed commentary on the work (page 1).

³ The same interpretation of *neti neti* is alluded to in the *Śaṅkṣepa-sārīraka*, i, 250, and is ascribed to Maṇḍana in the commentary on the work named *Subodhinī* (see *Ānandāśrama* Edition, vol. i, p. 227).

⁴ The matter in dispute here, viz. the precise significance of negative statements like *neti neti* as compared with positive ones like *Tat tvam asi*, is of importance in the history of *Advaita*. It points to a doctrinal difference between the schools of Śaṅkara and Maṇḍana-Miśra, and may furnish a further argument for holding that Sureśvara was not the same as Maṇḍana-Miśra. But we do not urge it, as we are not aware of any specific reference

By the way, the reference to Maṇḍana-Miśra in the *Vārtika-sāra* throws light on the authorship of the *Śaṅkara-Vijaya*,¹ which identifies him with Sureśvara.² As has long been suspected, it cannot be ascribed to Vidyāranya; for, if what we have stated above is correct, Vidyāranya, who as the author of the *Vārtika-sāra* knew that the two were distinct, could not have identified them in another work of his.

M. HIRIYANNA.

MYSORE.

THE TERMINATION *WAIH* IN THE PERSIAN PROPER NAMES

The termination *waiḥ* was frequent in the Persian proper names of the Islāmic times, and seems to have produced an archaic and naturally foreign sound in the ears of classical writers.

The origin of the final *hā'* is difficult to determine. Is it a euphonic excrescence after the weak letter *yā'* preceded by the heterogeneous vowel *fatha*?—the process of the combination of the heterogeneous vowels with the weak letters is well known to all Semitic scholars, and has given rise in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic to extremely complicated rules known

in the last language as *قواعد الاعلال*—, or is it an addition used for the purpose of accentuating the weak consonantal sound of the *yā'*, resembling what generally happens with the *هـ*, with the feminine demonstrative *هذه*, *هـاء السكت*,

and in exclamations such as *يا اسفاه*?

to this difference in the works of Sureśvara, although his immediate disciple Sarvajñātman, the author of the *Śaṅkṣepa-śārīraka*, alludes to it (see i, 250-6).

¹ Published in the *Ānandāśrama* Series.

² See e.g. Canto x, st. 74 ff.

There is a tendency among some modern scholars to consider this *hā'* like a quiescent *tā'*, to move the penultimate *yā'* with a *fatha*, while giving an homogeneous vowel to the *wāw*; e.g. to the form *Bābuwaih* (the name of the well-known Shī'ah writer, Ibn Bābuwaih al-Kummi) they prefer *Bābūyah* (cf. Brock. i, 187, etc.). I believe, however, that this last orthography is not the right one, for the following reasons:—

1. The name *Bābuwai* was borne by many Persian Christians (cf. the East Syrian Patriarch of A.D. 457–84), and the Syriac letters of the name leave no doubt whatever as to the right pronunciation of the word: ܒܒܘܝܐ. Further, in Christian Arabic documents the word is very often written in the MSS. as *بابوي*, and sometimes as *بابواي*, with an *aliph*. When the Syrians feel, like the Arabs, the difficulty of pronouncing a *wāw* with an heterogeneous vowel, they simply drop this last letter; so this very word has also the form *Bābai*—a name borne by many Persian Christian writers, the best known of whom is Bābai the Great (A.D. 569–628).

2. If we were to adopt the form *Bābūyah*, we would be obliged to extend the process to all the names that have the same termination. We would have, for instance, to write *Sībūyah* for *Sībawaih*, *Miskūyah* for *Miskawaih*, *Khālūyah* for *Khālūwaih*, etc., and this in spite of the fact that in all the Christian Persian documents written in Syriac, and preceding by centuries the beginning of Arabic classical literature, a *yodh* invariably ends such words.

A. MINGANA.

PUBLIC HEALTH IN ANCIENT CHINA

The personnel and duties of five departments, constituting the State Medical Service under the Chou dynasty, are set forth in the *Chou li*. Whether this elaborate organization actually existed in its entirety outside the pages of official regulations is conjectural, and so is the precise date of its inception. Probably it was not solely the invention of the

Chous ; and, even if the scheme were drawn up during the latter centuries of their rule, one guesses that something of the kind was in being before they rose to imperial dignity in 1122 B.C. This surmise is supported by the ancient tradition that Huang Ti some thousand and five hundred years earlier investigated the nation's health, thus establishing the principle that the emperor's responsibilities extended to the physical welfare of his subjects. An instinct for conservatism in administration, as in other directions, has always characterized the Chinese. Indeed, down to the establishment of the Republic twelve years ago the standards formulated in the *Chou li* have been venerated as providing models for guidance in official and social life. Doubtless many of the institutions outlined in the *Chou li* were heritages from former ages, though amplified and organized by the genius of the dynasty. The Huang Ti legend supports the belief that the State Medical Service had an ancient origin. It is contained in a book entitled *Su wên* 素問. The exact date of the book is unknown, but probably its contents represent very old oral tradition committed to writing some centuries B.C. We see the Yellow Emperor taking council of his chief medical advisers about the health of his subjects. Incidentally, it is interesting to find the general decadence of society, as it existed four and a half millenia ago, being deplored ; for disparagement of present-day conditions coupled with glorification of the past is an ever-recurring phenomenon familiar to us as to the Chinese. The opening passage runs thus :—

“ He [i.e. the Yellow Emperor] asked the Celestial Preceptor [i.e. Ch'i Po], saying : ‘ We have heard it said that men in the remote past all lived to be a hundred without enfeeblement of their mental or bodily functions. But nowadays the span of human life is only half that and all man's faculties decay. Are the times changed, or is man himself at fault ? ’

“ Ch'i Po replied : ‘ They who lived in the far-off past were men who knew *Tao*. They modelled themselves on the *Yin* and the *Yang* [the two great principles of the Universe],

and they lived in harmony with the course of Nature. Food and drink they took in moderation. Their mode of life was well regulated, and they never wore themselves out with misdirected activity. Hence they were able in the flesh to consort with spiritual beings, and complete the full term of a natural lifetime, amounting to a hundred years before they departed.

“ ‘Present-day man is different. Spirituous liquors are his drink. His habit is perverted, and he gives himself up to drunkenness and sexual indulgence. His passions exhaust his vitality, and his dissipations destroy his finer nature. Not knowing how to restrain his lust, his spiritual self lacks guidance. Thinking of nothing but pleasure, he sets at naught the [simple joy of] living. His whole mode of life is undisciplined, and that is why he dies at fifty.’ ”

Ch’i Po was chief of the Court physicians. His name coupled with that of the Yellow Emperor are still commonly current in a phrase used for the traditional art of healing, and he occupies in the Far East very much the same position as Asclepius does in the West. It is noteworthy that he is called by a title, Celestial Preceptor 天師, which is generally associated with the so-called Popes of Taoism. Chang Tao-ling, the first of these hereditary pontiffs, included a system of faith healing among his doctrines.

W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY

With the object of securing the future existence of the *Indian Antiquary* and enlarging its scope, a small private company has been formed to take over the Journal from its sole proprietor, Sir Richard Temple, who has agreed to remain as Governing Director of the new company. This Journal is now in its fifty-second year and holds an important place in the annals of Indian historical, epigraphical, and archæological research, numbering among its contributors many distinguished scholars of the East and West. The new

company appeals to all who are interested in India's history to send donations or subscriptions to the Journal. The former may be sent to Sir R. Templé, Bart., c/o Lloyd's Bank, 9 Pall Mall, and subscriptions (Rs. 20 yearly) to the Superintendent, British India Press, Bombay, or to Bernard Quaritch, 11 Grafton Street, W. The Journal is deserving of the support of all scholars.

FONDATION DE GOEJE

1. Le bureau de la fondation n'a pas subi de modifications depuis novembre 1922, et est ainsi composé: C. Snouck Hurgronje (président), M. Th. Houtsma, Tj. de Boer, J. J. Salverda de Grave et C. van Vollenhoven (secrétaire-trésorier).

2. Grâce, d'une part, à la vente satisfaisante des publications de la fondation, d'autre part à l'appui hautement apprécié du "Leidsch Universiteitsfonds" (fonds universitaire de Leyde), le bureau a réussi à s'acquitter de sa dette. Il a même pu accorder une subvention à M. le prof. Wensinck à Leyde, pour la Concordance des recueils de traditions mahométanes qui a été entreprise, sous sa direction, avec la collaboration de plusieurs savants.

3. Il reste des six publications de la fondation un certain nombre d'exemplaires qui sont mis en vente, au profit de la Fondation, chez l'éditeur Brill aux prix marqués: (1) Reproduction photographique du manuscrit de Leyde du *Ḥamâsah de al-Bulṭurî* (1909), fl. 96; (2) *Kitâb al-Fâkhîr de al-Mufaḍḍal*, éd. C. A. Storey (1915), fl. 6; (3) *Streitschrift des Ġazâlî gegen die Bâtiniyya-Sekte*, par I. Goldziher (1916), fl. 4.50; (4) *Book of the Dove de Bar Hebraeus*, éd. A. J. Wensinck (1919), fl. 4.50; (5) *De opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, par C. van Arendonk (1919), fl. 6; (6) *Die Richtungen der Islamischen Koranauslegung* par I. Goldziher (1920), fl. 10.

Novembre, 1923.



NOTICES OF BOOKS

REMINISCENCES. By the Rev. A. H. SAYCE, D.Litt., LL.D.,
D.D. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, 485 pp., 1 plate. London: Macmillan,
1923.

A most admirable book—a book by a scholar as wide-read and an Orientalist as renowned as any country can produce, and withal an acute observer of the men and the things around him. Those who have known Professor Sayce as a raconteur are probably not surprised at the entertainment provided for us in this volume, but for the outside world, who only knew him from his books upon Biblical archæology and kindred subjects, and the learned papers which he has written, these *Reminiscences* must come as a revelation.

Noteworthy are our veteran Assyriologist's earliest recollections, including his spiritualistic experiences at a time when he could not have been a spiritualist, and the cult (if we may so name it) was yet in its infancy. Professor Sayce's long connexion with Assyriological studies makes it difficult to realize that he was first appointed to the chair of Assyriology in 1891. The conditions were that he should have no duties either of residence or of teaching, though it was understood that he should give some lectures each year upon the subject. It is needless to say that he has done more than fulfil these conditions, as the world of Assyriological students well knows.

But this book is not only the record of a great scholar and antiquarian—it is also an account of the peregrinations of a great traveller. After dealing with his childhood, growth, and after-life, Professor Sayce relates his travels on the Continent and ultimately in the East—Egypt, Palestine, Africa, Cyprus, the Soudan, and the Far East. Of all these places he has many good stories to tell and adventures to relate. He was on the Continent when the Franco-German war broke out, and was, at Nantes, taken for a Prussian spy.

Referring, later on, to the Old Testament Revision-Committee, of which he was a member, he describes the various suggestions for translations which were made, and the objection of the American committee to the words "did Milcah bear" on the ground that they sounded like "did milk a bear". His visits to America and Japan also furnish material for much interesting matter.

But the wealth of names contained in this work is embarrassing. We find therein men of every stamp and of almost every class. Of G. Smith, the printer-Assyriologist, he speaks in high praise. There is also a good sketch of Dr. Birch, Smith's old chief and mine, whose reputation on the Continent as an Egyptologist and pioneer translator stood exceedingly high. Among other archaeologists prominent in their originality he refers at length to that genial American, Mr. Cope Whitehouse, who identified the depression known as the Wady Rayyân with Lake Moeris, which, he thought, could be again filled with water and used for irrigating Egypt's sandy wastes. His theory that the great pyramid had been built from the top downwards was at first put forward as a joke. Cope Whitehouse's gay and laughing manner always made it difficult to tell whether he was serious or not.

I should like to write more about this picture of scholastic life during the last 70 years, but space is restricted, and a reviewer can only recommend the reader to read the volume itself. It should attract all Orientalists and every man interested in English—or British—scholarship. For the world at large, moreover, it is the revelation of a charming personality.

DIE ENTSTEHUNG DER MANICHÄISCHEN RELIGION UND DES
ERLÖSUNGSMYSTERIUMS. Von I. SCHEFTELOWITZ. 9×6½,
86 pp. Köln, Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1922.

It is difficult to exaggerate the value of this well-reasoned monograph, in which the author covers and deals with every

aspect of Manichæism. Especially interesting are the author's references to the influence of Babylonian beliefs on the teaching embodied therein. Among these was the worship of the seven planets, some of which bear Babylonian names (noteworthy is Dlibat, Venus, for *Delibat*, which is generally transcribed *Dilbat*). A version of the Babylonian Tiawathmyth was also adopted by the Manichæans, in which the Dragon of the Deep attacks the source of light, and Merodach, acceding to the prayers of the gods, fights with her. The result was as in the Babylonian account with which we are all acquainted—her defeat and division into two parts to form the waters above and beneath the firmament. The book is full of interesting details, and a good contribution to the literature of the subject.

BABYLONIAN PROBLEMS. By LIEUT.-COL. W. H. LANE, with an Introduction by Professor S. LANGDON. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xxvi + 350 pp., 29 plates, 2 maps. London: Murray, 1923.

In this book Col. Lane deals with the site of Opis, ancient Mesopotamia, the march of the 10,000 from the Babylonian Gates to Opis, the invasion of Mesopotamia by the emperor Julian in A.D. 363, and the size and the defences of Babylon. Quotations from inscriptions and records, in a series of 20 appendices, support his arguments. They deal with the history of Sennacherib, the Cyrus Cylinder, the Nabonidus Chronicle, and numerous references to, and descriptions of, Babylonia and the neighbouring lands from Greek, Roman, Arabian, and Biblical sources. It will be easily understood that a work covering such an extent of ground as this must be of considerable value, the more especially as it is the production of one who is well acquainted with the tract from personal inspection and exploration.

The site of Opis is dealt with in the first three chapters, which deal with the authorities for and against the identification proposed; describe the ground and the ruins from a

military point of view; and finally treat of the various ruin-mounds in the district. A number of interesting sites, mostly small, are described, and the author in the end comes to the conclusion that a comparatively small mound called Tel Abir is the site of Opis. He admits, however, that the pick of the explorer can alone settle the question satisfactorily. Of the other noteworthy chapters which this book contains, that describing Babylon and its ruins is probably the most valuable. In this the wall from Opis to Sippar (Abu-habbah), Babylon's reservoir, the Araytu canal, the topography of the city in general, and the military operations undertaken at the time of its capture, are discussed. It is impossible to refer to all the details, but from what has been said it will be seen that this is a book of the first rank for the information which it gives. Professor Langdon's Introduction, dealing mainly with all the names which Opis has borne since its foundation, is most interesting, and shows that scholar's grasp of his subject.

DIE ASSYRIOLOGIE, 1914-1922. Wissenschaftliche Forschungsergebnisse in Bibliographischer Form. Von ERNST F. WEIDNER. 9×6, x+192 pp. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1922.

An exceedingly useful classified list of Assyriological publications for the years referred to. Notes of the contents of papers, etc., are in many cases given. The subjects seem to be very correctly divided, though in the case of papers and books of mixed contents this has not always been an easy matter. It is a publication which allows a searcher to see what has been published on any given section of Assyriology, and, as such, deserves the thanks of all interested in the subject.

ASSYRIAN GRAMMAR, with Chrestomathy and Glossary. By SAMUEL A. B. MERCER, Ph.D., D.D. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, viii+122 pp. London: Luzac, 1921.

Although a small book, this Grammar contains all the information needed by the beginner to enable him to read

most of the simpler inscriptions, and some of the more difficult ones. The signs in the syllabary are well chosen, and the chrestomathy contains a good selection of extracts in the Assyrian character. The author's reputation as a popularizer in the best sense of the word is a guarantee of the excellence of the work.

I.D. 1215. A HANDBOOK OF SYRIA (including Palestine).

Prepared by the Geographical Section of the Naval Intelligence Division, Naval Staff, Admiralty. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, 723 pp., 14 plates. London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1920.

In this work of 723 pp. we have a mass of information concerning the Holy Land and the districts immediately connected with it. As the book is very concise and full of detail, it is difficult, within the compass of a short notice, such as this is, to deal with its contents with any degree of completeness. That it is a very important work may be judged from even a superficial examination of its contents. Especially interesting is the historical notice of the district; but the traveller and the merchant will naturally find the descriptions of the country, its products, manufactures, and climate of greater value. Chapters xi-xxi are devoted to the *Jebel Ansarieh*, the Lebanons, the Damascus-plain, Judea, Samaria, etc. There is an excellent index, and 15 half-tone views. The book is a mine of information for all interested in the Holy Land.

HISTORICAL SITES IN PALESTINE, with a short account of Napoleon's Expedition in Syria. By Lieut.-Com. C. L. TRUMPER, R.N.R., M.R.A.S. $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, 138 pp., 3 maps. Cairo and Jerusalem, 1921.

This is a useful little book giving descriptions of 430 towns and sites in Palestine by one who is well informed upon the subject. The index, however, contains no less than 1,100 names. There are three maps. The long description of Jerusalem is good. The paper wrapper of the cover has a

picture of the Garden-Tomb, which ought to be cut away and placed within the book. This is an interesting little handbook—much material in a small space.

DER ALTE ORIENT, 23 Jahrgang, 2 Heft. Hethitische Gesetze aus dem Staatsarchiv von Boghazköi (um 1300 v. Chr.). Unter Mitwirkung von Dr. JOHANNES FRIEDRICH übersetzt von Dr. HEINRICH ZIMMERN. 9×6, 32 pp. Leipzig: Heinrichs, 1922.

A very interesting contribution by two well-known German Assyriologists to a very interesting series of booklets. These laws are similar to those of Assyria and Babylonia already known. They deal with murder, manslaughter, assault, and slaves; theft, breach of trust, cattle-mutilation, burglary, arson, etc. In both documents translated the laws largely refer to agricultural matters, such as one might expect to find in the district of Boghaz Keui. The date of these and other similar fragments seems to have been the thirteenth century before Christ. There is an introduction of two pages, in which it is pointed out that a reform in Hittite law took place somewhat earlier than this date. The book is a useful contribution to our knowledge.

T. G. PINCHES.

THE DĪNKARD. By DARAB DASTUR PESHOTAN SANJANA. Vol. XVII, Book IX; Contents of the Gathic Nasks, Part I. Bombay: British India Press, 1922.

It is half a century since this, the first edition of the Pahlavi text of the Dīnkard, the most extensive work of the Middle Persian literature, began to be published. The first volume, dated 1874, was edited by the then Parsi High Priest, Peshotan Dastur Behramji Sanjana, who continued the publication until the time of his death after the issue of the ninth volume in 1900. With Volume X the publication was continued by his son, the present learned High Priest, in 1907. This seventeenth volume, dated 1922, carries on the work of

editing and translating as far as the middle of the ninth book of the original. We are thus within measurable distance of the completion of this most extensive and important work which consisted altogether of nine books. When E. W. West published his review of Pahlavi literature in the *Grundriss* (1896) he reckoned that the portions then extant contained about 169,000 words, only books iii to ix being known, and the earliest chapters of the third book lacking some pages at the beginning. The Dīnkard, as is well known, is a miscellaneous collection of all kinds of information concerning the doctrines, customs, traditions, history and literature of the Mazdean religion under the Sasanian dynasty, which was the golden age of that faith. According to its own statement it was commenced somewhere about A.D. 813 and 833, and was completed by the well-known Atūrpāt about 880. That it was composed at the time when Irān was ruled by the Sasanian dynasty appears clearly from the manner in which the royal authority is spoken of in several passages, where the sovereign is considered as the adherent and protector of the Zoroastrian religion and even as holding the supreme authority both civil and religious, which could only have been at a time when the Mazdean religion was the national cult. The nation is still divided into the traditional four subdivisions, as in the Avesta, here styled *māno*, *vīs*, *zand*, *matā* (household, village, tribe, country). It is also significant that there is no mention of Islam, and that the three false religions expressly condemned are Judaism, Christianity, and Manichæism. Attacks are directed against the Christian doctrines, but nowhere is there question of Mohammedan teachings. The nation is still called the people of Irān, and the duty of their kings is to attack the "Romans", i.e. the Byzantine Greek Empire.

The seventeenth volume of the series now issued shows the very great advance made by Parsi scholarship during the half century that has elapsed since the appearance of the first. The edition of the text is, as before, followed by a double version, one in English and one in Gujarati. In the earlier

volumes the editor was responsible for the Gujarati version, which was afterwards rendered by another Parsi scholar into English. Native scholars had not yet assimilated the scientific methods and results of Western scholarship, particularly of our great English Pahlavi scholar, Dr. E. W. West. They had to depend upon the frequently inaccurate and misleading traditional interpretations of a sacred language, which had been to a considerable extent forgotten. In 1884, whilst utilising the earlier volumes of the *Dīnkard* for comparative purposes, I felt myself obliged to work over several of the most important passages which experience had shown to be so incorrectly rendered that they could not be utilised as they stood. West led the way by his critical translation of several portions of the *Dīnkard* in the *Sacred Books of the East*, vols. xxxvii and xlvii, containing versions of books v, vii, viii, and ix. It is sufficient to compare the last few volumes of the present series to see what great advance has been made in Parsi scholarship. The last three volumes of the series, viz. xv, xvi, and xvii, are of especial interest inasmuch as they give us the eighth and ninth books, already translated by West, which profess, and apparently correctly so, to give a summary of all the twenty-one nasks or books which made up the original Avesta, of which it is known that only one (*Vendidad*) survives complete. These conscientious summaries of the lost nasks are therefore of quite exceptional importance. Scholars will be thankful for this valuable publication and will congratulate the learned Dastur upon having brought his laborious task so near to completion, and will hope that another volume may probably conclude the whole, which will be a worthy monument to the modern Zoroastrian scholarship.

I note that the editor rather happily renders the title *Dīnkard* as "the encyclopædia of the Religion", a phrase suggested by a recent well-known publication in this country. The book is indeed encyclopædic, though without that orderly arrangement which we are accustomed to. It is rather an agglomeration of very miscellaneous treatises, and, in fact,

as I pointed out years ago, one chapter, the longest of all, is really nothing else than a complete medical treatise forming an *enclave* in book iii.

The Trustees of the Jamshedji Jijibhoy Translation Fund, under whose patronage this, as the preceding volumes, is published, are deserving of thanks for their munificence in this and so many other publications.

L. C. CASARTELLI.

THE ORIGIN OF BIBLICAL TRADITIONS. By ALBERT T. CLAY.
10 × 7½, 224 pp. Yale and Oxford University Presses, 1923.

Professor Clay has just published a very interesting book embodying the lectures he has been giving at the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Philadelphia. They are by way of answer to the criticisms passed upon his recent attempt to discover traces of a Western Semitic origin in the Creation and Deluge legends of Babylonia, and at the same time a defence of his theories regarding an "Amorite" empire and an "Amorite" civilization which antedated that of Babylonia.

Out of his stores of Assyriological knowledge the Professor has brought forth much that is new and much also that is true. Whether we agree or not with its conclusions and conjectures, the work is full of suggestiveness, and the author is rightly insistent on the fact that some of his earlier theories, such as the "Amorite" origin of the Isin dynasty, have been verified by subsequent discovery. But I think that minor details, some of them of very doubtful character, have confused his general outlook. He has, indeed, dropped the hypothesis of an "Amorite empire", but the conception which lay behind it remains, though not clearly expressed. This is that the culture which we associate with Babylonia had its source, not in Babylonia, but among the Western Semites.

Such a view, however, is contrary to archæological fact. The basis of that culture was literary, bound up with the use

of the clay tablet and the cuneiform script. And both the clay tablet and the cuneiform script were essentially Babylonian. Wherever they penetrated the language of Babylonia, more or less influenced by its surroundings, went with them, as well as necessarily the literature to which the script had given birth. Even in Palestine we have as yet found no tablets inscribed in the native language, though such must have existed as they did in Mitanni and Asia Minor. Even in that essentially West Semitic district of "the land of the Amorites", the kingdom of Khana, the language of all the tablets hitherto discovered is Babylonian. Many years ago I endeavoured to show that a considerable part of the earlier portions of the Old Testament has been translated from cuneiform texts written in the Babylonian language, and the proofs of it which I found in the existing Hebrew text are of exactly the same nature as those which Professor Clay urges on behalf of the "Amorite" origin of the Deluge story.

But because the early culture of Western Asia was Babylonian, it does not follow that there were no West Semitic elements in it. There was give and take, and the very fact that Babylonia was conquered and ruled by two "Amorite" dynasties—possibly three, though the names of the kings of the dynasty of Mari do not seem to be Semitic—means that West Semitic names, words, deities, and other cultural elements entered into the language and literature of the country. In the north, indeed, the West Semitic dialects came to be used in place of the literary Babylonian as is evidenced by the Cappadocian tablets of Kara Eyuk and the private letters of the Assyrians. But were the Amorites Semites at all? The "country of the Amorites" doubtless came to signify all the country westward and to a certain extent northward of Babylonia, and so included the population which we call Western Semitic. But as late as the age of Sargon of Akkad "the land of the Amorites" is still defined as extending only from Beth-Sin or Harran to Talbis (*Talbesh*) and Sumer, that is to say, as equivalent to the land of Mitanni,

and the only early king of it whose name we know and who was conquered by Naram-Sin bears the Mitannian name of Akwaruwas. The excavations at Assur have shown that the primitive Sumerian stratum in Assyria was followed by a Mitannian one, and the Semitic era did not begin till after the conquest or expulsion of the Mitannians. So, too, the cities of northern Syria bear Mitannian names, like Khal-pa (Aleppo), Tuni-pa, Tisini-pa, and the like, and as late as the time of the Hittite king Khantilis (1850 B.C.) the *Khar-lus* or Mitannians were still in possession of Aleppo. The patronal deity of Aleppo did not become Hadad until the Assyrian period; in earlier days he bore the non-Semitic name of Mer, while his consort never lost her Mitannian name of Sala even in Assyria.

Professor Clay has made out a good case, I believe, for the "Amorite" origin of the Creation story, which in its present form is a glorification of Merodach. In my Hibbert Lectures I doubted whether it was really older than the reign of Assurbani-pal, and though the discoveries at Assur have proved that to be a mistake, I am still sceptical as to the antiquity of the introduction and references to Ansar, and believe that even in its earliest form the poem is not anterior to Khammurabi. The names of the gods Gaga, Nikkal, Khani, not to speak of Lakhma and Lakhama, certainly belong to the "Amorite" region, and Professor Clay's reference to the story of the contest between Kronos (El) and Ophioneus recorded by Pherecydes is much to the point. Khani, however, was not Semitic but Mitannian, as the more correct nominative form of the word, Khanis, shows; the word signified "king" according to *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, 51, R. 11. Professor Clay, again, is certainly right in holding that the various forms under which the word corresponding to the Hebrew *tehom* is found indicate that it was of foreign origin, but I cannot follow him in another argument to the effect that because a word is met with once or twice only in Babylonian literature it was not only borrowed by the

Babylonians from elsewhere, but the fact also indicates the foreign origin of the document in which it occurs. It is only necessary to apply the argument to English poetry or the works of Dr. Johnson to discover its fallaciousness.¹

Hence his attempt in this way to prove the "Amorite" origin of the Deluge story must be pronounced a failure. One of his philological arguments, for instance, turns on the question whether the word for "fig" is written *teina* or *teita*, a purely immaterial matter since the one form denotes the male and the other the female fig. The fig, it is true, was not indigenous in Babylonia, but it was already known there in the time of Sargon of Akkad (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, December, 1915, p. 239).

But the Professor's main argument against the Babylonian origin of the story is strangely inverted. Because heavy rains were exceptional in Babylonia and common in Palestine, therefore, he argues, the story must have originated in the latter part of the world. It is obvious that just the converse must have been the case, and that it was only in a land where a deluge of rain is exceptional that such a story would have arisen. He goes on to remark that in Egypt where the Nile inundates the valley every year there was "curiously enough" no tradition of a deluge; it would have been curious, however, if there had been, for the inundation was an annual and regular phenomenon. On the other hand, the Hebrew version of the tradition lays stress on "the fountains of the great deep" being "broken up", which is ignored in the Babylonian account; this is natural if the tradition came from Babylonia, where there was a "great deep", while in Palestine there was nothing of the sort. There is not even a tide in the Mediterranean.²

¹ That *khubur* in the Creation story is West Semitic must be admitted, but it proves the West Semitic origin of the story no more than the use of the cognate *khabiri* "confederates" in K 890 (first published by Brünnow) proves the West Semitic origin of the Assyrian hymn in which it occurs.

² I can, however, furnish grist for the Professor's mill. According to an early geographical list (KTAVI. 183. 12, 25) Surippak, the city of Zûsuddu, the Chaldean Noah, was in the land of the Shuhites (*Sukhi*) on

I am at one with Professor Clay in believing in the antiquity of the Old Testament records and in his "Euhemeristic" view of early Babylonian history, and consequently fully admit the important part played by the Semitic element in the evolution of Western Asiatic culture. Some of the kings in the first post-diluvian dynasty of Babylonia already bear Semitic names. But that culture had its earliest home on the alluvial soil of Babylonia, where the clay tablet was invented and the pictographs of the script became the cursive writing which we call cuneiform. Excavation has shown that its primitive neolithic population, related probably to that of Susa, was conquered by the Sumerians who, if they brought the vine with them, must have come from the Armenian highlands, and with whom, at any rate, the civilized life of the country began. Then came the Semitic infiltration from the west, and possibly also from the north-west, and brought with it the far-reaching modifications of the old culture which influenced not only Babylonia, but Assyria, Elam, Mesopotamia, and Palestine as well. In Palestine, as we now know, the earlier neolithic inhabitants were superseded by Semites, who brought with them the use of metals and the practice of cremation. There is no reason any longer to doubt the truth of the tradition reported by Justin (xviii, 3, 2) that they came from "the Assyrian Lake".

But it must be remembered that "Semites" and "Semitic languages" are not convertible terms. The speakers of the "Parent-Semitic" itself will not all have belonged to the same race. The "Amorites" of the Egyptian monuments had no racial connexion with Hebrews or Syrians. They were a blond people with blue eyes related probably, as I pointed out nearly forty years ago, to the Kelto-Libyans. Were they identical with the "Amorites" of Naram-Sin?

the Euphrates and not far from Hit. The treatise *De Dea Syria* tells us that at Membij the chasm was shown into which the waters of the Flood were drained, and the local hero of the Deluge bore the name of Siszythes, i.e. Ziûsuddu.

Professor Clay will have to revise his Egyptian dates, which are impossible. Archæology has shown that the Egyptian Middle Empire was coeval with the Babylonian dynasty of Akkad (see *Ancient Egypt*, 1921, p. 103), and at Jebel a statuette of the early Sumerian period (3500 B.C.) has been found among the relics of the fifth and sixth dynasties of Egypt.

A. H. SAYCE.

SOME CAIRO MOSQUES AND THEIR FOUNDERS. By
MRS. R. L. DEVONSHIRE. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, xi + 132 pp., 30
full-page photographic illustrations. London: Constable
& Co., 1921.

The ten mosques described in this book form a series extending from the twelfth to the seventeenth century, and thus representative of the Fatimid, Aiyubid, Mamluk, and Turkish periods. They are not among the most celebrated mosques of Cairo, but, as the excellent illustrations show, they have beauties rivalling, if not indeed at times surpassing, those of the mosques which are of higher renown and more on the beaten track of sightseers. The descriptions of the buildings indicate features of note and omit superfluous detail: the ordinary visitor will find in them just the information he will want. The founders of the mosques in most cases had adventurous careers. Their stories are told in a way that supplies the historical setting without which much of the attraction of the monuments cannot be realized. The book is written in a clear and pleasant style and is nicely printed and turned out. It will be acceptable to anyone who appreciates Muhammadan art, whether he is able to use it as a guide in the mosques themselves or not. The author acknowledges indebtedness to Capt. Creswell for most of the photographs.

A. R. GUEST.

RELATION D'UN VOYAGE DU SULTAN QAITBAI EN PALESTINE ET EN SYRIE, TRADUIT DE L'ARABE. Par Mrs. R. L. DEVONSHIRE. Extrait du Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, t. xx. Cairo, 1921.

This article is a translation of a text published in 1878 by R. V. Lanzone, containing the narrative of a progress of the Mamluk Sultan Qaitbai (A.D. 1468-95) through Palestine and Egypt. The author was one Abu'l-Baqa Ibn Jī'ān, about whom Mrs. Devonshire collects some information, chiefly from the Chronicle of Ibn Iyās, where his death-date is given as A.H. 902. The Biography of Qaitbai which is preserved in a Bodleian MS. terminates A.H. 877, five years before this Progress, which is of the year 882. The translator has illustrated the Sultan's route with a map, and furnished explanations of most of the matters in the text which require elucidation. Though the itinerary is little more than a series of rough notes dealing with the doings of the Sultan at the various places which he visited, it is of considerable interest as illustrating the customs of the Mamluk court and its methods of administration. The author is decidedly more instructive than the Bodleian Biographer, who is a rhetorical panegyrist, and probably quite untrustworthy.

The translator has appended a version of the summary account of the same Progress given by Ibn Iyās.

There is some room for correction both of text and translation in the case of the verses cited, but in the main both translation and comments appear to be felicitous.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

HISTOIRE DE L'ASIE. By RENÉ GROUSSET. 2 vols., large 8vo, 308 + 400 pp. Paris : Les Editions G. Cres & Cie., 1922.

These two volumes describe the history of all Asia, except the north region. The history is not a detailed account of cities, kings, wars, and the other doings and happenings which occupy the life of a kingdom, but rather a broad-viewed

survey of the conditions and people of the various countries, of the large and salient events that constituted landmarks in their existence, of the genesis and development of those events, and of their significance and influence in the general history of mankind in those countries and in the regions connected with them. All this is treated of with reference to the governments, policies, civilizations, arts, literatures, religions, and commerce, so far as present knowledge permits, as displayed in the problems that faced the various nations, the conflicts between their different ideals of policy and culture, and their reciprocal influences resulting in success or failure.

The first volume deals with all the ancient kingdoms of Western Asia, Assyria, Babylonia, the Hittites, Phœnicians, Iranians, etc.; with Alexander and the various Greek monarchies that followed, the Asiatic reactions against Hellenism, and the Persian dynasties; and so to Islam and the Mohammedan conquests and all that followed in their train, including the Crusades, till the taking of Constantinople.

The second volume treats of India, China, and Indo-China. In India are described the religious conditions of the earliest times, the Greek invasion, and all the results of Greek and Buddhist influences, the irruptions of the Central Asian hordes, and the triumph of Brahmanism, till the establishment of Mohammedanism in North India, with a general survey of South India till the sixteenth century. In China are set out its ancient conditions, philosophies, and political position, the vicissitudes that followed, caused by the irruptions of barbarian tribes and the struggles with them, the Chinese dynasties and their influence in Central Asia, down to the twelfth century. Finally it is shown how the civilization of Indo-China was affected in its west and south by India, and in its north-east by China, till about the seventeenth century.

Each division of the history is supported by a bibliography of the main works about it, and the exposition is elucidated by sketch-maps (rather rough) of the Asiatic countries concerned at different epochs. The work evinces wide reading,

and presents in a clear and attractive way a broad and philosophical view of the part played by Asia in the history of the world in all its important features and large secular tendencies.

F. E. P.

THE GLASS PALACE CHRONICLE OF THE KINGS OF BURMA.

Translated by PE MAUNG TIN and G. H. LUCE. Issued by the Text Publication Fund of the Burma Research Society. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xxiv + 179, 1 map. London: Humphrey Milford (Oxford University Press), 1923.

This volume comprises the 3rd, 4th, and 5th parts of the above-mentioned chronicle, and goes down to the fall of Pagan, towards the close of the thirteenth century. The work was compiled by a committee appointed in 1829, and is based on a comparative study of a variety of older sources, including some inscriptions as well as historical works in Burmese. It contains, of course, a considerable percentage of legend; in fact, it is largely a repertory of folk-lore, and its dates will have to be overhauled by reference to contemporary epigraphical evidence, with which in some cases they do not agree. But it is a spirited and interesting work, and throws much light on the mentality of the Burmese as well as on their history. The collaboration of Professors Pè Maung Tin and G. H. Luce is a guarantee of the accuracy of the translation, which has been done into admirable and most readable English and is prefaced by a scholarly introduction reviewing the historical literature of Burma critically and in some detail. It is to be hoped that circumstances will permit the joint authors to continue the work of translating the remainder of this interesting chronicle in due course and as soon as may be.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

Works on Indonesia

MUDRA'S OP BALI: HANDHOUDINGEN DER PRIESTERS.
Teekening door TYRA DE KLEEN. Text van P. DE KAT
ANGELINO. $11 \times 8\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 66, plates 60. 's Gravenhage :
"Adi-poestaka" Uitg. Mij en Alg. Boekh., 1922.

This interesting work constitutes Band XV of *Kulturen der Erde*, issued by the Folkwang-Verlag G.M.B.H. of Hagen i. W. and Darmstadt, and consists of numerous admirably drawn illustrations of ritual postures of the Balinese Hindu and Buddhist priests, preceded by an explanatory text which also deals with Balinese religion as a whole and throws a good deal of fresh light on the subject. It is to be noted that the ritual language used in Bali is archaic Javanese interspersed with corrupt Sanskrit: rubrics are in the former tongue, mantras in the latter. It was no easy task to induce the suspicious priests to reveal their professional mysteries, and much credit is due to the authors who performed the achievement and have recorded the results in this book. The peculiar evolution of the two great Indian religions in Bali is a fascinating subject, calling for much further investigation, but we have here a very valuable instalment of such research.

DJAWA. Driemaandlijk Tijdschrift uitgegeven door het Java-Instituut. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$, 9 Nos. Weltevreden: G. Kolff, 1921-3.

This new periodical deserves a note of welcome. It is most beautifully produced, and though mainly concerned with Java, it contains many articles of more than merely local interest. I observe in particular a plate of a seventh century inscription in Old Malay (or, at any rate, a closely cognate language) found at Palembang (Vol. I, No. 1), which has since been edited in *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. II, Pars 1, a translation of Canto XLIV of the Bharata Yuddha, which is based on the Mahābhārata (Vol. I, No. 2), and several articles on Indonesian music and art.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF MALAYAN PEOPLES. Being Three Essays on Kinship, Marriage, and Inheritance in Indonesia. By G. A. WILKEN. Translated by G. HUNT. With an Introduction by C. O. BLAGDEN. (= Papers on Malay Subjects, Second Series, No. V.) $9\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, pp. x + 172. Kuala Lumpur : published by the Committee for Malay Studies, 1921.

These essays, originally published between 1883 and 1891, are still standard authorities on the above-mentioned subjects, and include detailed accounts of the marriage systems (varying from matriarchy to an extreme form of patriarchy) existing in Sumatra, as well as a general survey, from the same point of view, of Indonesian sociology as a whole. The originals being in Dutch, it was felt to be desirable to provide an English translation for a wider circle of readers.

Having been asked to notice this work in the *Journal*, I have complied with that request; but as I supervised the translation myself, I am in no position to criticize it, and can only commend the book on the ground of the importance of its contents.

THE WRITING OF MALAY. By C. H. POWNALL. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. ii + 10. Cambridge : W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., 1923.

The author of this pamphlet, being distressed by the diversities of the systems now in use for the transcription of Malay, advocates their supersession by Dr. Wilfrid Perrett's "Peetickay" system, wherein the vowels are ingeniously indicated by lines written at various angles, and some new consonantal signs are introduced. Unfortunately, this system, even if it entirely supplanted the existing English and Dutch methods of Romanization, would not produce the uniformity of spelling which appears to be Mr. Pownall's chief desire. (It is curious, by the way, that he entirely ignores the English system of Romanization approved by Government and only gives prominence to the decidedly defective missionary spelling.) The fact is that there are more local differences in

the pronunciation of Malay than the author of this pamphlet seems to be aware of, and a transcript of his chosen passage (Mark iv, 1-9) into the standard Southern Malay of the Peninsula would be by no means identical with his own rendering, which is based on the Malay current in Java. I must point out that the same passage as given by him in the Arabic character swarms with misprints, a fact that is regrettable, though irrelevant to the issue he has raised.

I fear that a uniform spelling of Malay in Roman letters for universal use is a practically unattainable ideal. Fortunately, half an hour's study suffices to make the Dutch transcription perfectly intelligible to an intelligent Englishman, and vice versa. A more deep-seated trouble is the fact that the language itself is splitting up into two languages, for in the Dutch possessions it is being swamped with Dutch and Javanese loanwords, which are not understood in the territories under British administration and protection, where their place is, to some extent, taken by English words. For this unhappy state of things there is no remedy in sight.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

A BURMESE ARCADY. By Major C. M. ENRIQUEZ. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, 282 pp., 22 plates, and 1 map. London: Seeley, Service & Co., Ltd., 1923. 21s. net.

The purpose of the author in this book is not so much to make a historic or ethnological study of a people with rustic ideals as to impart to the public "the information gathered during three years' incessant recruiting and travel in all parts of Burma", and especially in the land of the Kachins, who rendered such distinguished service in Mesopotamia and on the Malabar Coast in the Great War. The tone of the book is thus military; and not every reader will agree with the author in the opinion that "the army is now by far the most important civilizing agency" for the uplift of these hill-people. But the interest of the subject becomes greater as the book proceeds, and its charm is irresistible when the

author describes with genuine sympathy and insight the "engaging characteristics and customs" of the people, the habits of the birds and animals, and the beauty of the forests and flowers, which make the country—at least, to the author—a veritable Burmese Arcady. In the story of the Kachins, the author gives the current views on the tribal migrations into Burma, but his views on the Kachin marriage laws suffer by the remark that "no European . . . has ever understood them, and certainly no Kachin does". The Kachins are spirit-worshippers, with an established priesthood, sacrifices, prayers, and feasts. And yet the author says "The Kachins can hardly be said to have a religion!" He has an admirable knowledge of the Kachin language, though he has made a few slight mistakes, as when he translates—the opposite is the right meaning—"when the voice of the cuckoo cracks, it is too late to sow paddy" (p. 122). He is certainly fortunate to have "never yet known a Kachin to tell a lie". On the whole he has produced a very entertaining book.

PE MAUNG TIN.

A VOLUME OF ORIENTAL STUDIES PRESENTED TO EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B., F.B.A., F.R.C.P., ON HIS 60TH BIRTHDAY (7th February, 1922). Edited by T. W. ARNOLD and REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, viii + 499 pp. Cambridge University Press, 1922.

Any review of such a work as this must in the nature of things be confined to little more than a summary of its contents; it ill befits an ordinary humble Orientalist to criticize the masters of his craft who are invited to contribute. Suffice it then to say that prolonged researches have only succeeded in discovering one quite trivial misprint, on p. 406, l. 19, کمالس should read کماس.

The book contains contributions in English (26), German (10), French (4), Italian (2), and Spanish (1), from

forty-three scholars resident in England, Scotland, America, India, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, and Spain.

The field covered is very wide. As is only appropriate in a book dedicated to a Professor of Arabic, the most popular subject is Arabic language and literature. The most noticeable items in this section are a metrical translation by the late Sir Charles Lyall of al-A'shā's Mu'allaqah, a short account of Dhu'r-Rummaḥ by Professor Macartney, and a striking article by Professor Krenkow on the use of Writing for the preservation of Ancient Arabic poetry, which disposes of several popular fallacies on this subject. Mr. Muḥammad Shafī' contributes a note on the well-known Spanish Moslem *Adīb* Ibn 'Abdī Rabbīhī and his description of the Haraṁein, Professor D. B. Macdonald contributes a fresh instalment of his studies of the MSS. of the Arabian Nights, and Professor Massignon a sketch of a Karmathian (Isma'īlī) Bibliography. Professors Storey and Bevan each contribute some notes on Arabic Lexicography. Professor Torrey gives new explanations of three difficult Koranic passages, xviii, 8-25; xxiv, 60; and ci, 6-8. Dr. van Arendonk contributes on Sorcery in Southern Arabia. Sir T. W. Arnold, as is only suitable in a volume dedicated to our greatest authority on Arab medicine, reproduces and annotates a miniature giving the earliest representation of the Cæsarian Section in Arabic medical literature. Señor Asín Palacios quotes a number of passages in Arabic religious literature which appear to show quotations or reminiscences of the Christian Gospels. Dr. A. Fischer contributes a note on the famous Mas'ala Zunbūriya, one of the great problems of Arabic grammar, whether it is more correct

to say *فإذا هو إياها* or *فإذا هو هي*. The late Professor I. Goldziher gives various instances in Arabic literature of the possession by the same individual of two different names, one for heavenly and one for earthly use. Dr. H. Hirschfeld contributes a note on a volume of essays by al-Jāḥiẓ.

Professor D. S. Margoliouth's contribution is almost topical: a discussion of the meaning of the title Khalifa. Herr E. Mittwoch contributes a note on an Arabic MS. of Koranic exegesis in Berlin. Mr. A. S. Tritton gives quotations from and notes on an Arabic poem remarkable for its versification.

In the field of comparative Semitic philology there is only one item, an article by Professor I. Guidi on interrogative and negative particles in the Semitic languages.

Mr. E. Edwards gives a list of some rare Arabic and Persian MSS.

In the field of Persian literature we have for the Zoroastrian period an article by Professor A. J. Carnoy on the character of Vohu Manah and its evolution and a note by Bishop Casartelli on the Avestan *urvan* "soul".

For the Moslem period there are more items. Dr. A. Christensen contributes a note on Jūhī, a Persian predecessor of Nasreddin Khoja, and Professor M. Th. Houtsma one on the rare *Divān* of Niẓāmī. Professor R. A. Nicholson contributes a notice of a rare MS. of the *Kulliyāt* of Pīr Jamāl now in the India Office Library.

In Turkish literature we have a notice by Count Carra de Vaux of a Turkish Calendar, while Professor Enno Littmann transcribes and translates a Turkish poem in Armenian characters in which two interlocutors discuss the pros and cons of matrimony.

A number of items fall under the head of comparative literature. The late Professor R. Hartmann discusses a point in connexion with the Alexander Romance. Signor C. A. Nallino contributes an article on certain Greek works, which seem to have reached Arabic through Pehlevi. Professor Th. Nöldeke, taking as his text the well-known passage in the Agamemnon, quotes various similes from the growth of the young beast of prey. Professor A. J. Wensinck discusses various examples of the "Refused Dignity".

The remaining items are all of a historical nature. Herr F. Babinger discusses the merits of Marino Sanuto's diaries as

a source of Persian history. M. P. Casanova contributes an article on the Ispehbeds of Firīm. Mr. R. Guest discusses relations between Islamic Persia and Egypt up to the Fatimid period. Professor E. Herzfeld contributes an illustrated article on the architecture of the earliest Ilkhans in Persia. Dr. M. Horten discusses the possibility of ethical development in Islam. Professor C. Huart gives a history of the small dynasty of the Musafirids of Azerbaijan. Professor A. V. Williams Jackson describes a visit which he paid to the tomb of Bābā Ṭāhir. Professor J. Pedersen discusses that enigmatic people the Šābians. Sir E. Denison Ross contributes an article on a manuscript dealing with the early history of the Turks. Dr. Seybold, in a short note, suggests a very attractive textual emendation making Sindan (North of Bombay) and Ceylon parts of the Nestorian Metropolitan Province of Fars. Dr. Snouck-Hurgronje contributes a topical article on Qatādah, twentieth ancestor of King Husain of the Hejaz and first of the family to occupy Mecca. Mr. Weir gives a summary of the contents of a Turkish MS. in the University of Glasgow, which proves to be an original source for the history of Persia at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

DER DREIEINIGE GOTT IN RELIGIONS-HISTORISCHER BELEUCHTUNG. Vol. I. By Dr. DITLEF NIELSEN. 9 × 6, xv + 472 pp. Copenhagen, etc.: Gyldendal, 1922.

ETUDES SUR LES TEXTES CONCERNANT ISHTAR-ASTARTE. By Professor JOSEPH PLESSIS. 9½ × 6½, iv + 301 pp. Paris: Geuthner, 1921.

These two scholarly works on early Semitic religion present a curious contrast to each other.

Professor Plessis' is a painstaking and elaborate study of all references to Ishtar and the cognate deities in the literature and inscriptions of Babylonia, Assyria, Elam, Southern Arabia, Phoenicia, and Syria, and in the Bible. All the written authorities on the subject are thus assembled, and on this basis Professor Plessis expounds with great clearness the

conclusions which he draws regarding the nature of these deities and their relationship to each other.

Dr. Nielsen flies for rather higher game. He covers the whole field of Semitic religion and traces through it the history of the conception of a Divine Trinity, and of each person of that Trinity, from the earliest times to the Christian period. He discusses also the history of the Semitic idea of sacrifice and of various rites, in which he believes that he sees the prototypes of the Agape, the Christmas and Easter festivals, and the rite of baptism.

His conclusions on these subjects, while more arresting and stimulating than Professor Plessis' in his narrower field, necessarily involve a greater amount of theorizing and interpretation of admitted facts, and will accordingly meet with a smaller measure of unquestioning acceptance from the learned world.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE DES OUVRAGES ARABES OU RELATIFS AUX ARABES PUBLIÉS DANS L'EUROPE CHRÉTIENNE DE 1810 À 1885. TOME XII LE MAHOMÉTISME. By Professor V. CHAUVIN. 10×6½, vi + 467 pp. Liege: H. Vaillant-Carmanne, 1913-22.

This work has been in the press for nine years. M. Chauvin had already corrected part of the proofs when he died in November, 1913; the book was completed and seen through the press by his friend and pupil, M. M. L. Polain. The first volume of this bibliography was published in 1892, and since then the programme of the author has appreciably widened. The limits of the present volume, instead of being 1810 and 1885, are 1473 (if not earlier) and 1918. The result is that the compiler's task is an enormous one, and the reader is left with an impression of great industry but a certain incompleteness. This is, no doubt, partially due to the premature death of the compiler and partly to the fact that a good deal of the ground had been covered by the earlier volumes, especially vol. ii (Mahomet). Even so, certain scholars come off rather

badly. Professor Margoliouth is credited with one book and two pamphlets, and M. de Goeje with one pamphlet. The volume contains 1,831 items, all described with great care and in some cases with much detail. It will be a work of permanent value to all students of Islam, and especially of the history of the knowledge of Islam in Europe.

SHUWA ARABIC STORIES, WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND VOCABULARY. By C. G. HOWARD. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, 116 pp. Oxford University Press, 1921.

This valuable little reading book is a pioneer work in an almost untried field and is an earnest of the enlightened interest which the West African Governments and their officers take in the language and literatures of the peoples with whom they have to deal. The officers of the Bornu Province, under the leadership of their Resident, Mr. H. R. Palmer, C.M.G., himself a good Arabic scholar and a veteran in the field of linguistic and historical research in Nigeria, are doing particularly good work in this direction and are fortunate in being able to command a wider public than those who deal with an ordinary negro dialect. For that queer "pidgin-Arabic" dialect known as Shuwa Arabic is of considerable interest. While its grammar is in an advanced stage of decay, the vocabulary, leaving out of account loan-words from neighbouring dialects, is remarkably classical in content, and avoids the characteristic malformations of the Arabic of North Africa and Egypt. The dialect must have worked its way across the Continent from the Southern Sudan, and a closer study of the vocabulary would no doubt throw considerable light on the history of the Shuwa tribes and their antecedents.

OSMANISCHE URKUNDEN IN TÜRKISCHER SPRACHE AUS DER ZWEITEN HÄLFTE DES 15 JAHRHUNDERTS. By Dr. FRIEDRICH KRAELITZ. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, 111 pp., 14 plates. Vienna: Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissen-

schaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 197 Band, 3 Abhandlung, 1922.

This is a work of considerable importance for students of Ottoman history and epigraphy. It gives reproductions of twenty-four Ottoman firmans and similar State papers dated between 1456 and 1497, together with transcriptions, translations and commentaries, and a most valuable introduction. Apart from the interest of the texts themselves, this work will be an indispensable handbook to any student who undertakes the study of the large numbers of State papers of this kind which still exist. According to Dr. Kraelitz, a large number of such documents, formerly preserved at Vienna, are now being handed over to the Serbo-Croat-Slovene kingdom. It is sincerely to be hoped that the Government of that country will find it possible to have them examined, and if possible published, for the sake of the light they will throw on the history of Ragusa and the Balkan peninsula in general.

QIṢASU'L-ANBIYĀ. By MUHAMMAD IBN 'ABDALLAH AL-KISĀ'Ī; edited by Dr. ISAAC EISENBERG. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 6; pt. i, pp. i-xii and 1-240; pt. ii, pp. 241-309. Leyden: Brill, 1922.

These two parts contain the whole Arabic text of this book. The introduction promises a further volume which will supply a critical introduction to the work and a scientific study of its contents, and Dr. Eisenberg promises a German translation of the whole at a later date. The text has been prepared with great care, after an examination of the various manuscripts of it at Munich, Bonn, Leyden, Leipzig, and Gotha, chiefly on the basis of the oldest Leyden codex, but the editor, although he states that the manuscripts contain a number of *variae lectiones*, has not supplied an *apparatus criticus*. This is no doubt due to the technical and financial difficulties inseparable from the publication of such a work at the present time. These difficulties are also no doubt responsible for the rather numerous minor misprints, which, as the editor himself admits, somewhat disfigure the text.

ASĀSU'L-BALĀGHA. By JĀRU'LLAH ABU'L-QĀSIM MAHMŪD IBN 'UMAR AL-ZAMAKHSHARĪ. Vol. I. $10\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, iv + 514 pp. Cairo : Dāru'l Kutub al-Miṣriya, 1922.

This volume includes the first half of Zamakhsharī's work down to the letter ش inclusive. It is well printed, but cannot be described as a critical edition. The name of the editor is not given, and there is no introduction, no statement of the manuscripts or previous editions on which the text is based, and no attempt to identify or give the references to the numerous quotations from early Arab poets, of which the book is full. In these circumstances this edition is deprived of a great part of the value which it would otherwise have possessed.

EIN VERZEICHNIS MUHAMMEDANISCHER DYNASTIEN. By EDUARD SACHAU. Offprint from the *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*. 11 × 9, 39 pp. Berlin, 1923.

A list of lesser-known Muhammadan Dynasties supplementary to S. Lane Poole's *The Mohammadan Dynasties : Chronological and Genealogical Tables*, extracted principally from the Ṣaḥā'if al-Akhbar of Munajjim Bashi. The list adds 88 dynasties to the 118 given by Lane Poole, and will be a valuable book of reference to students.

L'ORIENT VU DE L'OCCIDENT. By E. DINET and SLIMAN BEN IBRAHIM. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, 104 pp. Paris : H. Piazza and P. Geuthner, 1922.

M. Dinet, who has also adopted the name Nasr ed Dine, is presumably a convert to Muhammadanism, and this little book displays all the zeal of a convert. It is a plea for the acceptance in its integrity of the whole Moslem traditional history of the Prophet and a vigorous attack on certain modern historians who have ventured to exercise their own judgment in dealing with these traditions. While the reader's sympathy is to a certain extent engaged by the attack delivered

on the works of a Jesuit Father whose treatment of his subject does certainly not seem to have been characterized by that absolute impartiality uncoloured by religious prejudice which is so necessary to a historian, it is obvious that a plea that students of the history of the past should voluntarily abnegate the use of their critical faculties is one which must necessarily fall on deaf ears, at any rate as far as our Society is concerned. The authors' robust disregard for the methods and criteria of modern scholarship is evidenced by the appearance in their work of such solecisms as "*mounafiqounes*".

OLD ASSYRIAN LAWS. By KNUT TALLQUIST. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, 41 pp. Helsingfors Centraltryckeri, 1921.

A revised translation into English, with a short introduction, of the fragments of Assyrian Legal Codes discovered by the German Oriental Society at Asshur and published in Schroeder's *Keilschrift-texte aus Asshur verschiedenen Inhalts*.

These codes are extremely interesting, although the translation of them is still beset with difficulty, and it is quite time for a comprehensive comparative study to be undertaken of the various laws now available in the Pentateuch, the Hammurabi Code, the Sumerian Code recently published in this *Journal*, the present Codes, and the Hittite Code from Boghazkeui. As might have been expected, the punishments prescribed in the present codes are excessively severe and barbarous.

MEMOIRES DE LA COMMISSION ORIENTALE DE L'ACADEMIE POLONAISE DES SCIENCES ET DES LETTRES. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. Cracow, various years. No. 1: ENIGMES POPULAIRES TURQUES. By T. KOWALSKI. 77 pp. No. 3: LES HABITANTS DE LA PALESTINE PRIMITIVE JUSQU'A 1400 AVANT J. CHR. By Dr. W. SZCZEPANSKI. i + 59 pp. No. 5: ETUDES SUR LA FORME DE LA POÉSIE DES PEUPLES TURCS. I. By T. KOWALSKI. 184 pp.

Three volumes of this series were reviewed in the July,

1923 number of the *Journal*; the present three volumes, unlike those previously reviewed, are written in Polish, a French résumé of the contents being added as an appendix. In such cases it is difficult for a reviewer ignorant of the Polish language to estimate the true value of the work, for a summary in a foreign language must necessarily be confined to the author's conclusion without much regard to the steps by which he arrives at them. In a book dealing with a highly controversial subject of which very little is known, such as Dr. Szczepanski's, this process makes intelligent criticism impossible, for all that the critic has to work on is a series of dogmatic statements regarding the tribes which inhabited Palestine, the dates at which they arrived there, and their ethical affinities; without an appreciation of the evidence on which the author relies it is difficult to criticize, but some of his conclusions, at any rate such as, for instance, that the Hyksos were probably of Hittite-Mitanni stock, are hardly likely to meet general acceptance. Incidentally, what is "Hittite-Mitanni stock"? Linguistically, at any rate, there is no connexion between the two.

Mr. Kowalski's book on Turkish riddles contains a series of 141 riddles taken down from the dictation of a number of wounded Turkish soldiers, mostly illiterate, during the war. Apart from the folk-lore interest of these primitive riddles, of the most approved "fairy-tale" order, the collection is interesting as giving a series of carefully recorded specimens of Turkish dialect as spoken in various parts of Turkey-in-Europe and Asia.

The same author's study of verse forms of the Turkish peoples is a more ambitious work. In the present instalment he confines himself to the verse forms of the Ottoman, Kazan, Turfan, and Altai Turks; a more elaborate study is foreshadowed. The verse forms borrowed from Turkish and Arabic are excluded. The author's conclusions in general are exactly what might have been expected; his most interesting theory is that the Persian *rubā'ī* is originally

Turkish, not Persian ; but this will require more proof than the author can at present produce.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

ABŪ 'UTHMĀN SA'ID IBN HĀRŪN AL-USHNĀNDĀNĪ, KITĀB MA'ANĪ-SH-SHI'R. 8vo, 208 pp. Damascus, 1340 A.H. (A.D. 1922).

We know very little about the author,¹ who was a pupil of the scholars who had studied under al-Aṣma'ī, Abū 'Ubaida, and other masters of the Baṣrian school. His principal pupil was Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn al-Ḥasan, well known under the name of Ibn Duraid,² who quotes him continually in his large lexicon, the Jamhara. The date of his death is not known, but I may be correct in assuming that he perished with many other scholars in the negro revolt at al-Baṣra in the year 257 A.H. The author of the Fihrist mentions the work under notice in two places,³ and adds only the title of one other work of the author, the Kitāb al-Abyat, which may be only another name for the same book.

In trying to trace the teachers and pupils of early grammarians from the chains of tradition (Isnād) in various works I have found only Ibn Duraid as his pupil, and it is not surprising, therefore, to find that the text of the *Kitāb al-Ma'anī* is handed down by him ; but what is more surprising is to find that the work is really one of Ibn Duraid's. The 111 poetical quotations, consisting generally of two verses, sometimes of one only, we are told by Ibn Duraid he read under Ushnāndānī as they were travelling on a ship from Baṣra to al-Maṭṭaḥ, which, according to Yāqūt, was a village between al-Baṣra and Wāsiṭ, but in the province of the latter town. Ibn Duraid tells us, further, that in some cases he also asked

¹ Biographies: Zubaidi, *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, viii, 173 ; Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, 266 ; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, pp. 258, 324 ; Brockelmann, i, 109.

² Died 321 A.H.

³ pp. 60, 83.

Abū Ḥātim (as-Sijistānī)¹ about difficult passages. The quotations, with the exception of eleven, are anonymous: of two we are told that they are probably by modern poets,² some are attributed to men of certain tribes, and others are said to be by Jāhilis, i.e. poets from the time before Islam.

All verses present exceptional difficulties, not on account of rare words used, but because they refer in a tropical sense to things which from the ordinary meaning of the words employed would not be correctly understood. They are for the greater part a kind of riddles or puns, somewhat analogous to the poem of Dur-Rumma, which figures in his Dīwān (ed. Macartney) as No. 24. The commentary, which varies considerably in length and quality, has all the peculiarities of Ibn Duraid's style, to which I have become accustomed in the revision of the text of the Jamhara. When uncertain

of his own explanation we have his "they assert" زعموا and at times he gives us glimpses of his knowledge about old historical traditions, which in an irritating manner he cuts short, when we feel he could have told us more. This is the same in the Jamhara, where only his pupil Abū Sa'īd as-Sirāfī appears to have extracted from him further details.

I have been at considerable trouble to trace the names of the anonymous authors of the verses cited, several have found their way into the Lisān, but also without the names of the poets. One quotation (No. 15 of the text) is at times attributed to Dur-Rumma, I believe in error, and figures in the appendix of his Dīwān under No. 91; it is here attributed to a man of the Banū Sa'd ibn Zaid Manāt. The verses quoted under No. 46 by a prisoner who was allowed to send some verses to his tribe, and who conveys to them in hidden terms the warning of an imminent attack by his captors, are also quoted in other works.³ Contrary to the verses explained, Ibn Duraid gives in many cases the names of the poets whose verses he

¹ Died 244 A.H.

² Nos. 34 and 95.

³ e.g. Gurjānī, *Kināya*, ed. Cairo, 1326, pp. 64-5.

cites in the way of illustration. All these verses can be traced in the large dictionaries.

To sum up, the work is of an entirely different character from the other *Kitāb Ma'ani-sh-Shi'r* known to me, the work of Ibn Qutaiba. The latter gives systematically quotations on certain subjects from poets which are generally known, and with commentaries, which appear to be taken from the glosses the author found in the books used for the compiling of his work.

The edition is beautifully printed on good paper, and the printer's errors are put right at the end of the book. A great advance upon so many Oriental prints is that the book is furnished with several indices.¹ Further, we find short biographies of seventy-three persons mentioned in the course of the work, but I think many of the dates given can only be approximate.

The editors had at their disposal the manuscript which is preserved in the Nāsiriyya mosque at Damascus, which they state is not free from faults, and apparently did not know of the copy in the library of the Escorial.² The book is edited with care, and the verses recited by Ushnandani are fully vocalized, but this might have been done at least partially in the commentary in cases where vowel-marks are essential.

I have noted the following errors not put right in the corrections :—

p. 54, 1, تَمِيمُ بْنُ أَبِي بْنِ مَقْبِلٍ.

pp. 92, 12 and 93, 12, ضَوَامِن, which has the right meaning, while ضَوَامِر has not.

p. 127, 5, سَرَّاح, after the analogy of قَطَام, is no doubt correct. F. KRENKOW.

¹ These indexes contain all places where the name is found, and are not composed in the silly manner some Egyptians have of stopping when they have indicated three or four places.

² Derenbourg, No. 406.

VITA PROPHETARUM AUCTORE MUHAMMED BEN 'ABDALLAH AL-KISA'ī Et codicibus qui in Monaco, Bonna, Lugd. Batav., Lipsia et Gothana asservantur edidit Dr. ISAAC EISENBERG. 2 parts. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ ×6, xii + 220 pp. Lugduni-Batavorum: E. J. Brill, 1922-3.

Al-Kisā'ī died between A.H. 178 and 189, being thus one of the oldest Arab traditionists. The great popularity of his *Story of the Prophets* is vouchsafed by the existence of a large number of MSS. in various European libraries. It is to be regretted that the editor was unable to use the MSS. of the British Museum, as in one of them the latter part differs considerably from the others. How far these differences affect the text can only be ascertained by careful comparison. This is best left to the editor, who promises a supplement containing a literary introduction and reference to parallel stories.

The book opens with the legends connected with the creation of the world, and extends as far as the rise of Christianity. Its historical value is *nil*. Among the principal authorities consulted by the author are Ibn Abbās, Ka'b Al-Akhbār, and Wahb b. Munabbih, all three famous for having allowed their imagination full scope. To European readers the work has been introduced many years ago in Weil's *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, who mentions it as one of his sources. This scholar has also pointed out that the legends are in the main of Jewish origin. Many tales are evidently pure invention. Ka'b is made responsible for the tale that, on the first night of Ramadhān, Allāh revealed to Adam a book of laws which the latter communicated to his children. At the behest of Allāh he wrote them down in the form of a list of twenty-eight paragraphs, each beginning with one of the letters of the Arabic alphabet. Interesting

among these and disclosing its origin is *ديان يوم الدين* Judge on the Day of Judgment, an expression which betrays its Jewish origin. It need not be pointed out expressly that

Al-Kisā'i's work was utilized by later story writers. His name is mentioned in connexion with the legends on Nimrod in Mirkhond's *Rauzat-us-Safā*, translated by the late E. Rehatsek (Oriental Translation Fund, N.S., 1892). The edition of the Arabic text is on the whole carefully executed, but the student would do well to compare the rather extensive list of corrections. The book forms a very suitable reading text for undergraduates in Arabic.

PROPHECY AND THE PROPHETS IN ANCIENT ISRAEL. By THEODORE H. ROBINSON, M.A. (Cantab.), D.D. (London), University College, Cardiff, with a Bibliography by Professor A. S. PEAKE. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, 222 pp. London: Duckworth, 1923.

This work synchronizes with Mr. H. M. Wiener's *The Prophets of Israel in History and Criticism* (London, 1923). Both books should be studied side by side to show the different manner in which the same subject is studied from two different points of view. While Dr. Robinson's book is prominently religious and even one-sidedly theological, Wiener's reasonings are critical and to a large extent apologetical. The latter work is, moreover, fuller. Each of the two authors appeals to totally different classes of students. Dr. Robinson's work does not really claim to be based entirely on original research, but presents earlier theories in a new and attractive form. Nevertheless, he does not follow the opinions of his predecessors blindly, but supplements them by observations of his own. The chapter on the structure of the prophetic books is both interesting and instructive. It describes the way prophets discharged their task, as well as the means they took to hand their orations down to posterity. With his denial of elaborate versification of the oracles one can only agree. He discusses each single prophet, giving Amos the first place before his contemporary Hosea. It is a little surprising that he takes the marriages of the latter literally. There is much to be said against it. Whether the law book

discovered during the reign of Josiah was Deuteronomy is not quite certain, and requires fresh examination. As is well known, the opinions of Bible critics are at variance on this point, and there is strong reason to doubt it. The chapters on the later prophets before and after the exile reveal more religious fervour than cool criticism, but they will prove satisfactory to those readers for whom the book is meant. Professor Peake's bibliography forms a useful appendix to the treatise, which is sure to win many admirers.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

EPIGRAPHIA CARNATICA. Vol. II. INSCRIPTIONS AT ŚRĀVANA-BELGOLA. By R. NARASIMHĀCHĀR. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$, iii + 610 pp., 77 plates. Bangalore: Mysore Government Central Press, 1923.

It has long been felt by epigraphists and students of history that a re-examination ought to be made of the numerous inscriptions in the Mysore State published, now a good many years ago, in Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*. This volume is a portion of the good work in progress, and consists of a complete transliteration, translation, and vernacular copy, not only of the records comprised in Rice's Lists which were found at the old Jain centre of Śrāvana-Belgola, but of a large number of minor ones. The results are analysed in 90 pages of introduction, which deals with historical matter. The inclusion of many new fragments, some, it must honestly be said, entirely valueless, has necessitated a re-numbering; and it is to be regretted that we are not furnished with a list showing distinctly which of the new numbers corresponds to each one of the old ones. If, for instance, we desire to compare the new edition of a certain inscription with the original edition, it is difficult to do so. Old No. 50, for instance, may now be new No. 143. As it is, the student can only find the new number of the old No. 50 by noting in the latter the name of some place or some prominent ruler and looking it up in the Index. This done, he finds the new and the old

number placed together; but the process takes time and requires patience. With this exception, we must congratulate the author on the completion of his handsome contribution to the world's knowledge.

R. SEWELL.

THE TRIBES AND CASTES OF BOMBAY. By R. E. ENTHOVEN, C.I.E. Issued under the orders of the Government of Bombay. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, 1,299 pp., 17 plates. Bombay: Government Central Press, 1920-2.

These three volumes, containing facts of scientific importance concerning more than five hundred different castes and tribes within the limits of the Bombay Presidency, are the latest memorial of the Provincial Ethnographical Survey, which was commenced under the orders of the Indian Government more than twenty years ago. The completed work owes its appearance chiefly to the enthusiasm of the author and a small band of Indian scholars and correspondents, who have looked upon its publication as a sufficient recompense for several years' gratuitous labour. For the Government of India, which originally fathered the scheme of the Survey, was never able to provide sufficient funds for its prosecution, and in 1909 relinquished altogether its chief parental responsibility. It was left to Mr. Enthoven, assisted by willing Indian friends, to absolve the Bombay Government from the reproach of leaving an important piece of work unfinished; and, treating the task as a labour of love, to complete a valuable record of caste and tribal history and custom.

The first volume contains a succinct review by the author of the institution of Caste and the various influences, racial, occupational, religious, etc., which from the dawn of history have tended to produce the extraordinary conglomeration of social units which we find in modern India. In Mr. Enthoven's words, "Caste is in reality a system of 'self-determination' based on the habit of attaching more importance to the differences between social groups than to that which they

have in common ” ; and he has much to say that is interesting regarding the primitive and foreign elements in the Bombay castes, observing that the facts scientifically elicited and co-ordinated by the Survey tend to support the view that the various tribes and castes have far more in common as regards their origin than has hitherto been admitted.

As regards the separate articles on each caste, those on the Marāṭhās, Bhils, Kolis, and Lingāyats would alone render the work of permanent value. For the first time we are furnished with definite evidence of the totemistic organization of certain castes and of clear traces of similar early divisions among the Marāṭhās. More than a century ago a keen observer, who lived among these people and fought in their armies, commented upon the primitive elements composing them. His general and naturally unscientific impressions find curious corroboration in the facts set forth in Mr. Enthoven's third volume. One can only hope that the author will find it possible to publish before long a further edition dealing in even greater detail with the discoveries and lessons of the Survey.

S. M. EDWARDES.

SOUND AND SYMBOL IN CHINESE. By BERNHARD KARLGREN, Fil.Dr., Professor of Sinology in the University of Göteborg. 8×4½, 112 pp. London : Oxford University Press ; Humphrey Milford, 1923.

This manual is one of the Language and Literature Series, and is an adaptation of the author's *Ordet och Pennan i Mittens Rike*, published at Stockholm in 1918.

Professor Karlgren is, perhaps, the first of the very small group of living authorities on Chinese Phonology, but the six chapters of this little work show him to be far from a mere specialist in that particular branch. He here gives an account, sound in conception and very lucid in expression, of the Chinese speech and its distinguishing features, with the difficulties to which these give rise for speakers of inflected

languages. Chinese writing, both the material units or characters that take the place of alphabetic methods, and the literary style that has been gradually developed and perfected, is illustrated and discussed with unfailing competence and good sense. Naturally in a book abounding in points of detail, there must be some giving occasion for criticism or demur, and personally in chapter iv I have found a considerable number of such among Professor Karlgren's explanations of the constructive significance of the examples of the Lesser Seal stage of Chinese characters cited by him. But let me avoid being meticulous and microscopic in reviewing so meritorious a manual and guide.

L. C. HOPKINS.

SERINDIA: Detailed report of explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China, carried out and described under the orders of H.M. Indian Government by AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., Indian Archæological Survey. With 345 illustrations from photographs, 59 plans, 175 plates, and 96 maps. pp. 1,580. Vols. I-III, text; Vol. IV, plates; Vol. V, maps. 13×10. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921.

"Monumental" is an adjective that is apt to be abused; but few will question its applicability to the present work, which describes in detail the progress and results of what is perhaps the most fruitful archæological expedition that has been undertaken in modern times. In form it is the official report of Sir Aurel Stein's second journey over the Pāmīrs to the vast region, extending from Kashgar to the province of Kansu, which is variously known as Eastern Turkestan or Sinkiang, "the New Dominion." In substance it is nothing less than the unfolding of an ancient and extensive civilization which for some centuries was maintained under Chinese control, and dotted the face of this now forbidding country with numerous flourishing states and townships. Hardly more than the existence of this civilization was known to us until Sir Aurel Stein began his epoch-making excavations in the

desert sands along the ancient trade routes between China and the West. Adventurous merchants doubtless followed these routes long before the unification of China under the First Emperor, but the country was largely overrun by nomad tribes, and there was little in the way of settled habitation. Regular intercourse with the West only began in the reign of Wu Ti (bridging the second and first centuries B.C.), when an astonishing expansion of Chinese power was seen. The Hsiung-nu, or Huns, were driven back into their northern deserts, and the trade route to India made comparatively safe for many generations, during which the influence of the House of Han was paramount throughout the petty states lying between the Jade Gate and Khotan. But whenever the central Government was weakened by internal troubles, its prestige also waned abroad, and before the close of the Later Han dynasty in A.D. 220 the country was again in the hands of semi-barbarian tribes. After a long interval, during which political, if not commercial, intercourse was almost at a standstill, a great revival came with the T'ang dynasty, and for about a century and a half China found herself once more mistress of Eastern Turkestan. Then the rebellion of An Lu-shan plunged everything into confusion, and the Tibetans seized the opportunity of annexing the Tunhuang district, which was the starting-point for caravans crossing the Gobi desert. A hundred years later, Chinese dominion was re-established on a smaller scale, and seems to have endured, though somewhat ingloriously, until it was swallowed up in the Tangut Empire. Under Kublai Khan, as we know from Marco Polo, free communication was restored between China and the Western world; but this and subsequent extensions of Chinese power really lie outside the purview of the present work.

Sir Aurel Stein's personal narrative will be found in his *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, published in 1911. But *Serindia* also contains a full account of his travels and explorations, interspersed with chapters discussing the historical bearing of his

discoveries. Thus, at the beginning of the book, before he has reached the field of his principal labours, we find interesting essays on the early Chinese pilgrims to Udyāna, Udyāna in Chinese records of T'ang times, Kao Hsien-chih's campaign against the Tibetans in 747, and Hsüan-tsang's route to Kashgar. The fruits of this second expedition, as we have said, are so astoundingly rich and abundant that to most of them even a passing allusion is impossible. But the explorations on the Niya and Lou-lan sites, at Miran, and one or two stations along the ancient Chinese *limes*, may be specified as having yielded material of inestimable value. The story of these and other ruined towns can be fairly summed up in the one word "desiccation". It is true that Sir Aurel Stein does not regard desiccation in itself as a wholly "adequate explanation of all changes in the extent of cultivated areas"; but ample evidence exists that, two thousand years ago, many places now utterly sterile enjoyed a system of irrigation which rendered agriculture not only possible but highly profitable, and that from causes which cannot as yet be determined with certainty the water supply has throughout historical times steadily diminished. What were once smiling fields became by degrees only suitable for pasture; then vegetation disappeared altogether, human habitation had to be abandoned, and finally everything was buried under masses of drift-sand. Already in the time of the T'ang dynasty this encroachment of the desert had made itself severely felt. But what was calamitous to the inhabitants in those bygone ages has proved a veritable godsend to the modern archæologist. For the extreme dryness which was fatal to human activity has been the means of preserving large quantities of records on wood, bamboo, and paper, as well as paintings, sculptures, and other objects which could hardly have survived under normal conditions. Desiccation rendered possible that wonderful harvest of ancient Chinese documents which was edited in 1913 by the late Professor Chavannes; and the huge collection of manuscripts from the walled-up *cella* in the caves of the

Thousand Buddhas owes its remarkable state of preservation to the fact that it was buried for close on nine centuries in dry sand. The discovery of this magnificent hoard of literary and artistic treasures must be regarded as the central achievement of the expedition, though from a strictly archaeological point of view the tracing of the Han *limes* north of Tunhuang and the location of the site of the Jade Gate were even greater triumphs. Other notable identifications are those of the Niya site with Ching-chüeh of the Chinese annals, of Charchan with Chü-mo, and of Charkhlik with Marco Polo's Town of Lop. On the other hand, the exact situation of Yang Kuan, or Southern Barrier (there can be little doubt that this is the meaning of the name, though to our author the etymology seems "to smack of a learned origin"), has yet to be discovered, but it may be confidently located somewhere in the Nan-hu oasis. Sir Aurel rejects the statement in the *Tunhuang lu* that the Yang Kuan was "the same as the ancient Jade Gate Barrier", appearing to regard this as inconsistent with the location of the latter on the extension of the Great Wall (T. xiv on the map), which has now been established beyond question. I understand the passage, however, in a different sense. Even admitting that in 103 B.C., when Li Kuang-li returned from his first expedition, the Jade Gate must have been east of Tunhuang (as a well-known passage in the *Shih chi* certainly seems to imply), and that by 96 it had been shifted to a point on the *limes* west of that city, there still remain six or seven years during which we have no information as to its position. May we not suppose that it was transferred to the Nan-hu oasis at the time of the great forward movement that followed immediately after Li Kuang-li's successful campaign in 101? The extension of the Wall may well have occupied several years, and as soon as the work was completed the Jade Gate would naturally have been shifted again to a convenient spot near its termination. The former Jade Gate would then have been renamed the South Barrier, as opposed to the new Jade Gate Barrier in

the north. We must remember that the statement of the *Tun huang lu* is corroborated by no less an authority than the great twelfth century scholar Chêng Ch'iao, who says in his *T'ung chih*: "First the Yang Barrier and afterwards the Jade Gate controlled the route to the West." This important passage is overlooked by Sir Aurel Stein, who himself advances no theory as to the relative date of the two fortresses, and is consequently at a loss to explain either the name or the original function of the Yang Kuan. I am hopeful that excavations in the Nan-hu oasis may some day bring documents to light which will solve the whole problem. It is satisfactory to learn that the imposing remains marked Large Ruin on the map, just south of the *limes*, can certainly be identified with the ancient magazine of Ho-ts'ang mentioned in the *Tun huang lu*. My rejection of this very obvious identification (see *JRAS.*, 1914, p. 723) was due to a mistaken estimate of the length of the Chinese *li* in those parts.

In conclusion a few words may fitly be devoted to the walled-up library, already mentioned, which Sir Aurel Stein was the first foreigner to set eyes upon at Ch'ien-fo-tung. He tells us that the whole collection comprised some 1,130 bundles, each containing a dozen rolls on an average, exclusive of fragments. Of these bundles he brought away 270, and Professor Pelliot in the following year 286, so that, contrary to the general impression, less than half of the hoard found its way to Europe. A certain proportion of the remainder was subsequently removed to Peking, but that much was left is evident from the considerable further acquisition which Sir Aurel Stein was able to make on his third expedition in 1916. Unfortunately, this additional collection, which has been temporarily deposited in the British Museum, is much less rich than its predecessor in the rarer Buddhist texts and commentaries, and contains no secular documents at all. Since *Serindia* was written, further interesting discoveries have been made among the Chinese MSS. both in Paris and in London. For instance, in the spring of 1923 I extracted

from the middle of an unimportant Buddhist sūtra, which had escaped the attention of previous investigators, an exposition of Manichæan doctrine dating from the eighth century. It proved to be the initial portion of a roll to which a small fragment in the Paris collection also belongs. This hitherto unknown text, to be published very shortly with translation and notes by Professor Pelliot, will be found to illuminate several obscure places in our knowledge of Manichæism in China.

Want of expert ability as well as of space have prevented me from including within the scope of these scattered observations the priceless treasures of pictorial and plastic art, described and illustrated in these volumes, with which Sir Aurel Stein has enriched our national Museum. It is therefore to be hoped that some appreciation of them may shortly be forthcoming from the pen of a competent authority.

There are very few typographical errors, but one may note two wrongly printed characters on pp. 732 and 734. The proper name "So Man" on p. 421 should be read "So Mai". The mistake originated with Chavannes, and has also been reproduced in Herrmann's *Seidenstrassen*.

LIONEL GILES.

OBITUARY NOTICE

Dr. William Crooke, C.I.E.

Indian Anthropology has suffered a great loss in the death of Dr. Crooke, which took place at Cheltenham on the 25th of last October. He was born at Macroom, Co. Cork, in 1848, and was educated at Tipperary Grammar School and at Trinity College, Dublin, where he won a scholarship. In 1871, Trinity College contributed no fewer than seven members to the Indian Civil Service, and among these were Vincent Smith and William Crooke, both of whom, each in his own department, were destined to win reputations as Oriental scholars. Crooke was posted to the North-Western (now the United) Provinces, and, passing through the usual grades of the Service, retired in 1896. The last years of his life were spent at Cheltenham.

Early in his career Crooke began to interest himself in the Ethnology and Anthropology of his Province, and in 1888 he published his valuable *Rural and Agricultural Glossary of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, based upon materials collected by him and previously published in 1881, when he had been but ten years in the country. In the interval he had been serving as manager under the Court of Wards of the great Awa Estate, and had seized the opportunity thereby afforded to prosecute those inquiries which made his Glossary an inexhaustible source of information regarding the rural conditions of Northern India. Several other works from his pen, besides many contributions to the *Indian Antiquary*, appeared during the rest of his stay in India, the most noteworthy being his *Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (1894), and his monumental *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh* (1896).

After his return to England he published numerous works, such as *Things Indian*, *The Natives of Northern India*, and

authoritative editions, enriched with valuable notes, of Fryer's *New Account of East India and Persia* (for the Hakluyt Society), Mrs. Mīr Hasan 'Alī's *Observations on the Musalmāns of India*, Tod's *Rājasthān*, and Herklots's *Qānūn-i-Islām*. Shortly before his death he had completed an edition of Tavernier's *Travels in India*, the manuscript of which is now in the hands of the Oxford University Press. He was the author of numerous articles in Hastings's "Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics", in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, and in *Folklore*. Of the last, he was editor for some years before his death. In 1910 he was President of the Anthropological Section of the British Association, and in 1911-12 he was President of the Folklore Society. In 1919 he received the title of C.I.E., and, subsequently, was given the honorary degrees of (1919) D.Sc. (Oxford) and (1920) D.Litt. (Dublin). In 1923, the year of his death, he was elected a Fellow of the British Academy.

Crooke's work in regard to the Anthropology of India and kindred subjects, though voluminous, was throughout marked by careful accuracy and by sobriety of theory. At the same time his knowledge of general folklore was peculiarly wide, and enabled him to illuminate his accounts of Indian customs and beliefs by original and apposite illustrations drawn from the most varied sources. It is not only his personal friends, but also many members of this Society interested in Indian studies, who lament his loss, and who tender their respectful sympathy to those whom he has left behind.

G. A. G.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(October–December, 1923)

Professor Margoliouth has been elected Vice-President in place of the late Sir Henry Howorth.

The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society has awarded the Campbell Memorial Gold Medal for 1923 to Sir George Grierson. This award is in recognition of the completion of his valuable work, *The Linguistic Survey of India*.

Mr. W. Foster has now been appointed Historiographer to the India Office.

Gifts

Mr. Thomas Brown has presented No. 6 of the *Journal of the North China Branch*, which was needed to complete a volume; Lady Holmwood, thirteen volumes of the *Gazetteer of the North-West Provinces*, many of which were compiled by her father, the late Mr. E. T. Atkinson, and also three of his works; Sir Denison Ross, five volumes of the *Sacred Books of the East*; Mrs. Fanshawe, 107 works from the Library of the late Mr. H. C. Fanshawe; the Rev. F. Penny, Volume III of his work, *The Church in Madras*; and Mr. O'Brien Butler, an atlas of the Chinese Empire.

The following forty-two have been elected as members during the quarter :—

Mr. N. K. Basu, B.Sc.
Mr. K. A. C. Bisharad.
Rev. P. Bruce.
Rev. E. N. Burrows.
Mr. T. F. Carter.
Rev. T. W. Castle.
Mr. S. K. Chakraborti, M.A.

Mr. S. G. Chandra, B.A.,
LL.B.
Mr. S. K. Chaudhuri.
Mr. G. L. Crimp.
Babu B. P. Dayal.
Mr. N. B. Divatia, B.A.
Mr. M. D. Follin.

Mr. E. Forbes.	Mr. H. C. Nashkar, M.L.C.
Mrs. Marrico Gull.	Maulvi A. K. Nashlar.
Hon. M. Hachisuka.	Prof. P. E. Newberry.
Mr. H. R. Hardless.	Mr. N. L. G. Nidhish.
Mr. M. Md. Ishaq Sahib.	Dr. N. P. Nigam.
Prof. R. Kanshala.	Mr. P. Pochumoni.
Mr. V. R. Karandikar.	Shrotriya Pandit C. Sharma.
Babu N. M. L. Kavisarba-	Prof. O. Sirén.
bhouma.	Dr. T. Stcherbatsky.
Mr. G. Md. Khan.	Mr. J. S. Trimingham.
Pandit M. Koul.	Dewan S. L. Tuli.
Dr. C. S. Mahapatra, B.M.S.	Mr. V. P. Vaidya, B.A.
Mr. G. S. Mahendra, B.A.	Dr. J. L. Wyer.
Mr. P. N. Misra.	Mr. Md. Zahid-ul-Qadri.
Khan Bahadur A. M.	Pandit R. N. Zutshi.
Muhammad, C.I.E.	

Lord Meston, Captain C. J. Morris, Rev. S. Nicholson, and Mr. H. G. Parlett have resigned, and Mr. W. Miller, Mr. F. J. Monahan, and Mr. S. Raffaeli have died.

Lectures

In November Mr. Wm. Foster read a paper on "The Pictures of the Society", which is printed in the *Journal*, and Lieut.-Col. Shakespear spoke on "Manipur, Past and Present" in December.

He treated of its geographical position, the central valley of the country being cut off from the rest of the world by the mountains surrounding it, and showed the effect of this isolation on the culture of the people. He divided the population into the Hill tribes, the Valley dwellers (the latter being divided into Pongals or Mohammedans), Lois, and the Meitheis, who are the rulers, and he gave the probable origin of each. "The Chronicles" and their value were discussed with the references to Manipur in the Shan records, also the growth of the Meithei power and civilization as shown in the Chronicles. The lecturer then spoke on the old religion, the introduction of Hinduism, and the present religious condition

of the country. He then gave a summary of events since historical times, the changes in Government since 1891, and the characteristics and handicrafts of the people together with the present condition of the country and its inhabitants.

In January Mrs. Ayscough lectures on "The Cult of the Spiritual Magistrate of the City Walls and City Moats"; in February Mr. Grant Brown gives "Pictures of Burma"; and in March Rev. E. N. B. Burrows reads a paper entitled "The Mythology of the Rivers of Babylonia".

The following books are needed for the Library :—

- Ceylon Br. R.A.S. Journal. Vol. vii, No. 23.
 N. China Br. Transactions. Pts. 5, 6, 7, 1855-9.
 China Review. Vol. i, pts. 2, 3. Vol. iv, pt. 4. Vol. xxiii, pts. 1, 2, 6. Vol. xxiv, pt. 1.
 Hakluyt Society, Rundall, Collection of early documents on Japan. 1850.
 Memoires de l'Institut Egyptien. T. 2.
 Numismatic Chronicle. Vol. ii, Nos. 5, 6. Vol. iii, Nos. 9, 11, 12. New Ser., Vol. iii, Nos. 9, 10. Proceedings from the beginning.
 Ostasiatische Zeits. Vol. i, pts. 3, 4. Vol. ii, pt. 4.
 Sacred Books of the East. Vols. xxxix, xl. Legge, Texts of Tâoism.
 Temple, Legends of the Panjâb. Vol. iii.
 Vienna Or. Journal. Vols. i, ii, and xxix, pts. 3, 4.
 Zeits. der Deut. Mor. Gesellschaft. Vol. viii.
 Zeits. für Assyriologie. Bd. xxii, pts. 3, 4.

Could any Member supply Vols. i-iv of the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*?

Owing to the reduction in the cost of printing, the Council have decided to increase the *Journal* by eight pages a quarter.

PUBLIC SCHOOL MEDAL PRESENTATION

At a meeting of the Society on 18th December, the President, Lord Chalmers, presented to Mr. D. E. F.-C. Binyon, of Westminster School, the Public School Gold Medal.

Lord Chalmers said that the Medal was founded as the result of a movement whereby a number of Indian princes and gentlemen more than twenty years ago sought to encourage the study of India in this country. They determined with great good feeling and sagacity that their contribution should be devoted to such encouragement in the Public Schools. This was the twentieth award of the Medal, and during these two decades it had been won more than half the times by either Eton or Merchant Taylors, which had shown a violent but chivalrous rivalry. In 1907 it was won by his friend Mr. Waterfield, a Westminster boy and a King's Scholar, on a subject which would naturally appeal to Westminster boys, that of Warren Hastings, who was one of the many heroes in many walks of life who had come forth from the school. This year the Council of the Society accepted his suggestion that the subject should be Asoka. One reason for preferring the request was that Asoka was an essentially Indian figure, and it was fitting that a Medal founded by Indian princes and gentlemen should be used from time to time for the study of great Indians. Asoka was the grandson of a great man, the founder of a great empire, Chandra Gupta, who knew and had met Alexander; so he had a direct link with the Macedonian conqueror. Asoka was a very great man indeed, and had left a greater impress on the world than even Alexander, whose military conquests, except in the hands of his successors in some regions, were evanescent and temporary, whereas the efforts of King Asoka were steeped in the Indian thought which required that a good ruler should be given to truth and piety as the essence of true kingship. Though he began his reign

in an orgy of blood in Southern India for purposes of conquest, Asoka became in a short time a pronounced Buddhist, a religion the essence of which was that you should take no life. He did everything to foster the health of the people and the well-being of his subjects, while his vast bureaucracy included a set of officials whose duty it was to see to the spiritual welfare of the nation. But he was not so austere as to forbid the use of intoxicating drink on high days and feasts. The great empire he left was speedily broken up, and there was a striking analogy between his rule and that of David, whose empire was wrecked by his son, Solomon, though he was the wisest of mankind. In both cases a great empire went to pieces when the strong hand was removed from its government.

Professor E. J. Rapson said that the task of the examiners (Lord Chalmers, Dr. Thomas, and himself) had not been burdensome, for they had only four papers to consider, two from Westminster and two from Cheltenham. It was much to be regretted that the Medal did not excite a keener competition in our great Public Schools. Surely it could not be, at least on this occasion, in the choice of a subject, for it was one not confined to a narrow circle of Oriental scholars. The fame of Asoka was proclaimed far and wide throughout the world. One of our most distinguished modern poets, a kinsman of the prize-winner, Mr. Laurence Binyon, addressed some graceful verses to Asoka some years ago. More recently, Mr. H. G. Wells had chosen Asoka as his ideal of a ruling great man of antiquity. But while they regretted they had not more papers to examine, they found some consolation in the fact that those presented were of good quality. They came to the unanimous conclusion that that of Mr. Binyon was the best in the list. He had evidently studied his subject with great care: he had not reproduced what he found in the textbooks alone, for the observations throughout the essay showed that he had formed his own conclusions and had used his own intelligence.

He drew many interesting parallels which testified to the extent of his knowledge of general history.

Dr. F. W. Thomas pointed out that it is difficult for an Englishman to form or express an opinion concerning Indian systems and personalities without first-hand knowledge of the ancient literature of the country. But the difficulty of setting forth adequately a great Indian figure in English had been most successfully met by Mr. Binyon, whose paper represented a remarkable feat in philosophic understanding.

The Headmaster of Westminster said that they felt proud and honoured at Westminster that Binyon had won this very considerable distinction. In what particular line of inspiration he brought his mind to undertake this difficult task he was not quite sure. It might be that the spirits of Warren Hastings and Elijah Impey were hovering about his head, for he slept in the very room where they had both slept in their day. Perhaps he felt the call of the blood to undertake an expedition into the mysterious East, for one who bore the name of Binyon could not go for long without feeling himself called to study and explain the East to the West. Indeed, a distinguished colleague of Mr. Laurence Binyon said to him the other day, "Of course, he represents to us the spirituality of the British Museum." (Laughter.) The prize-winner had started upon a line of study in which in future years he might well be enabled to produce valuable and helpful work in the history and philosophy of the development of the human race. He felt strongly that the Society by offering this award was helping those who were engaged on the school side of the educational life of our country. The existence of the Medal was a direct incentive to thoughtful boys to take up work which otherwise they might never think of pursuing. In a remarkable sentence Samuel Johnson said, "Whatever makes the past, the distant or the future predominate over the present advances us in the dignity of thinking beings." The R.A.S., in the encouragement it gave to the student of the past and distant in its relation

to the present and the future, helped them to advance in the dignity of thinking beings. It encouraged them to try to understand and to take a philosophic and thoughtful outlook upon the development of our Empire. To his mind there was hardly any duty more incumbent upon the young people at school in England at this moment than to try to understand the Empire and their responsibilities as good citizens in it. There were harder tasks confronting them in the next forty years than we in our generation or than past generations had known. Therefore, if scholars at the public schools were encouraged to develop a line of thought in that direction it would be of inestimable advantage to our Empire and to the happiness of the individuals composing it. So with all sincerity he thanked the Society for the great help and encouragement which their work provided for the pupils in the schools of this country.

The presentation of the Medal by Lord Chalmers concluded the proceedings.

Lecture

Mrs. Ayscough delivered an interesting lecture on 15th January, a resumé of which follows:—

“Probably the most popular of present-day Chinese religious cults is that of the Spiritual Magistrate of the City Walls and City Moats. It is considered to be the duty of this official to make a report of men’s actions during life to the ruler of the Dark World, who is then able to decide what punishments and rewards shall be meted out to spirits of the dead when they appear before him—as all must do.

“Its origin is rooted in the highest antiquity, as it has sprung from a sacrifice instituted by King Yao *circa* 2357 B.C. The Chinese believed then, as they do now, in the survival of the soul, and consider, as does Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, not only that life carries on enclosed in some more tenuous envelope, but that the conditions which it encounters in the Beyond are not unlike those which it has known here.”

The paper was illustrated by lantern slides coloured by Miss L. Douglas.

PRESENTATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

Books

- L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu traduit et annoté par
L. de la V. Poussin. 1er et 2me chapitres. Société Belge
d'Études Orientales. Paris, Louvain, 1923.
From Publishers.
- Acta Orientalia ediderunt Societates Orientales Batava Danica
Norvegica redigenda curavit S. Konow. Vol. i. Lugduni
Batavorum, 1923. *From Editor.*
- Altindische Politik, eine Übersicht auf Grund der Quellen von A.
Hillebrandt. Die Herdflamme Bd. 7. Jena, 1923.
From Publishers.
- The Antiquities of Bidar, by G. Yazdani. Calcutta, 1917 *Bought.*
- Archæologia, or Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity
published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. Vol. lxxii.
Oxford, 1922. *From Publishers.*
- Archæological Survey, Burma, Report of the Superintendent.
Rangoon, 1923. *From Government of Burma.*
- of Ceylon, Annual Report, 1921-2, by A. M. Hocart.
Colombo, 1923. *From Government of Ceylon.*
- of India, Annual Report, 1920-1, by Sir J. Marshall.
Calcutta, 1923. *From Government of India.*
- — — — — Memoirs, No. 14. Antiquities of Bhimbar and
Rajauri, by Ram Chandra Kak. Calcutta, 1923.
From Government of India.
- The Arhats in China and Japan, by M. W. de Visser. Berlin,
1923. *From Publishers.*
- The Art of the Chinese Potter from the Han Dynasty to the end
of the Ming, illustrated in a series of 192 examples, selected,
described, and with an introduction by R. L. Hobson and
A. L. Hetherington. London, 1923. *From Publishers.*
- Ars Asiatica, V. Bronzes Khmers. Étude basée sur des docu-
ments recueillis par P. Lefèvre-Pontalis par G. Cœdès.
Paris, 1923. *From Publishers.*
- The Balochi Language. A Grammar and Manual by Major G. W.
Gilbertson, assisted by Gháno Khán, Haddiání. Hertford,
1923. *From Author.*
- Baralám and Yēwāsēf, being the Ethiopic Version of a
Christianized Recension of the Buddhist Legend of the
Buddha and the Bodhisattva. The Ethiopic Text edited for

the first time with an English Translation and Introduction, etc., by Sir E. A. W. Budge. 2 vols. Cambridge, 1923.

From Publishers.

Bengali Religious Lyrics, Śākta, selected and translated by E. J. Thompson and A. M. Spencer. (The Heritage of India Series.) Calcutta, London, 1923.

From Publishers.

Berosos und die babylonisch-hellenistische Literatur von P. Schnabel. Leipzig, 1923.

From Publishers.

The Bhāvanā Viveka of Mandana Misra with the Commentary of Bhatta Umbeka, ed. with Introduction by Mahāmahopādhyāya Gangānātha Jhā. (The Princess of Wales Saraswati Bhavana Texts, No. 6, pt. ii.) Benares, 1923.

From Government of India.

The Book of Religion and Empire. A semi-official Defence and Exposition of Islam written by Order at the Court and with the Assistance of the Caliph Mutawakkil (A.D. 847-61) by Ali Tabari. Arabic Text edited from an apparently unique MS. in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, by A. Mingana. Manchester, 1923.

From Editor.

British School of Archæology in Jerusalem. First, Second, and Third Annual Reports, 1920-1-2. Bulletin Nos. 1, 2, 3. Supplementary Papers I. Index of Hittite Names. Section A. Geographical. Pt. i. Collated and edited in collaboration with the Director by L. A. Mayer. Notes by J. Garstang. London, 1921-3.

Exchange.

Buddhism and Buddhists in Southern Asia, by K. J. Saunders. New York, 1923.

From Publishers.

Buddhismus (Buddha und seine Lehre) von H. Beckh. 2te Auf. 2 vols. (Sammlung Götschen.) Berlin, 1920, 1922.

Bought.

Catalogue of the Library of the India Office. Vol. i, Accessions XI. London, 1923.

From Librarian.

Les Chams et leur Art, un Royaume disparu par J. Leuba avec une préface de L. Finot. Paris, 1923.

From Publishers.

The Church in Madras, being the History of the Ecclesiastical and Missionary Action of the East India Company in the Presidency of Madras from 1835-61, by Rev. F. Penny. Vol. iii. London, 1922.

From Author.

The Coptic Manuscripts in the Freer Collection, ed. by W. H. Worrell. (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, vol. x.) New York, London, 1923.

From Dr. Morse.

Descriptive Catalogue of all MSS. in the First Dastur Meherji Rana Library, Navsari, prepared by Bamanji Nasarvanji Dhabhar. Bombay, 1923.

From Publishers.

The Divân of Kâzi Burhân-ud-Dîn. Constantinople, 1922.

From Professor L. Levonian.

The Dravidian Element in Indian Culture, by G. Slater. Foreword by H. J. Fleure. London, 1924.

From Publishers.

- Early Chinese Jades, by Una Pope-Hennessy. London, 1923.
From Publishers.
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TRANSLITERATION
OF THE
SANSKRIT, ARABIC,
AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given within is based on that approved by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894. A few optional forms have been added so as to adapt it to the requirements of English and Indian scholars. The Council earnestly recommends its general adoption (as far as possible), in this country and in India, by those engaged in Oriental Studies.

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ	.	.	.	<i>a</i>
आ	.	.	.	<i>ā</i>
इ	.	.	.	<i>i</i>
ई	.	.	.	<i>ī</i>
उ	.	.	.	<i>u</i>
ऊ	.	.	.	<i>ū</i>
ऋ	.	.	.	<i>ṛ</i> or <i>ṝ</i>
ॠ	.	.	.	<i>ṝ</i> or <i>ṝ̄</i>
ऌ	.	.	.	<i>ḷ</i> or <i>ḹ</i>
ॡ	.	.	.	<i>ḹ</i> or <i>ḹ̄</i>
ए	.	.	.	<i>e</i> or <i>ē</i>
ऐ	.	.	.	<i>ai</i>
ओ	.	.	.	<i>o</i> or <i>ō</i>
औ	.	.	.	<i>au</i>
क	.	.	.	<i>ka</i>
ख	.	.	.	<i>kha</i>
ग	.	.	.	<i>ga</i>
घ	.	.	.	<i>gha</i>
ङ	.	.	.	<i>ṅa</i>
च	.	.	.	<i>ca</i> or <i>cha</i> ¹
छ	.	.	.	<i>cha</i> or <i>chha</i> ¹
ज	.	.	.	<i>ja</i>
झ	.	.	.	<i>jha</i>
ञ	.	.	.	<i>ña</i>
ट	.	.	.	<i>ṭa</i>
ठ	.	.	.	<i>ṭha</i>
ड	.	.	.	<i>ḍa</i>
ढ	.	.	.	<i>ḍha</i>
ण	.	.	.	<i>ṇa</i>
त	.	.	.	<i>ta</i>
थ	.	.	.	<i>tha</i>
द	.	.	.	<i>da</i>

¹ In modern Indian languages only.

ध	.	.	.	<i>dha</i>
न	.	.	.	<i>na</i>
प	.	.	.	<i>pa</i>
फ	.	.	.	<i>pha</i>
ब	.	.	.	<i>ba</i>
भ	.	.	.	<i>bha</i>
म	.	.	.	<i>ma</i>
य	.	.	.	<i>ya</i>
र	.	.	.	<i>ra</i>
ल	.	.	.	<i>la</i>
व	.	.	.	<i>va</i>
श	.	.	.	<i>śa</i>
ष	.	.	.	<i>ṣa</i>
स	.	.	.	<i>sa</i>
ह	.	.	.	<i>ha</i>
ळ	.	.	.	<i>ḷa</i> or <i>ḷa</i>
◌̣ (Anusvāra)	.	.	.	<i>ṃ</i>
◌̤ (Anunāsika)	.	.	.	<i>m̤</i>
◌̥ (visarga)	.	.	.	<i>h̥</i>
× (jihvāmūlīya)	.	.	.	<i>ḷ̥</i>
◌̥̣ (upadhmanīya)	.	.	.	<i>ḷ̥̣</i>
◌̣̣ (avagraha)	.	.	.	<i>'</i>
Udātta	.	.	.	<i>ˆ</i>
Svarita	.	.	.	<i>˘</i>
Anudātta	.	.	.	<i>˙</i>

ADDITIONAL FOR MODERN VERNACULARS

ड़	.	.	.	<i>ṛa</i>
ढ़	.	.	.	<i>ṛha</i>

Where, as happens in some modern languages, the inherent *a* of a consonant is not sounded, it need not be written in transliteration. Thus Hindi करता *kartā* (not *karatā*), making; कल *kal* (not *kala*), to-morrow.

The sign ~, a tilde, has long been used by scholars to represent *anunāsika* and *anusvāra* and *nūn-i-ghunna*—when these stand for nasal vowels—in Prakrit and in the modern vernaculars: thus अँ *ā̃*, आँ *ā̃*, and so on. It is therefore permitted as an optional use in these circumstances.

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

ا at beginning of word omit; hamza elsewhere ' or ,
alternatively, hamza may be represented by - or °

ب	b
ت	t
ث	<i>t̤</i> or <i>th</i>
ج	<i>j</i> or <i>dj</i> ¹
ح	h
خ	<i>ḥ</i> or <i>kh</i>
د	d
ذ	<i>ḍ</i> or <i>dh</i>
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	<i>ʃ</i> or <i>sh</i>
ص	ʂ
ض	<i>ḍ</i>
ط	<i>t̤</i> or <i>t̤</i> ¹
ظ	<i>ẓ</i> or <i>ẓ</i> ¹
ع	'
غ	<i>g</i> or <i>gh</i>
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n

¹ Although allowed by the Geneva system, the use of *dj* for ج in England or India is not recommended; nor for modern Indian languages should ط be transliterated by *t̤* or ظ by *ẓ*, as these signs are there employed for other purposes.

و *w* or *v*ه *h*ت *t* or *h*ي *y*vowels - *a*, *i*, *u*lengthened | *ā*, *ī*, *ū**Alif-i-maqṣūra* may be represented by *ā*diphthongs *ay* and *aw* or *ai* and *au*,
respectively*e* and *o* may be used in place of *ī* and *ū*also *ē* and *ō* in Indian dialects, *ü* and *ö* in Turkish.—ل of article *al* to be always *l*Also in India, in transliterating Indian dialects, and
for Persian, will be recognized *ṣ* for *ص*, *ẓ* for
ض, and *ẓ* for *ض**waṣla*

A final silent *h* need not be transliterated,—thus *بندہ*
banda (not *bandah*). When pronounced, it should be
written,—thus *گناہ* *gunāh*.

ADDITIONAL LETTERS

Persian, Hindi, Urdū, and Paṣhtō.

پ *p*
چ *c*, *c*, or *ch*
ژ *z* or *zh*
گ *g*

Turkish letters.

ک when pronounced as *y*, *ç* is permitted
ش *ñ*

Hindī, Urdū, and Paṣṭō.

ت or پ *t*

ڌ or ڍ *ḍ*

ڙ or ڻ *ʔ*

ن (nūn-i-ghunna) ~ as in the case of the Nāgari
anunāsika

Paṣṭō letters.

ټ *ts* or *ts*

ځ *ɟ* or *ʒh* (according to dialect)

ښ *n*

پښ *ksh*; or *sh* or *kh* (according to dialect)

څ or ځ *dz* or *dz*

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PART II.—APRIL

Notes on the Phonetics of the Gilgit Dialect of Shina

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL D. L. R. LORIMER, C.I.E., M.R.A.S.

(Concluded from p. 42.)

THE AFFINITIES OF SHINA Š AND Ṣ̌

60. (a) Shina palatal *š* corresponds to Sanskrit palatal *ś* (श्र) in the following:—

Δšpo	horse	Skt. aśva-
diš	place	„ diš
pašo:iki	to see	„ √paś-
šal	100	„ šatam
šΔš	mother-in-law	„ švaśrū
šai.o	white	? „ švetá-, √švit- (or šiti)
šū:	dog	„ švan-
šu:ko	dry	? „ šūška-

(b) Shina *š* perhaps corresponds to Sanskrit -dy- in:

Δš, aš to-day Skt. adya cf. Hind. āj
bašo:iki to play a musical instrument, may, on the analogy of
Shina Δš Hind. āj

be compared with Hind. bajnā, bajānā, bājā, which I would tentatively suggest may be referable to some form

*vādyā- from √vad-, of which the causative vādāya- may mean “to play a musical instrument”.

Shina medial *š* may perhaps correspond to Skt. *-rty-* in:

muš'a: man Skt. *mártya-*
cf. Khowar *mōš* and Iranian *mašya*

61. (a) Shina cerebral *š* corresponds to Skt. *ṣ* (ॠ) in:

<i>biš</i>	<i>poison</i>	Skt. <i>viṣa-</i>
<i>nu:š</i>	<i>daughter-in-law</i>	„ <i>snuṣā</i>
pl. <i>nu:ja:re</i>		
<i>ro:š</i>	<i>anger</i>	„ <i>roṣa-</i>
loc. <i>ro:šer</i>		
<i>ša</i>	<i>six</i>	„ <i>ṣāṣ</i>

(b) Shina *š* corresponds to Skt. *śr* and *ṣṛ* in:

<i>ā:šo</i>	<i>tear</i>	Skt. <i>áśru-</i>
<i>šΔš</i>	<i>mother-in-law</i>	„ <i>śvaśrú</i>
<i>ši:ŋ</i>	<i>horn</i>	„ <i>śṛṅga-</i>

(c) Shina *š* perhaps corresponds to Skt. *ṛṣ*, *rṣ* in:

<i>kī:š t.</i>	<i>to push, pull</i>	} Skt. $\sqrt{\text{krṣ-}}$
<i>kiši</i>	<i>line</i>	
<i>kΔš t.</i>	<i>to wipe, shave</i>	„ $\sqrt{\text{karṣ-}}$

(d) In *paš* *wool* } Skt. *pakṣman*
paši:lu *woollen* }

one would expect *č*, but perhaps the *k* was lost before the *m*, giving **pašm* → *paš*. In any case the Shina forms show a cerebral corresponding to a Sanskrit cerebral.

62. The following are apparent exceptions to the general principle: palatal *vis-à-vis* palatal, and cerebral *vis-à-vis* cerebral:

Δš (but perhaps *Δš* doubtful) *eight* Skt. *aṣṭá*

Punyali is, I think, *Δšt* or *Δšt*.

<i>praš</i>	<i>rib</i>	Skt. <i>prṣṭhí-</i>
<i>šušo:iki</i>	<i>to become dry</i>	„ $\sqrt{\text{śuṣ-}}$

In the first two, however, the forms are peculiar, for in other cases *št*, *st* are reduced to *t*, vide § 52.

Further *praš* is probably a borrowing from Khowar, where it is found with the same meaning.

In šuš- for šuš- we must assume assimilation. Perhaps šiš is a similar case of progressive assimilation of s to š.

šiš head for šiš ← *šras Skt. śiras

63. ě (tš). This sound is common in Shina. It is usually distinctly cerebral and readily distinguishable from ě, but, as in the case of š and ś, doubtful cases occur.

ě:ě *field* may be taken as the type-word for ě

and ěak *day* as that for ě.

I have adopted the symbol ě to represent these sounds in preference to tš because I do not think the initial sound in the combination is a full t.

The following are examples of the two sounds:—

Initial

	ě		ě
ěa:l	<i>kid</i>	ěa: b.	<i>to be cold</i>
ěā:lo	<i>broad</i>	ěa:ko	<i>spindle</i>
ěa:r	<i>four</i>	ěano:iki	<i>to send</i>
ěak	<i>day</i>	ěa:r B. ěər	<i>cliff</i>
ěak B.	<i>pick</i>	ěā:to	<i>drum</i>
ěako:iki	<i>to look</i>	ěā:il	<i>rind of a green</i>
ěapo:iki	<i>to chew</i>		<i>walnut</i>
ěas b.	<i>to be torn,</i>	ěat b. B.	<i>to break</i>
	<i>broken off</i>	ěato:r B. ěato:r	<i>quince</i>
ěastan B.	<i>matting</i>	ěε	<i>three</i>
ěā:š B. ěāš	<i>thorns</i>	ěε:ě	<i>field</i>
ěati:lo	<i>1½ to 2-year</i>	ěi:ěu (maro:ě)	<i>piebald</i>
	<i>goat</i>		<i>(mulberry)</i>
ěeru:	<i>top, peak</i>	ěi:ěupi:ěu:	<i>piebald</i>
ěεěa:ro	<i>rough</i>	ěi:lo	<i>cloth, clothes</i>
B. ěεa: rum		ěi:ŋ	<i>a kind of</i>
ěε.i	<i>woman</i>		<i>cereal</i>
ěε:i B.	<i>key</i>	ěiri	<i>udder</i>
ěī:	<i>pine</i>	ěī:š B. ěi:š	<i>mountain</i>
ěi:jo:t	<i>shade</i>	ěi:to	<i>bitter</i>
ěi:li	<i>juniper</i>	ěi:ě B. ěi:š	<i>ladder</i>

	č		č̣
čimi B.	<i>cup</i>	čilo:iki	<i>to tease wool</i>
čile:i	<i>nurse, ramrod</i>	čon B. čan	<i>leisure</i>
čimo, čumo	<i>fish</i>	čot b. B. čot	<i>to fall</i>
B. čumo		čukəčə:kə	<i>dirt</i>
čino:iki	<i>to cut</i>	B. čukčə:k	
čivo:iki	<i>to place</i>	čyu: b.	<i>to fall in love</i>
čo t. B.	<i>to gallop</i>		
čo:l B.	<i>proper,</i> <i>becoming</i>		
čot B.	<i>heap, pile</i>		
čot:tal B. čot:tal	<i>rhubarb</i>		
jek čo:kij	<i>how?</i>		
B. čo:k			
ču:čo B. ču:ču	<i>teat, nipple</i>		
čumo	<i>small</i>		
čurko	<i>yeast, dough</i>		
čuri	<i>theft</i>		
čuro:iki	<i>to place</i>		
ču:š t. B.	<i>to suck</i>		
čut	<i>slow</i>		
čumus, B. čamus	<i>bug</i>		
čuruto	<i>thief</i>		

Medial

lačo:iki	<i>to penetrate</i>	a:čo	<i>walnut</i>
b'ičuš B.	<i>lightning</i>	ačo:e	<i>walnut-tree</i>
pfáč'lo	<i>tail</i>	Δči:	<i>eye</i>
pfatəčo (pfacetso)	<i>kick</i>	Δču:uni	<i>hole</i>
kačo	<i>bad</i>	bačo d.	<i>to irrigate</i>
kačo	<i>near</i>	Δč'ino	<i>right hand</i>
kulčim B.	<i>house-steward</i>	fača:li	<i>wing</i>
mača:re	<i>wasp</i>	pfī:čo B. p'hi:čo	<i>mosquito</i>
muč'lo	<i>in front,</i> <i>before</i>	gači: B. gačə	<i>osiers, wicker</i>
mučo:iki	<i>to recover,</i> <i>escape</i>	ha:čum	<i>jaw</i>
		uču:ni	<i>female bear</i>
		jamu:čo	<i>son-in-law</i>

	č		č̣
pač̣o:iki	to ripen	kač̣ati	match
(pa:jo:iki)		mač̣i:	fly, honey
šaič̣o:iki	to be affected	po:č̣o	grandson
tuku:č̣o	knuckles,	sā:č̣o	dream
	fetlock	sač̣o B.	easy
ū:č̣u, B. u:č̣o	tongs	sič̣o:iki	to learn
učač̣o:iki	to reach,	sō:č̣i, B. so:č̣i	female
	arrive	sū:č̣o	straight, true
		tač̣i	adze
		tač̣o:n	carpenter
		uč̣o:iki	to flee

Final

-č -j	(suffix) on	bisa:č̣ B. biserṣ̌	sickle
-kač̣	(suffix) in	bu:č̣ B.	chenar-tree
	possession	ga:č̣	price
	of, etc.	hāro:č̣ B. hārenj	pitch-fork
bir ¹ Δč̣	horizontal	hu:č̣	field terrace
mar ¹ o:č̣	mulberry	i:č̣	bear (male)
	(tree, fruit)	Δč̣	goat
m ¹ a:ruč̣	pepper	moč̣	earth cliff
		(owa:lo) pač̣ B.	(summer) time
		pu:č̣	son

THE AFFINITIES OF SHINA č̣ AND č̣̣

64. Shina č̣ corresponds to Sanskrit č̣ in :

č̣a:r	four	Skt. č̣atūr-, č̣atvār-
č̣om	leather	„ č̣ārman
č̣u:č̣u	nipple	„ č̣ūč̣uka-
č̣u:ri	theft	„ č̣aurya-, √č̣ur-
č̣uru:to	thief	„ č̣aura-
č̣u:ṣ̌ t.	to suck	„ √č̣ūṣ̌-
č̣um	chin (?)	„ č̣ibuka
pač̣o:iki	to be cooked,	„ √pač̣-
paj-	to ripen	
ma:ruč̣	pepper suggests	Skt. mārika and Hind. mirič̣

65. (a) Shina cerebral *č* corresponds to Skt. *tr*, *-tr* in

<i>čɛ</i>	<i>three</i>	Skt. <i>trāyas</i> <i>trī</i>
<i>čɛ:č</i>	<i>field</i>	„ <i>kṣētra</i>
<i>jamu:čo</i>	<i>son-in-law</i>	„ <i>jāmātr</i> -, <i>-tar</i> -
<i>pu:č</i>	<i>son</i>	„ <i>putrá</i> -

The word for “woman”, *čɛ.i* in Gilgit Shina, is said to be pronounced *čɛ.i* at Gupis and in Darel. It is conceivable that it may be related to the Sanskrit *strī*.

(b) Shina *č* corresponds to Skt. *kṣ* in :

<i>Δč'i</i>	<i>eye</i>	Skt. <i>ákṣi</i> -
<i>čɛ:č</i>	<i>field</i>	„ <i>kṣētra</i> -
<i>čon</i>	<i>leisure</i>	„ <i>kṣāṇa</i> -
<i>Δč'ino</i>	<i>right (hand)</i>	„ <i>dákṣiṇa</i> -
<i>fΔča:li</i>	<i>wing</i> (?)	„ <i>pakṣá</i> -
<i>i:č</i>	<i>bear</i> (?)	„ <i>īkṣa</i> -
<i>mΔči</i>	<i>fly</i>	„ <i>mákṣā</i>
<i>tačo:n</i>	<i>carpenter</i>	<i>tákṣan</i> -

Notes.—(i) In the loan-word *me:č table* *č* represents *z* of *mez*.

(ii) I have noted that for *čɛ:č*, *ga:č*, and *pu:č* some people say *čɛt*, *gāt*, and *poit*. How far this tendency to reduce *č* to *t* is general I cannot yet say, nor whether it only works where *č* corresponds to *tr*. I also cannot say whether the *t* in these cases is cerebral.

Here again palatal sounds in Shina correspond to palatal sounds in Sanskrit, and similarly cerebral sounds correspond to cerebral, *r* being reckoned cerebral in Sanskrit.

66. *j* (*dž*, *ž*)

This sound, which is fairly common in Shina, is the voiced counterpart of *č* and like it is, at its best, a marked cerebral. By many it is reduced to *ž* in the same way as *j* is reduced to *ž*.

Sf.'s pronunciation of it always suggests to me a sort of *g*-sound and I used to write it *gž*, but he himself

absolutely repudiates the existence of anything resembling *g*. When it is pronounced slowly and carefully I now always think that I can recognize *ḡ*, the *ḡ* element being subordinate.

I have adopted the symbol *j* to represent it, because I take the full-dress sound to be *ḡ* and I want to avoid the formal adoption of either *ḡ* or *ḡ*. *j* is also the correlative of *č* and similarly obviates the inference that the initial is a complete plosive.

The following are examples of the two *j*'s.

<i>Initial</i>			
	<i>j</i> (<i>ḡ</i> , <i>ḡ</i>)		<i>j</i> (<i>ḡ</i> , <i>ḡ</i>)
<i>ja:tɛ</i>	<i>whither</i>	<i>ja:</i>	<i>brother</i>
<i>ja:k B.</i>	<i>rheumatism</i>	<i>ja:s t.</i>	<i>to pull</i>
<i>ja:k B. ja:k,</i>	<i>pity</i>	<i>ja:p</i>	<i>property</i>
<i>ža:k</i>		<i>ja:s t.</i>	<i>to take by force</i>
<i>ja:lo</i>	<i>raft</i>	<i>ja:taɪ.ɛ</i>	<i>leather bag</i>
<i>ja:r</i>	<i>paramour (m.)</i>	<i>ja:č</i>	<i>grapes</i>
<i>jaro</i>	<i>old man</i>	<i>jæ^h</i>	<i>black from</i>
<i>ja:k</i>	<i>people</i>		<i>smoke</i>
<i>ja:kur</i>	<i>hair (human)</i>	<i>je:k</i>	<i>extended</i>
<i>ja:l B.</i>	<i>net</i>	<i>ji:go</i>	<i>long</i>
<i>jamu:č^lo</i>	<i>son-in-law</i>	<i>ji:n B.</i>	<i>line</i>
<i>jan t.</i>	<i>to loot</i>	<i>nato jo:ilɛ</i>	<i>nostril</i>
<i>ja:p t.</i>	<i>to stop up</i>		
<i>ja:t</i>	<i>hair (animal's)</i>		
<i>ja:r^lo:</i>	<i>motherless</i>		
<i>B. jəro:</i>	<i>parentless</i>		
<i>je:k</i>	<i>what</i>		
<i>je:ri</i>	<i>old woman</i>		
<i>jel</i>	<i>jungle (of trees,</i>		
	<i>thorn bushes,</i>		
	<i>etc.)</i>		
<i>ji:l b. B.</i>	<i>to rise, appear</i>		
	<i>(of sun)</i>		
<i>jil B. ji:</i>	<i>soul</i>		

j (dž, ž)

jo:iki (3rdsg. to be born

pret. ja:lo)

jo:mo B. ji:mo living

jo:to B. chicken

ju:k B. pain

juk wood

ju^{ak} t. B. ju:k to touchju:li B. ju^uli soup

jun snake

juru:ni B. fringe of hair on

juru:mo the forehead

j (dž, ž)

Medial

-jo ablative suffix a:jo rain, wet mist,

a:je mother wet

Δji up gaΔjam t. to lay violent

Δjo:mo strange B. γ^rΔjam hands on

Δju ka:l this year hali:jo yellow

bijo:iki to fear jō:ji birch-tree

bij^yu:to terrifying, evil- manu:jo man (homo)B. bij^ya:to looking mu:ji rat

bujo:iki to go mujo:iki to save, preserve

čijo:t shade pi:jo:iki, to grind,

dija:re (pl.) daughters (pe:jam) (I grind)

dijo:iki to fall pi:ju flea

dujo:iki to wash roja:to angry

-i:j- theme of u:ju B. uju otter

passive and
neuter verbs

iji:lu (ži:lu) sheep

-oje suffix of

present par-
ticiplesmaj^la: middle

paΔju salt

j (dž, ž)	Final	j (dž, ž)
-j(suffix sometimes alternat- ing with -č) on		ro:j ro:š anger
bulej B. bulla ramchickor		
gi:rej vulture		

AFFINITIES OF j AND j̣

67. (a) Shina palatal j (dž, ž) corresponds to Sanskrit j in :

jamu:čo	son-in-law	Skt. jāmātr-
jaro	old man	„ jarat
jat	animal's hair	(?) „ jaṭā braid of hair, Hind. jaṭā matted hair
jo:iki, ja:lo	to be born, he was born	} Skt. √jan-, jāya IV.A.
jomo	living	

(b) Shina palatal j̣ corresponds to Sanskrit č in :

jakur	hair of head	Skt. čikura-
jek	what something	} (?) „ -čid

(c) Shina palatal j corresponds to Skt. -dhi, -dhy- in :

Δji	above, upwards	Skt. ádhi
mΔj'a:	middle	„ mādhyā-

68. Shina cerebral j̣ corresponds to :

(a) Sanskrit dr in :

jač	grapes	Skt. drākṣā vine, grape
u:ju	otter	„ udrá- water animal
and perhaps		
ji:go	long	„ dīrghá- (Aryan d̥)

(b) Sanskrit ṣ̌ (as a rule only when medial in Shina):

manu:jo	human being	Skt. mānuṣa-
mu:ji	rat	„ mūṣa-, mūṣika-
pi:jo:iki	to grind	„ √piṣ-
ro:j (beside ro:š) ro:ja:to	anger angry	} „ roṣa- anger

Here, again, we have palatals corresponding to palatals, and cerebrals to cerebrals.

The case of *mujo:iki* (doubtful *mujo:iki*) is distressing; one would naturally connect it either with

Skt. $\sqrt{\text{muč-}}$ or $\sqrt{\text{mukṣ-}}$ (both transitive verbs) and then *muč:iki* to *escape* would follow as

muj + č + o:iki → *muč:iki*

-č- being a neuter verbal theme like -i:j-, but the first root should give *muč-* and the latter *muč-*, not *muj-* or *muj-*.

69. Cerebral *ḍ*

This is the last of the Primary or Original Cerebrals which I find in Shina.

It is distinctly not a normal, i.e. dental or alveolar, *d*. It is much more akin to an *r*, for which I am always inclined to mistake it. The sound is, however, regarded by the people as a *d*, and when pronounced slowly and clearly I can recognize it as *ḍ*.

The sound is not a very common one, nor have I met it except as a medial. The following are all the examples that I have as yet been able to collect of it:—

Examples—

<i>baḍo</i>	<i>big, large</i>
<i>baḍo:iki</i>	<i>to finish, complete</i>
<i>baḍi:lo (ja:)</i>	<i>big (brother)</i>
<i>baḍuli:k B.</i>	<i>small Kashmiri iron dish (used for drinking from or putting vegetables in)</i>
<i>beḍijo:iki</i>	<i>to be finished, exhausted</i>
<i>beḍi:do, beḍi:lo</i>	
<i>biḍi:ŋ B.</i>	<i>noise (of gun, or falling stone)</i>
<i>biḍi:ro B.</i>	<i>round</i>
<i>bi:ḍi:li:ko</i>	
<i>bi:ḍi:lu:ko</i>	
<i>buḍijo:iki</i>	<i>to dive</i>
<i>buḍulo:ko B.</i>	<i>muddy (of water)</i>

daḍaŋ, daḍaŋ B.	<i>drum</i> (larger kind, not kettle-drum)
di:ḍu B. di:ru	<i>bullet</i>
fḍaḍako fatako	<i>bald</i>
(gu:me:i) g ^l a:ḍo	<i>sheaf</i> (of wheat)
gaḍam B.	<i>noise of a stone falling into water</i>
gaḍub ^l i:	<i>iron vessel</i> ("lota", "maṣarba")
guḍur B. guḍur	<i>large wicker platter</i> (for cleaning rice in)
kəḍək ^l i:	a kind of repulsive <i>white grub</i> which eats the roots of plants
kor ^l o:ḍo B.	<i>thin, emaciated</i> (of cattle)
ku:ḍo	<i>lame</i>
leḍo B.	<i>bastard</i>
ṣəraḍo B.	<i>vegetables</i> cooked in a stone vessel
ṣuḍu:iki d.	<i>to whistle</i>
talbu:ḍo	<i>spider</i>
B. talabudō	
təḍam b. B.	<i>to stumble</i>
təraḍo	<i>slack and incompetent</i>

AFFINITIES OF ḍ

70. I am unable to trace cognates of any of these words in Sanskrit. Perhaps they may be obvious to a Sanskrit scholar, but I can only assume that there are none.

Perhaps baḍo is to be connected with Hind. *barā*; in meaning they are identical and they closely resemble each other in sound.

gaḍam is presumably onomatopoeic, and may be compared with Pashtu *γrab*, with the same meaning, and *γrumb*.

If Sanskritic affinities are lacking, Burushaski ones are, on the other hand, very prominent. It will be noted that about fifty per cent of the words quoted are used also in Burushaski in an identical or slightly differing form.

Shina ḍ is represented by r in Burushaski *diru* (the form in which I first recorded the word in Shina) and by d in B. *gudur*.

SECONDARY CEREBRALS

71. The sounds *t*, *d*, and *r* become, I think, cerebralized when in contact with a primary cerebral.

Thus the *t* in *tṣ* (*ṭ*) and the *d* in *dṣ* (*j*) are, I think, cerebral, the tongue being drawn back to the cerebral position before the pronunciation of the compound sound begins.

The same seems to be the case with *r* in

čarčat *fruitless mulberry*

I am at a loss to provide further examples. I have *čirṣ* (for *čirṣ*) recorded from a Punyali, but it is probably incorrect.

72. Cerebral *ṇ*. I am inclined to agree with Dr. Grahame Bailey that the *n* in *šin*, *šin'a*: is a real cerebral. Failing proof to the contrary, I hold that this *ṇ* is cerebralized by the preceding *š*.

73. This process of cerebralization over a vowel is easily conceivable (consider the laws affecting the change of *n* to *ṇ* in Sanskrit). The difficulty is that I have failed to find any signs of its operating as a general rule in Shina. Out of a large number of words I have examined, I am prepared to admit some degree of cerebralization only in the following instances:

<i>čano:iki</i>	<i>to send</i>
<i>čon</i>	<i>leisure</i>
<i>dačino</i>	<i>right hand</i>
<i>jiṇi</i>	<i>lines</i>
<i>tačon</i>	<i>carpenter</i>
<i>jun</i>	<i>a wild plant with medicinal virtues</i>

I have experimented with the theory that a close vowel, requiring less alteration of the mouth cavity, might favour the continuance of the cerebralization, but without positive results;

čano:iki is hostile to it.

I have failed to find in Gilgit Shina confirmation of Dr. Grahame Bailey's assertion that in all dialects the *n* of

kuni plural of ko:n ear

is cerebral, or evidence of any general principle by which a final alveolar n changes to cerebral ŋ when it is followed by a vowel. Incidentally, why should it?

74. It might be expected that if n is sometimes affected by a carry-over of cerebralization that t, d, and r would be similarly affected, but I have examined many words without obtaining any positive result. I think these sounds may possibly be slightly affected in some cases, but not to the point of cerebralization. For example in

Δçiru in the eye

çot b. to fall

jatai:ε bag

and still more in

damija:r (or j ?) trouble

çiri udder

roja:to angry

it would be incorrect to describe the t's and r's as cerebrals.

75. There still remains one possible source of cerebralization to be considered, the influence of *back vowels*. I have already referred in §§ 26, 27 to the apparent effect of back vowels in retracting the position of a neighbouring consonant, but this does not in itself entail cerebralization, nor, as far as I can judge does it lead to it in Gilgit Shina.

A few isolated words, such as :

so:n gold

kan hill

kun blanket

seem to have rather retracted n's, perhaps due to the contiguous vowels, but I do not think they are cerebral.

76. Burushaski possesses a cerebral ŋ which, so far as I have been able to ascertain, occurs only in the proximity of a primary cerebral. The following are examples:

čAŋ empty, leisure. Cf. Shina čon

šAŋ gate

šɛ:ŋ Shin. Cf. Shina šin

šɛŋ, šɪŋ	<i>kind of bedstead</i>
šiŋ, šiŋa	<i>they eat, eat !</i>
šoŋ	<i>egg</i>

77. Burushaski has also one or more sounds which I cannot exactly distinguish or define. In one or two words I seem to hear what may be a cerebral r or l. E.g.

baɾum	<i>mare</i>
geɾetas	<i>to dance, etc.</i>
gaɾu	<i>chickor</i>

In other cases there seems to be something resembling more a y or w glide, and in others something suggesting γ and again ž. These sounds appear to occur only in words which are not found in any form in Shina.

78. Before passing on I would advert for a moment to the inconsistency in marking cerebrals of which Sir George Grierson complains in the records on which he has had to work, and which has naturally led him to doubt the existence of any true cerebrals in Shina.

I would suggest that his records have all been prepared by Indian inquirers, or at least with their assistance, and that there are *prima facie* grounds for distrusting an untrained Indian's judgment in discriminating between cerebrals and non-c cerebrals.

Indians as a rule in transliterating render the English alveolar t, d, r as cerebrals, to which in fact they bear no relation. When these sounds are not dental they apparently strike the Indian ear as resembling his cerebrals. Again, are *all* modern Indian written cerebrals really cerebrals? I ask for information.

Again, as regards cerebral š, č, j, the Indian is no better off than the Englishman, for am I not right in believing that they are equally unfamiliar to him? What, by the way, has become of the Sanskrit cerebral ś in the modern vernaculars?

The Indian officials who have furnished records have undoubtedly been men of high intelligence, but it is

unlikely that their attention was ever called to phonetics as a science and they have probably been very much at sea in meeting with sounds new to them.

No such suspicions can be cast on Dr. Grahame Bailey. He bears a reputation as an expert and an enthusiast of the modern school of phonetics. The only suggestions I can make towards explaining the difference of our views are: that I am entirely wrong, which every candid-minded person will agree is unthinkable; or that Dr. Grahame Bailey has relaxed the standard of admission for cerebrals—there are reputable writers who describe the *sh* of the English *ship* as cerebral; or that the Gilgitis whom he has had to deal with have been sufferers from acute cerebralism.

Dr. Grahame Bailey will probably retort that he is incapable of error in such a simple phonetic matter as the diagnosis of cerebrals.

Be this as it may, he must at least confess to a lapse from grace in his use of the term "letter" which he habitually uses for "sound". He says of Shina, "The cerebral letters are used with extraordinary consistency," etc. Would that they were! for then we should have Shins who were conscious of the quality of different sounds in their own language and we should have their own written record of what they considered cerebrals. Unfortunately, from this point of view, however, Shina is an unwritten language and has no letters. It is *vox et praeterea nihil*.

79. I have already referred to the existence of cerebrals in Wakhi. The existing position as regards the recognition of cerebrals in Wakhi is not very clear. Shaw (JASB. xlv, pts. i, No. ii, 1876, p. 150) seems to represent a cerebral *š* by his "sch".

Sir George Grierson (*Ishkashmi, Zebaki, and Yazghulami*, R.A.S. 1920) adopts his description and remarks that the sound "appears to be much the same as the Indian cerebral *ś*".

Geiger in G.I.P. i, 2, pp. 292 and 305, I apprehend to

admit cerebral š and ž in Shigni, but in Wakhi only palatal š.

I have recently had an opportunity of making a very brief study of Wakhi with one or two Wakhis and I found most decided

cerebral š, ž, and č

The first two were even more pronounced than in Shina. As regards t, d, n, r, I can say nothing; I did not observe them, but I was not seeking for them.

Shaw records only a few instances of his sch, of which I have only the one word for *black*, which he gives as

“schū”, while I have only šu:

I am probably wrong. On the other hand, Shaw does not appear to recognize cerebrals in the twenty words or so in which I have recorded š, ž, and č. Dr. Grahame Bailey will, I am sure, support me in saying that it is very unlikely that I recorded a cerebral where it did not exist.

This sharing of these peculiar sounds by Shina and Wakhi is curious and noteworthy.

Wakhi is certified as an Iranian language by Geiger and Grierson, while the “Dard” language is placed by Sir George Grierson as an offspring of the Aryan language subsequent to the branching off from it of the Indo-Aryan language, but prior to the development of full Iranian characteristics.

Is it certain that Wakhi is a definitely Iranian language, or may not it also have taken form before the full development of the Iranian group? I ask in ignorance.

It is to be noted, however, that none of my Wakhi words with cerebrals have cognates in Shina with cerebrals. The only instance in which I find the same root represented in both languages with a cerebral in *one* case is

Wakhi yašč Shina āti

both of which are presumably cognates of Skt. ásthi-, Av. asta-

80. It is interesting to notice in Pashtu the existence

of sounds which are somewhat similar in character and origin to the Shina series š, č, j. They are those represented in the script by بى and چ and pronounced š and ž (written š and ž) in the South, χ and ǵ in the North. I am not certain whether they are in any sense cerebrals.

Pa. š represents 1. Iranian rs and sr

2. „ š ← Indo-European k's

Pa. ž represents Iranian intervocalic š

Thus Pa. š corresponds to Shina š and č
and Pa. ž in some cases to Sh. j and š

The dialectal interchange between Pa. š and χ and ž and ǵ appears to be paralleled in Wakhi by an interchange of š and χ.

E.g. my	yi:š	ice	Shaw and G.I.P.	yiχ
„	šui	sister	Shaw	khū.i (kh palatal spirant ?)

but the Pashtu and Wakhi sounds are not of common origin.

81. We have now completed our survey of the Shina cerebrals and their non-cerebral counterparts, and have inquired as far as lies in my power into their affinities. Our investigations have been in no way exhaustive, but so far as they go it is legitimate to sum up their results and see if any deductions can be drawn from them, always having due regard to the fact that at the best they are true, but probably not the whole truth.

The results may be stated as follows:—

1. There are in Shina four Primary Cerebrals:

š, č, j, (including ž) ǵ.

2. There is further a Secondary Cerebral ŋ.

3. In cognate Shina and Sanskrit words

Shina palatal š, č, and j, correspond to palatal
sounds in the
Sanskrit words.

Shina cerebral š, č, and j, correspond to cerebral
sounds in the
Sanskrit words.

4. Shina cerebral ḍ has not been found in any Shina word which has a cognate in Sanskrit.
5. Shina cerebral ṇ cannot be definitely asserted to correspond to Skt. ṇ or any other Skt. cerebral. It doubtfully occurs in daḍiṇo , Skt. dakṣiṇa- , but it is probably simply due to the Shina ḍ .
6. In words common to both Shina and Burushaski Shina ṣ , ḥ , j , correspond to Burushaski ṣ , ḥ , j .
7. Of known Shina words with ḍ about fifty per cent are common to Burushaski.
8. Cerebral ṇ occurs in Burushaski apparently in association with a Primary Cerebral (ṣ). In at least one case the word is shared by Shina, and this word has a Sanskrit cognate: B. ḍaṇ , Sh. ḍoṇ , Skt. kṣaṇa- , *leisure*.
9. Shina has no independent true cerebral t or r . Sanskrit has cerebral t , and Skt. r is reckoned a cerebral. Burushaski appears to have no cerebral t , and it is very doubtful if it has a cerebral r .
10. Wakhi has cerebral ṣ , ḥ , j , but so far as is known they do not occur in words which have cognates in Shina and display cerebrals.

82. These are our results, stated briefly. Can any certain deductions be drawn from them? Personally I doubt it, unless further extraneous knowledge can be brought to bear.

Where words with Sanskrit cognates occur in both Shina and Burushaski, one may suspect, but one cannot assert, that they have reached Burushaski through Shina.

Where Sanskrit cognates do not exist, the presumption on the whole lies that Shina has been the borrower from Burushaski.

Burushaski is believed to have preceded Shina as the language of the Gilgit region and it is non-Aryan.

Is the existence of cerebral sounds in Shina and

Burushaski to be traced to one original source or to two independent sources ?

There seem to be no signs of any historical connexion between the cerebrals in Shina and Burushaski and those in Wakhi.

How has Wakhi, an Iranian language come to possess them at all and to display them in its own indigenous words ?

The ڄ (ج) and ڙ (ز) of Southern Pashtu, also an Iranian language, correspond roughly to the Shina Primary Cerebrals. Are they also cerebrals ? and when and how did Pashtu come by them ?

Was the Aryan language in its earlier stages in possession of cerebrals, and was it only the stock or branch which developed into full-blown Iranian which lacked or lost them ?

Has the theory up to the present not been that Sanskrit derived its cerebrals from the pre-Aryan inhabitants of India ?

Some local cerebralizing centre might be conceived of as having existed in early times in the Hindu Kush, but in that case the exact correspondence between cerebrals in Shina and Sanskrit would appear to be a peculiar coincidence.

These are some of the questions which suggest themselves to my mind, but which I have no intention of attempting to answer.

83. Before leaving the subject, however, I will challenge one conclusion announced by Dr. Grahame Bailey. He says :

"It is remarkable that a considerable majority of (sc. Shina) words containing t , d , r , n are non-Sanskritic, a fact which shows us that the letters (*sic*) belong to the original Aryan heritage of the race."

On the contrary, the fact proves nothing more than is contained in its statement. It remains to be shown

that such words are Aryan and not of some other origin, possibly that from which Burushaski had its provenance; and it remains to be proved that Aryan had cerebrals.

ASPIRATES

84. I have reserved this subject for separate treatment partly because it is a subject of disagreement between Sir George Grierson's opinion, based on the material before him, and Dr. Grahame Bailey's, based on his own observation and experience.

I have also had a still better reason for postponing discussion of it, in the fact that in many cases I am not prepared to pronounce whether the sounds in a word are aspirated or not aspirated. I have therefore sought safety in showing all sounds alike as unaspirated. That, however, does not correctly represent my exact position.

I agree with Dr. Grahame Bailey that the voiced plosives, *g*, *d*, *b* are not aspirated. I am not prepared either to endorse or challenge his saving clause "except occasionally by accident".

I also agree that the voiceless plosives *k*, *t*, *p* are liable to be aspirated.

The general conclusion at which I have arrived is that normally these sounds are slightly aspirated, just as they are in English, but that in certain cases there is more decided, and in some probably less decided aspiration.

I have been unable to determine definitely whether they are ever totally unaspirated.

From the practical point of view I do not think that the question is of first-rate importance.

The difference between aspirates and non-aspirates, using these terms relatively, is recognized by intelligent Shina speakers, and the distinction may constitute the sole difference between similar words with different meanings, but the ambiguous position of English in the matter provides a working compromise, and I do not think

that general application of the natural English pronunciation of **k**, **t**, **p** would be likely to lead to misunderstanding. The Shin is in any case well accustomed to dealing with homonyms.

85. I am not prepared to offer an opinion on the justice of Dr. Grahame Bailey's dictum that: "In the case of words common to Shina and Indo-Aryan languages, Shina in general has the same aspiration as India, except for sonants."

For this I have two excellent reasons: firstly, that I should have to classify the bulk of Shina words according as they contain or do not contain aspirates, and I see no immediate prospect of doing this as I constantly experience the greatest difficulty in deciding whether a sound is to be classed as aspirated or non-aspirated; and secondly, because my knowledge of the Indo-Aryan languages is insufficient to enable me necessarily to discover the cognates of Shina words which may occur in them.

Some aspirates are to me quite clear:

e.g. **tʰo:iki** to *do*; **kʰo:iki** to *eat*.

Kʰujo:iki to *inquire* and the noun **kʰo:jan** *inquiry* are both, I think, aspirates, but I have usually written them instinctively without aspiration.

86. The case of **p** is slightly different from that of **k** and **t**.

Those who favour the **pf** sound appear to substitute it wherever the others use a distinct **ph**. The **p**'s remaining in the **pf**-speaker's vocabulary are, I think, unaspirated, or only slightly aspirated.

87. The following are a few words with **k** and **t** tentatively classified. For convenience I write **kh**, **th**, etc. for the aspirates, but I think that that representation gives an exaggerated impression of the strength of the aspiration.

K

	Aspirated		Unaspirated
khā :	1. <i>crow</i>	ka:o	<i>bracelet</i>
	2. <i>bill-hook</i>	kā:ka:s	<i>chickor</i>
	3. <i>stirrup</i>	(ma)ka:r	<i>for (me)</i>
kha:ro	<i>a cross furrow</i> (in a field)	kača:k	<i>how much ?</i>
khabo	<i>left (hand)</i>	*kači	<i>near</i>
*khačə	<i>bad</i>	kʏen	<i>boulder</i>
khai.i	<i>gravel</i>	ki:no	<i>black</i>
*khalo:iki	<i>to count</i>	ko	<i>who ?</i>
khʏen	<i>time</i>	ko:əre	<i>pabboos, shoes</i>
khrr	<i>down</i>	ko:lu	<i>crooked</i>
kho:i	<i>cap</i>	ko:m	<i>work</i>
kho:iki	<i>to eat</i>	*ko:n	<i>ear</i>
kho:jən	<i>inquiry</i>	ko:no	<i>thorn</i>
khoʔr	<i>virgin</i>	ku:le	<i>grain</i>
khuro	<i>hoof</i>	ku:no	<i>corpse</i>
khuri	<i>heel</i>	kuro	<i>strong</i>
khuto	<i>short</i>	kuto	<i>knee</i>
khujo:iki	<i>to inquire</i>		
khun	<i>blanket</i>		
<i>Medial.</i>			
likho:iki	<i>to write</i>	fatako	<i>bald</i>
		harkun	<i>jewelry</i>
		mi:kə	<i>urine</i>
		-o:iki	<i>infinite ending</i>
		khuku:n	<i>a kind of cereal</i>
		tiki	<i>bread</i>
		tuku:čo	<i>knuckle</i>
		usku:n	<i>kinsman</i>
		jakun	<i>donkey</i>
<i>Final.</i>			
I have found no distinct final aspirate.		čak	<i>day</i>
		jak	<i>people</i>
		mišərek t.	<i>to mix</i>
		rak	<i>intention</i>

T

Aspirated		Unaspirated	
thalo	<i>basket</i>	ta:to	<i>hot</i>
thak t.	<i>to shake out</i> (cloth)	*tal	<i>roof (internal)</i>
tham t.	<i>to clean</i>	tam d.	<i>to swim</i>
thay t.	<i>to shove</i>	tam t.	<i>to close</i>
ther t.	<i>to open, to throw</i>	tər	<i>piece, bit</i>
theri	<i>polo ball</i>	terro	<i>crooked</i>
thermuk	<i>pellet-bow</i>	*tɛ.ən	<i>now</i>
thiŋi	<i>kind of brush-</i> <i>wood</i>	*tɛʃi	<i>roof (external)</i>
tho:iki	<i>to do</i>	tiki	<i>bread</i>
thu:lo	<i>fat</i>	*tok	<i>mud</i>
thu:n	<i>post, pillar</i>	to:m	<i>own</i>
thuk t.	<i>to peck</i>	tuʃa:r	<i>much</i>

In regard to medials I have found still greater difficulty in determining aspiration. At present I write:

ā:thi	<i>bone</i>	la:to (?)	<i>low</i>
*nathe	<i>dances</i>	*pfatu	<i>afterwards</i>
pi:tbo	<i>back</i>	mato	<i>brains</i>
thatho	<i>turban</i>	*muto	<i>other</i>
uthalo	<i>high</i>	*nato	<i>nose</i>
*utho:iki	<i>to rise</i>	nato	<i>lost</i>
		pati	<i>wicker dish</i>
		pato	<i>leaf</i>
		pi:to	<i>tight</i>
		*rogo:to	<i>ill</i>
		sutus	<i>I slept</i>
		ʃati:lo	<i>powerful</i>
		ʃo:to	<i>throat</i>
		*titi:ro	<i>breast</i>
		turmak	<i>gun</i>

Final.

* Note.—An asterisk indicates that a word has

to be very rare. It seems been shifted from the other
to occur in category to conform to

čath land that has Shah Rais's practice.

lapsed from

cultivation

nath or nat *dance* is doubt-
ful

88. The spirants š, č and š, č are not, I think, aspirated. Indians tend sometimes to write č's as aspirates, but here again Indians are not necessarily good judges.

The general result of my investigations, as far as they go, is to show that aspirated k and t are of doubtful occurrence finally, and are rare medially.

This agrees with the rarity of Pf or f representing aspirated p as a medial and its absence as a final.

STRESS ACCENT

89. Dr. Grahame Bailey has referred to the "remarkable accentual system upon which nearly all the declension and conjugation depend".

This statement of the case seems rather strong; declension and conjugation depend essentially on inflection, but there is an accompanying stress accent the incidence of which follows one or other more or less definite system.

The normal incidence may, however, be to some extent affected, as in other languages, by the sentence stress or stress of emphasis.

The following is an outline of the chief phenomena of the stress accent.

NOUNS, PRONOUNS, ADJECTIVES, AND ADVERBS

90. (a) In *dissyllables* the stress accent falls:

(i) usually on the first syllable

(ii) sometimes on the last syllable

e.g. (i) 'Ašpo, 'Anu, m'išto, Pf'atu

(ii) muš'a:, — Pf'it'i:k, muč'o:

The stress accent tends to fall on a long vowel, or to

sg. nom. muš^la: gen. muš^lai.ɛ dat. muš^la:t abl. muš^la:jo
 pl. nom. muš^lɛ gen. muš^lo: dat. muš^lo:t abl. muš^lo:jo

(f) In dissyllables in -i:

If the -i: bears the accent it persists throughout the declension and the suffix vowel also remains.

If the accent is on the first syllable the -i: is dropped, except perhaps in the Ablative, but in any case only one vowel is retained.

Examples—

təri:	polo ball		ba:li	rope
sg. n. tər ^l i:	pl. tər ^l i:ɛ	sg. b ^l a:li	pl. b ^l a:ɛ	
g. tər ^l i:ɛ	tər ^l i:ɔ	b ^l a:ɛ	b ^l a:ɛ	b ^l a:ɛ
d. tər ^l i:t	tər ^l i:t	b ^l a:ɛ	b ^l a:ɛ	b ^l a:ɛ
abl. tər ^l i:jo	tər ^l i:jo	b ^l a:ɛ	b ^l a:ɛ	b ^l a:ɛ

(g) The -k suffix of singleness does not affect the accent
 k^lu: country loc. k^lu:yer, k^lu:yer

(h) These rules and examples only apply in a general way; there is, I think, no cast-iron practice.

For instance I have

dəru:	big game	ga	nalah
n. dər ^l u:	sg. ga	pl. g ^l ai.ɛ	
g. dər ^l u:w ^l ai.i	g ^l ai.ɛ	gai.y ^l o	
d. d ^l əruw ^l ɛt	gai.ɛ	gai. ^l o:t (gaiy ^l ut)	
abl. dər ^l u:ɛjo	gai. ^l ɛjo	g ^l ai.ujo	
form. dər ^l u:ɛ(kar)			

One would expect to find the accent usually on the -u: of dəru: and on the -ai of ga throughout.

VERBS

91. (a) In certain parts of *all* verbs the stress always falls on one and the same element. These are:

1. The o: of the suffix of the infinitive, of the present participle, and usually of the 3rd sg. subjunctive.

Thus: ča.ɳ ^l o:iki	ča.ɳ ^l o:je	ča.ɳ ^l o:t
wal ^l o:iki	wal ^l o:je	wal ^l o:t
fərij ^l o:iki	fərij ^l o:je	fərij ^l o:t

(also, however, *fer*^l*i*^j*jot*, *uč*^l*a*^č*ot*, and *čiv*^l*i*^j*ot* (vb. with i: theme)).

2. The *ε*: or *i*: of the preterite, present perfect, and pluperfect suffixes of transitive verbs.

čam^l*i*^j*gas* *wal*^l*ε*^j*gonus* *pašer*^l*ε*^j*gusus*

As an alternative, however, the accent is sometimes shifted to the penult, the vowel of which becomes

a: or *Δ*

e.g. *dig*^l*a*^j*no* || *d*^l*ε*^j*gono*; *big*^l*a*^j*anus* || *b*^l*i*^j*gonus*; *big*^l*Δs* || *b*^l*i*^j*gas*

3. The *ε*: or *i*: suffix of the past participle active

čam^l*i*: *wal*^l*ε*: *ferij*^l*i*:

4. The last syllable of the base of neuter and passive verbs in the preterite, perfect, and pluperfect tenses (or the base itself when it is monosyllabic):

fer^l*i*^j*idus*, *fer*^l*i*^j*ilos* *š*^l*a*^j*tonus* *uč*^l*a*^j*tusus*

	Imperative	Indicative		
		Fut.	Pres.	Imperfect
I. <i>čam</i> ^l <i>o</i> ^j <i>iki</i> <i>to send</i>	<i>č</i> ^l <i>a</i> ^j <i>ne</i> <i>č</i> ^l <i>a</i> ^j <i>na</i>	<i>č</i> ^l <i>a</i> ^j <i>num</i> <i>č</i> ^l <i>a</i> ^j <i>ne</i> <i>č</i> ^l <i>a</i> ^j <i>nei</i> <i>č</i> ^l <i>a</i> ^j <i>nom</i> <i>č</i> ^l <i>a</i> ^j <i>net</i> <i>č</i> ^l <i>a</i> ^j <i>nen</i>	<i>č</i> ^l <i>a</i> ^j <i>numus</i> <i>č</i> ^l <i>a</i> ^j <i>nen</i> <i>č</i> ^l <i>a</i> ^j <i>nen</i> <i>č</i> ^l <i>a</i> ^j <i>nomas</i> <i>č</i> ^l <i>a</i> ^j <i>nenet</i> <i>č</i> ^l <i>a</i> ^j <i>nenen</i>	<i>č</i> ^l <i>a</i> ^j <i>numusus</i> <i>č</i> ^l <i>a</i> ^j <i>niso</i> <i>č</i> ^l <i>a</i> ^j <i>nis</i> <i>č</i> ^l <i>a</i> ^j <i>nonəsəs</i> <i>č</i> ^l <i>a</i> ^j <i>nəsət</i> <i>č</i> ^l <i>a</i> ^j <i>nənis</i>
II. <i>wal</i> ^l <i>o</i> ^j <i>iki</i> <i>to bring</i>	<i>wal</i> ^l <i>ε</i> <i>wal</i> ^l <i>y</i> ^j <i>a</i>	<i>w</i> ^l <i>Δ</i> <i>um</i> <i>wal</i> ^l <i>ε</i> <i>wal</i> ^l <i>ei</i> <i>wal</i> ^l <i>o</i> ^j <i>n</i> <i>wal</i> ^l <i>a</i> ^j <i>t</i> <i>wal</i> ^l <i>ε</i> ^j <i>n</i>	<i>w</i> ^l <i>Δ</i> <i>umus</i> <i>wal</i> ^l <i>ε</i> ^j <i>no</i> <i>wal</i> ^l <i>ε</i> ^j <i>n</i> <i>wal</i> ^l <i>o</i> ^j <i>nas</i> <i>wal</i> ^l <i>y</i> ^j <i>a</i> ^j <i>net</i> <i>wal</i> ^l <i>ε</i> ^j <i>nen</i>	<i>w</i> ^l <i>Δ</i> <i>umususus</i> <i>wal</i> ^l <i>ε</i> ^j <i>iso</i> <i>wal</i> ^l <i>ε</i> ^j <i>is</i> <i>wal</i> ^l <i>o</i> ^j <i>nəsis</i> <i>wal</i> ^l <i>a</i> ^j <i>əset</i> <i>wal</i> ^l <i>ε</i> ^j <i>nis</i>
III. <i>zam</i> ^l <i>o</i> ^j <i>iki</i> <i>to strike</i>	<i>z</i> ^l <i>Δ</i> <i>ε</i> <i>zam</i> ^l <i>a</i>	<i>z</i> ^l <i>Δ</i> <i>um</i> <i>z</i> ^l <i>Δ</i> <i>ε</i> <i>z</i> ^l <i>Δ</i> <i>ei</i> <i>zam</i> ^l <i>o</i> ^j <i>n</i> <i>zam</i> ^l <i>a</i> ^j <i>t</i> <i>zam</i> ^l <i>ε</i> ^j <i>n</i>	<i>zam</i> ^l <i>um</i> ^j <i>us</i> <i>zam</i> ^l <i>ε</i> ^j <i>no</i> <i>zam</i> ^l <i>ε</i> ^j <i>n</i> <i>zam</i> ^l <i>o</i> ^j <i>nəs</i> <i>zam</i> ^l <i>a</i> ^j <i>net</i> <i>zam</i> ^l <i>ε</i> ^j <i>nen</i>	<i>zam</i> ^l <i>um</i> ^j <i>usus</i> <i>zam</i> ^l <i>ε</i> ^j <i>iso</i> <i>zam</i> ^l <i>ε</i> ^j <i>is</i> <i>zam</i> ^l <i>o</i> ^j <i>nəsis</i> <i>zam</i> ^l <i>a</i> ^j <i>əset</i> <i>zam</i> ^l <i>ε</i> ^j <i>nis</i>

(b) In the remaining parts of the verbs, i.e. the imperative, future, present, and imperfect, some choice of system exists and verbs may be roughly classified according to the system which they follow.

In the case of simple transitive verbs two main types are to be noticed, which are illustrated by the verbs

ča:ŋo:iki and walo:iki

There is also an intermediate type of which zamo:iki *to strike* may be given as an example.

Notes

It will be observed that in I the accent is always on the base, while in II it is usually on the first syllable of the suffix.

I have also wal¹umus. There is a secondary accent on the penult of w¹al¹um¹usus.

III appears to be only a slight variant of II.

No. I series includes	hər ¹ o:iki	<i>to take away</i>
	la:m ¹ o:iki	<i>to catch</i>
	čín ¹ o:iki	<i>to cut</i>

The imperative singular of these is hə:r, la:m, čín. In the imperative plural čín¹o:iki has čín¹a:

No. II series includes	gan ¹ o:iki	<i>to tie</i>
and	mər ¹ o:iki	<i>to kill</i>

šid¹o:iki also agrees with II except that it has the forms šid¹am, šid¹amus, šid¹amusus.

nřkalo:iki has the accent on the second syllable -al- where walo:iki has it on the first syllable, otherwise it exactly conforms to this type.

(c) Transitive verbs with an -i- theme have the stress on the i throughout these tenses.

čív ¹ o:iki	<i>to place</i>	impv. sg. čív ¹ i:	pl. čív ¹ i:a
indic. fut.	čív ¹ i:um, čív ¹ i:ε, čív ¹ i: ⁱ , etc.		
„ pres.	čív ¹ i:umus, čív ¹ i:eno, etc.		
„ impf.	čív ¹ i:umusus, etc.		
injunctive	čív ¹ i:ot		

(d) i. The following appears to be the type of *Causative Verbs* :—

pašər o:iki	pašər ε:	p ʌšərũm	paš ərũmus	paš ərũmusus
to show	pašər a:	pašər ε	pašər ε:mo	pašər ε:so
		pašər e	pašər ε:n	pašər ε:s
		pašər o:n	pašər o:nas	pašər o:nasəs
		pašər a:t	pašər a:nət	pašər a:əsət
		pašər ə:n	pašər ə:nən	pašər ə:nis

pašər|ʌm is heard as well as p|ʌšərũm for the 1st sg. fut.

ii. *amušər|o:iki* to cause to be forgotten agrees with this except in having *amuš|ərũm* in place of p|ʌšərũm; it has a secondary accent on the first syllable but one, preceding the main accent: *ʌm|ušər|ε:mo* but *ʌmušər|o:iki*.

iii. *tər|o:iki* to cause to be done has the accent on the first syllable in the singular of the imperative and in the 1st pers. sg. of the future, present, and imperfect:

t|ərə t|ərũm t|ərũmus t|ərũmusus

Elsewhere it is on the suffix as in *pašər|o:iki*.

NEUTER VERBS

(e) i. In neuter verbs in *-ij|o:iki* the accent throughout these tenses and in the 3rd pers. sg. of the injunctive falls on the *-ij|*.

Thus: *fer|i:ĩ* *fer|i:ĩjam* *fer|i:ĩjumus* *fer|i:ĩjo:t*

ii. In neuter verbs in *-č|o:iki* the accent falls uniformly in these tenses and frequently in the 3rd sg. injunctive on the vowel preceding the *-č|*.

uč|a:č|o:iki to arrive *uč|a:č* *uč|a:čũm* *uč|a:čũmus*
 uč|a:čũmusus *uč|a:č|o:t*

Similarly *š|ʌč|o:iki* to be affected *š|ʌ:čũm*, etc.

In the past tenses of the *-č|o:iki* verbs the accent falls on the vowel preceding the *-t-* of the suffix. Thus:

uč|ʌtus *uč|ʌtũnus* *š|ʌ:tus*

iii. *nikai|o:iki* to come out has *nikai|o:jə* *nikai|o:t* *nikai|ε:*. In all other parts the accent falls on the *a:* or *ai*, e.g. *nik|a:ũmus*.

iv. $\text{am}^{\text{u}}\text{š}^{\text{h}}\text{o}:\text{i}:\text{k}i$ to forget has :

$\text{am}^{\text{u}}\text{š}^{\text{h}}$, $\text{am}^{\text{u}}\text{ša}$; $\text{am}^{\text{u}}\text{šum}$; $\text{am}^{\text{u}}\text{šum}^{\text{u}}$; $\text{am}^{\text{u}}\text{šum}^{\text{u}}\text{š}^{\text{h}}$;
 $\text{am}^{\text{u}}\text{š}^{\text{h}}\text{o}:\text{i}:$; $\text{am}^{\text{u}}\text{tus}$ and $\text{am}^{\text{u}}\text{š}^{\text{h}}\text{i}:\text{los}$; $\text{am}^{\text{u}}\text{tun}^{\text{u}}$;
 $\text{am}^{\text{u}}\text{tus}^{\text{u}}$

92. I believe that the above examples cover the principal phenomena of the accentuation of verbs, but my studies have not been exhaustive, and something has always to be allowed for the personal peculiarities of individual speakers, and the influence of emphasis or rhythm in a sentence.

TONE

93. Dr. Grahame Bailey announces the existence of tone words in Shina. I am not prepared to say much on this subject, for it is new to me, but I may record my own discouraging experience.

I first took the words quoted by Dr. Grahame Bailey and believed that I found in them the required tones. Later I experimented with other pairs of similar or nearly similar words and obtained certain positive results, after which I left the matter alone for a week or two.

I again repeated my experiments with the damping result that I found I reversed my previous conclusions, or that I failed to find any fixed tone. I have further tried a more extended list of words, but have similarly failed to find tone.

I still think I can get the rising tone in Dr. Grahame Bailey's $\text{ba}:\text{š}^{\text{h}}\text{lun}^{\text{u}}$ s, but I cannot get consistent or certain results with his other words. (I am now, later, sceptical regarding the tone in $\text{ba}:\text{š}^{\text{h}}\text{.}$)

Many apparent twin words are really different in other respects, and this both removes any *raison d'être* for the existence or retention of tone, and also makes it more difficult to make comparisons.

The vowel of $\text{l}^{\text{h}}\text{e}:\text{l}$ *known* (not, "visible") is long, that of $\text{l}^{\text{h}}\text{e}:\text{l}$ *blood* is short.

The final vowel of *ʃidɛːi* *having struck* is long, is liable to variation of quality, and bears the stress accent, that of *sidɛ* *strike!* is short, and the stress accent is less marked.

I had hoped to get one man to repeat a series of pairs of tone-differentiated words to another and note whether the listener gave the correct meaning in more than 50 per cent of cases, but I now think the test would be ineffective owing to the difficulty of excluding discrimination by other criteria.

The people themselves appear to have no conscious appreciation of tone, though that is perhaps no conclusive argument against its existence.

So far as my own examination of a number of homonyms, or almost identical words, goes, I have failed to find any constant tone.

While not venturing to deny the discovery of such an expert authority as Dr. Grahame Bailey, I would venture to state my opinion that tone is of no practical importance in Gilgit Shina, but is, if it exist, merely a matter of academic or philological interest.

The factors which are important in distinguishing words at first sight identical are :

vowel length,

aspiration,

incidence of the stress accent,

and, occasionally, the quality of unstressed vowels.

Thus : lɛːl	<i>known</i>	lɛl	<i>blood</i>
ʃidɛːi	<i>having struck</i>	ʃidɛ	<i>strike!</i>
dʌri	<i>doors</i>	dʌrɛ or dʌri	<i>sons</i>
ɕɛi	<i>key</i>	ɕɛ.i	<i>woman</i>
piːto	<i>tight</i>	piːto	<i>back</i>
kunˌiː	<i>nineteen</i>	kʌni	<i>ears</i>
kʰɛːn	<i>boulder</i>	khʰɛn	<i>time</i>
juːk	<i>pain</i>	juːk	<i>wood</i>
khuːro	<i>hoof</i>	kuːro	<i>strong, firm</i>

There remain words like

čak	day	čak	pitch-fork
gun	smell	gun	knot

which, when divorced from their context, appear to me as indistinguishable, and are so represented by the people, as

“well” noun and “well” adverb

in English, of both of which the tone may vary according to the context.

ADDENDUM

THE PRONUNCIATION OF GUSHPŪR SHĀH RĀIS KHĀN

Shāh Rāis (Š.R.) was a satisfactory person to deal with. He was quite alive to the operations covered by the terms Dental, Alveolar, Palatal, Cerebral, and Guttural and evolved for himself means of describing them.

The following are the principal points in which his pronunciation differs from that given in the text.

§ 4. For	a:l	there	he says	a:li
	a:p	here	„	a:ni
	kač	near	„	kači

§ 13. o: for ^oa in words given, except a:rə for ^oāre

§ 15. for ə he says u and o e.g. čun, o:or

He has two sounds of this type :

- (i) a very short u, as in
- | | | | |
|------|-------------------|-----|------|
| kun | ear; | čum | chin |
| kun | blanket | | |
| duk | meeting | | |
| truk | opening (of buds) | | |

other speakers in some cases have o.

- (ii) a very short o less tense than o proper as in
- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---------|-----|-------|-----|-------|-------|----------|
| mor | speech; | pon | road; | tok | mud; | čom | leather; |
| čot | heap; | tom | tree; | moč | earth | cliff | |

with other speakers this sound is heard in some cases as o proper, in others as u.

§ 17. hi:o for hi:wo etc.

§ 19. čuni the u very slightly if at all, modified

- § 23. na:o for nauwo
da:o, da:u for dau
dī:z for dī:iz
nuš for nīš so also Sf.

- § 24. mæ:l for mel
æ in preference to ʌ where there is option,
also uwe:lu, awe:lu

wæ:i or wē:i *water* as distinguished from wai:i
he will come

- § 26. He says that all his "k's" and "g's" are guttural,
and they seemed to me to be so.

b. kmə for km ("why not?") etc.

- § 28. čərap and dərap, but dərab is also said.

- § 29. He favours final k except in prig.

- § 31. He uses b for v/w in abate:i, čibo:iki.

- § 34. He has no γ and says gerzam, gul.

- § 36. He has no v substituting b (see § 31) and w
šū:i for šū:wi *dogs*.

- § 37. He confirms dæ:z and denies the existence of de:s.

- § 38. He says Pfanke not Pfanke.

- § 40. ani for a:n; ma:po.

- § 41. He nasalizes vowels in some cases where they
are not nasalized in the text:

ai:i	<i>mouth</i>	paīya:lo	<i>herdsman</i>
ō:ši	<i>wind</i>	bū:yō:iki	<i>to weave</i>
gū:yel	<i>cowhouse</i>	bū:yero:iki	<i>to have woven</i>

- § 46. He is rather freer with the y glide than the text.
So maiya:re; paīya:lo; šaiyor *father-in-law* (v. § 59).

Note. bi:yo:iki *to sit*; baiyo:iki *to plough*. Sf.'s vowel
in "to sit" is, I think, usually ε rather than ai. Also
"both" bəya rather than baiya.

- § 47. Neither Š.R. nor Sf. approves of y for g; but it is
common.

- § 50. He says j (dž) is the correct sound, but his own
pronunciation sometimes tends to the ž he condemns.

Both Š.R. and Sf. favour -j for the suffix = *on*.

§ 51. As Aš *eight*, doubtful.

§ 52. At^{hi} for ā:ti *bone*.

§ 53. Pfu:ts and Pfu:s.

sirao for tsirao *razor*.

deru:z and deru:ts.

§ 54. His p in Pf is slight.

Pfagu:zo:iki for Pfaku:zo:iki

dāmfu:s not dāmpfu:s

Pfapər and Pfafər

He gives as correct forms Pfapi: and Pfafi:

Pfi:pi, he states, is said by people of Bargu and Sherot on the Punyal border.

§ 59. ša:l *fever* with a vowel between a and æ.

šək for šak *full*.

§ 63. ča:r for ča:r *cliff*.

He says that it is similar to ča:r *four* only more emphatically pronounced.

čə:č for če:č *field*.

čamu:s for čumus *bug*.

učačo:iki for učačo:iki.

biračo for birač.

§ 66. jero for jaro.

jakur for jakur.

juto, jōto.

juk t. *to touch*, similar to *juk wood*.

He gives j (dž) as the correct pronunciation, but himself tends to ž and in a few cases to something suggesting ř.

Aje for Aji, so also Sf.

mujo:iki for mujo:iki (which was doubtful before).

Beside ro:š also ro:j.

§ 69. His d sounds to me like English r. He does not know the words kuro:do and šera:do.

§ 71. He agrees with the views expressed about cerebral t, r, and n. He represents the further back t as palatal.

§§ 84–88. The results I have obtained from Š.R. differ more from my previous ones in the matter of Aspirates than in any other point.

This only bears out my views as to the absence of a clear distinction in all cases between aspirates and non-aspirates.

It is necessary, however, to mention that Š.R. is pretty clear in his own mind as to what are and what are not aspirates. He recognizes, however, doubtful or intermediate cases, e.g.

a^hhi bone ô:thi lip

His pronunciation accorded with his theory.

In this one case I have altered the text to conform to his views and practice.

This has necessitated the transference of a few initial aspirates to the non-aspirate category, and *vice versa*; but the principal result has been the elimination of half a dozen medial aspirated t's which I had recorded.

§§ 89–92. Few variations have to be noted

§ 90. d. gut^hut for g^hutut

e. muš^ho:ô „ muš^ho

h. nom. dər^hu: abl. dər^hw^hε:jo

The declension of ga is:

sg. n.	ga	pl.	gaiy ^h ε:
g.	gaiy ^h ε:		gaiy ^h o
d.	gaiy ^h εt		gaiy ^h ut
s.	gai ^h i:jo		gaiy ^h u:jo

§ 91. e. Š.R. gives uč^hăč^ho:ô (with an anomalous -d) as more common than uč^hăč^hot.

He also admits ferij^ho:t beside fer^hi:ijot

and amuš^ho:t „ am^hu:šot

am^hu:š for am^huš

§ 93. Š.R. denies the existence of “tone words”.

In the case of ba:š he makes the distinction:

ba:š lung

ba::š: language

He admits cases of true homonyms such as *gun* = knot and smell.

Is there any evidence for the existence of tone in any language outside the consciousness of an intelligent speaker of the language and imperceptible to him? If there is not, then the case for the existence of tone in Gilgit Shina is a very weak one.

GILGIT.

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The so-called Injunctions of Mani, translated from the Pahlavi of Denkart 3, 200

By A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON

THE discovery made in Chinese Turkistan, at the beginning of this century, of a mass of Manichæan fragments, in part remnants of Mānī's long-lost bible, lent a keen zest to the study of that old-time heresy which struggled for world supremacy in religion during the early Christian centuries. As a would-be rival to Christianity and Zoroastrianism Mānī's syncretic creed was anathematized by Church Fathers and Zoroastrian priests alike. The story of how these fragments of the missing Manichæan literature were found at Turfan and elsewhere in Eastern Turkistan is well known to scholars,¹ while those who are interested in the subject are familiar with the work since done on them by specialists.

Having long been engaged in studying these fragments in the light of Zoroastrian influence upon Manichæism (the results of which it is hoped to publish later in a volume entitled *Zoroastrian and Manichæan Studies*), I have been led also to collect the allusions to Mānī—all of them polemical in character—in the Zoroastrian Pahlavi Books. A chapter here presented² from the Dēnkart, or "Acts of the Zoroastrian Religion", denounces a series of Mānī's commandments (two or three of them quite apocryphal) which were contradicted, a century after Mānī's time, by the Magian high priest Ātūrpāt, prime minister of Shāhpūhr II (A.D. 309–79).

¹ See Le Coq, *JRAS.* 1909, pp. 299–322 (with bibliography, p. 301).

² The passage has been rendered into rather literal English, somewhat to the detriment of the style. The very free paraphrase by Peshotan Dastur Behramjee Sanjana in his edition of the text has been helpful, though his version, as is natural in the case of a pioneer attempt, sometimes fails (e.g. § 9) to hit the correct meaning. In the transliteration I have followed my custom of giving the "Huzvārishn" forms, followed by their Iranian equivalents in parentheses (); vowels written plene in the text are indicated by long quantity marks.

PAHLAVI TEXT TRANSLITERATED

Dk. 3, 200 (ed. Pt. B. Sanjana, 5, 242-4; ed. Dh. M. Madan, 1, 216-18)

1. x ī¹ drūž astak² Mānū³ patīrak zak (ān) ī ahrāyīh⁴ ārastār Ātūrpāt⁵ ī Māraspandān⁵ andarž drāyist.⁶ *

2. 'Ēvak¹ patīrak zak (ān) ī ahrāyīh ārastār Ātūrpāt [kēn]² pavan (pa) mēnišn lā (nē) dāštan andaržēnīt. Drūž astak Mānū kēn ū awārīg drūž 'ōgirāistan³ ī³ martūm(-)tan⁴ drāyist.⁵

3. 'Ēvak patīrak zak (ān) ī ahrāyīh ārastār Ātūrpāt āzvarīhā¹ anbār lā (nē) sāxtan andaržēnīt.² Drūž astak Mānū pavan (pa) Āž-varzišnīh³ čāštakīh⁴ nihān⁵ anbār ī anšūtā (martūm) ī gēhān ū xvarišn ū dārišn apēsahēnītan⁶ ū jān⁷ ī šēdān (dēvān) ū zak(ān)-aš gan[r]āk-dahakān⁸ ū dām⁹ javūt (yūt) āzvarīhā anbārtan davist.¹⁰

4. 'Ēvak patīrak zak (ān) ī ahrāyīh ārastār Ātūrpāt¹ šapīr (vēh) māhmān patīriřtan² andaržēnīt. Drūž astak Mānū mān-ič³ zak(ān)-aš māhmān dēn (andar) patīrišn yehvūnēt⁴ (bavēt) ašgahānīh⁵ davist.

5. 'Ēvak patīrak zak (ān) ī ahrāyīh ārastār Ātūrpāt nēša (zan) min (až) tōxmāk kartan andaržēnīt. Drūž astak Mānū nēša (zan) min(až)-ič barā (bē) tōxmāk pavan (pa) patvand¹ rāyēnītan² val(ō)-aš frīftakān bažakīh davist.

6. 'Ēvak patīrak zak (ān) ī ahrāyīh ārastār Ātūrpāt pavan (pa) pēšēmārīh ū pasēmārīh¹ dātistān rāst rāyēnītan² andaržēnīt.³ Drūž astak Mānū dātistān dāt dātōbar min (až) gēhān anāftan (?)⁴ davist.

* Numbers in text and translation refer to Notes, pp. 218-27.

LITERAL TRANSLATION OF THE PAHLAVI TEXT

Dk. 3, 200 (ed. Sanjana, 5, 242-4; ed. Madan, 1, 216-18)

1. Ten injunctions¹ which the fiend incarnate,² Mānī, clamorously proclaimed⁶ contrary to those of the adorer of holiness, Ātūrpāt,⁵ son of Māraspand.⁵

2. [i] One contrary to that which the adorer of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) not to cherish vengeance² in one's thoughts. The fiend incarnate, Mānī, clamorously proclaimed⁵ that mankind⁴ should incline toward³ vengeance and other fiend(ish passions).

3. [ii] One contrary to that which the adorer of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) not to make a hoard (of riches) avariciously.¹ The fiend incarnate, Mānī, in accordance with his teaching of Greed-action³ falsely said to destroy the private hoard of men of the world, and the food and possession, and avariciously to hoard them up separately (for) the life of demons and those evil serpents and creatures of his.

4. [iii] One contrary to that which the adorer of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) to welcome the good as guests. The fiend incarnate, Mānī, falsely said there should be⁴ slackness of the house³ also in receiving those guests of his.

5. [iv] One contrary to that which the adorer of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) to take a wife from a (good) family. The fiend incarnate, Mānī, falsely said to arrange for,² in marriage,¹ a wife² from even (those) without (good) family, (and) with the iniquity of her deceits.

6. [v] One contrary to that which the adorer of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) to arrange for² just judgments in regard to plaintiff and defendant.¹ The fiend incarnate, Mānī, falsely said to reject⁴ from the world the judgments given by a judge.

7. 'Ēvak patīrak zak (ān) ī ahrāyīh ārāstār Ātūrpāt min (až) adātīhā kūštan ī¹ tōrāān (gāvān) ū gōspandān pāxrēž andaržēnīt. Drūž astak Mānī pavan (pa) gēhān anaržišnīh ī gōdītan (?)² ū (?)³ dārišn ī⁴ k admn (?, hāmīst)⁵ martūm anāftan⁶ gōspand lavata (awāk) martūm awasīhīnītan⁷ davist.

8. 'Ēvak patīrak zak (ān) ī ahrāyīh ārāstār Ātūrpāt gētī¹ būnēdātak² rāi dāštan andaržēnīt. Drūž astak Mānī parkār³ pavan (pa) stūn⁴ ī Kūndag⁴ Drūž zak (ān) ī būnēdātak² drāyistan davist.

9. 'Ēvak patīrak zak (ān) ī ahrāyīh ārāstār Ātūrpāt čabun¹ (hēr) ī gētī² pavan (pa) Yazdān³ frāž šadkūnā⁴ (hištan) andaržēnīt. Drūž astak Mānī gētī čabun¹ apāyistan⁵ ī⁵ vinās ap-aš (= ū-š)⁶ kartār ū dātār bažak-kar⁷ davist.

10. 'Ēvak patīrak zak (ān) ī ahrāyīh ārāstār Ātūrpāt čabun ī¹ mēnōg banafša (ba xvat) bavīhūnastan (xvāstan) andaržēnīt. Drūž astak Mānī šapīr (vēh) mēnōg² dēn (andar) drūžišn ī³ arāstakīh⁴ ap-aš (= ū-š)⁵ hūhēmēt (?)⁶ bōxtīšnīh-ič⁷ davist.

11. 'Ēvak patīrak zak (ān) ī ahrāyīh ārāstār Ātūrpāt drūž min (až) tan barā (bē) kartan andaržēnīt. Drūž astak Mānī martūm tan¹ ī drūž davist.

12. 'Ēvak patīrak zak (ān) ī ahrāyīh ārāstār Ātūrpāt Yazdān¹ pavan (pa) tan māmān kartan andaržēnīt. Drūž astak Mānī Yazdān pavan (pa) tan māmān lā (nē) yehvūnēt² (bavēt) barā (bē) dēn (andar) tan bastak³ ast⁴ davist.

13. 'Ēvak patīrak zak (ān) ī ahrāyīh ārāstār Ātūrpāt 'ē ū 'ē¹ dēn (andar) 'ē ū 'ē nafša (xvēš) tan² gēhān vīrāstan³ andaržēnīt. Drūž astak Mānī gēhān akōrž⁴ vīrāstār⁵ [lā (nē)] yehvūnēt⁶ (bavēt) barā(bē)-ič pavan (pa) ātūr⁷ ī yāvētān sōž višōvīhēt⁸ davist.

7. [vi] One contrary to that which the adorer of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) refraining from the killing of large cattle and small cattle unlawfully. The fiend incarnate, Mānī, falsely said for mankind to reject in the world the unworthiness of cattle-raising (?)² and (?)³ every⁵ possession, (and rather) to destroy⁷ cattle along with men.

8. [vii] One contrary to that which the adorer of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) to hold the world for an original creation.² The fiend incarnate, Mānī, falsely said clamorously to proclaim that a disk³ upon the support⁴ of the fiend Kūndag⁴ is its original creation.

9. [viii] One contrary to that which the adorer of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) to dispense worldly riches in behalf of God.³ The fiend incarnate, Mānī, falsely said that worldly riches necessitate⁵ sin, and the maker and giver thereof⁶ is a worker of iniquity.

10. [ix] One contrary to that which the adorer of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) to seek spiritual riches for oneself. The fiend incarnate, Mānī, falsely said spiritual good to be in the fiendishness of injustice, and therefrom⁵ is good character (?)⁶ and salvation.

11. [x] One contrary to that which the adorer of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) to banish the fiend from the body. The fiend incarnate, Mānī, falsely said mankind to be the body¹ of the fiend.

12. [xi] One contrary to that which the adorer of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) to make God a guest in the body. The fiend incarnate, Mānī, falsely said God should not be a guest in the body, but he is⁴ a prisoner³ in the body.

13. [xii] One contrary to that which the adorer of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) for (men) themselves,² one with another,¹ to make perfect³ the world. The fiend incarnate, Mānī, falsely said there is not ever⁴ to be a perfecter⁵ of the world, but indeed the world will be destroyed⁸ by a fire⁷ burning for ever.

NOTES ON DĒNKART 3, 200, 1-13

1.—1. x ī: So Mn. d ī, "ten (injunctions) which"; better than (PtS. *dī*, although twelve injunctions are actually enumerated; a somewhat similar miscount in the caption résumé appears to occur two chapters further on (3, 202). Both of these selections form a part of a series of chapters (196-202), in each of which "ten" sayings or admonitions are recorded, as several times elsewhere in Pahlavi literature. The schematic arrangement would consequently call for "ten" (not eleven or twelve). Now in the preceding chapter, Dk. 3, 199 (PtS. pp. 241-2; Mn. pp. 215-16), the direct admonitions of Ātūrpāt (given as injunctions in the imperative mood) are recorded in the text as "x", but they can be so counted only by grouping §§ 8-9 of that chapter into one injunction (vi), as is done by PtS. in his transl. p. 315; or, better still, by compressing §§ 10-11 into one section. A similar method of reduction could be employed to reduce our present chapter to "ten" injunctions by combining our §§ 9-10 (here numbered as injunctions viii-ix) into one section, and further compressing our §§ 11-12 (here numbered as injunctions x-xi) into a single section. But doubtful. A further divergence to be noticed is the fact that our present § 11 (here numbered as injunction x), enjoining the banishment of the fiend from the human body, is altogether missing in Dk. 3, 199, which proceeds immediately to § 12 (there called injunction ix), which urges that the Godhead be made a guest in the body. Possibly, therefore, but by no means certainly, our § 11 (injunction x) may be due to an expansion. The last section, 13 (there x = our xii), as to making the world perfect, is practically the same in tenor in its first part in both chapters, although naturally Ātūrpāt says nothing about the final world conflagration. On the whole it is perhaps best to let our numbering stand (which PtS. has done), after having drawn attention to the divergences and discrepancies. Much the same might be said about Dk. 3, 202, mentioned at the outset.—2. *astak*: Here taken as

from *ast* "bone", cf. *ast-ōmand*, hence "incarnate"; but it may be taken with Bartholomae, *WZKM.* 29, 23, as "seiend" (being) from *ast*, "a being"; similarly Salemann, *Ein Bruchstück*, p. 20, on ShGV. 16, 53, *hastak ēz* "existierendes ding", and West (ad loc.), *SBE.* 24, 246, "existing thing"; less well West, *SBE.* 37, 278 (Dk. 9, 39, 13), *xastak* "broken-down" (NP. *xastan* "to break"); cf. TPhl. *xast*, S. 8, 4 (Salemann, *Man. Stud.*, iii-iv, p. 42).—3. *Mānī*: Written in TPhl. *Mānī*; the edition of Madan here wrongly has *ū* after *Mānī*.—4. *ahrāyīh*: Bthl., *Zum AirWb.*, p. 11, n. 4, prefers *ahrākīh* or *ahrādīh*; TPhl. shows 'ardāy (Mü. 1078) or 'ardāh (S. 9 verso, d, 17).—5. *Ātūrpāt ī Māraspandān* (or *Mahrō*, *Məhrə*): The noted pontiff who was prime minister of Shāhpūhr II (A.D. 309–79), thus a century later than Mānī; the text of Mn. reads, throughout, *Ātūrō pāt*, the *ō* (*ö*), as in PtS. *Mārō-spandān* for Mn. *Mārspandān*, being the "shewa" vowel (*ə*); cf. Bthl., *WZKM.* 30, 29–31; 29, 248. As already observed (note 1), the original admonitions of *Ātūrpāt* are given in the chapter (Dk. 3, 199) immediately preceding this one, and they correspond in general tenor and sequence to these. But in that chapter the injunctions are given in a direct form as commandments in the imperative mood, while here they are given throughout indirectly in the infinitive mood (practically equivalent to indirect discourse).—6. *drāyist*: This verb, as also in § 2, has a bad sense in Pahlavi, "to clamour, vociferate, prate, babble," cf. NP. *drā'idan*, and (like *davist*, §§ 3–13) is used of evil beings; for convenience, therefore, it may be rendered into English by the addition of a qualifying adverb, "clamorously proclaimed" (just as below, *davist*, "falsely proclaimed"); the verb depending upon *drāyist* stands in the infinitive (cf. above, note 5, end); regarding the formation of this preterite (and also *davist*) see Bthl., *WZKM.* 29, 24, 34, 37, 38.

2.—1. 'ēvak or ēvak: This is the accepted and assured reading of the traditional *xadūk*, *ayōk*.—2. [*kēn*]: Both PtS. and Mn. omit, but the context requires the addition of

kēn from the next sentence, as indicated by PtS. through his parenthesis and footnote.—3. *'ōgirāistan* (?) *ī*: Lit. "the inclining of mankind towards"; somewhat uncertain (PtS. *an d ra st n n d*, Mn. *an dr d st k n*; PtS., p. 295, pāzandizes by *hūgērāēdan-ī*), but it seems plausible to compare NP. *girāyistan* or *garāyistan*, "to incline towards, love," etc. (Steingass, *Pers.-Eng. Dict.*, p. 1077), and to take the prefixed *an-* as the common verbal prefix Phl. *'ō* (*au* = *ō*), the meaning then being lit. "incline down to"; the *ī* (conjoined with the verb in the PtS. edition, as often) is the common construction connecting the infin. with the following noun in Phl. and NP., cf. below (§ 7) *kūštan ī tōrāān (gāvān)*; it would be out of place to suggest reading *'ōdrāyistan* or *āvrāstan*.—4. *martūm(-)tan*: As cpd. lit. "mankind-body."—5. *drāyist*: See § 1, n. 6; text of Mn. has *an[d]aržēnīt*, though this may belong to part of the next sentence in § 3 (see n. 2 on that section) which is supplied by PtS.

3.—1. *āzvarīhā* or *āzūrīhā*: Adverb, cf. NP. *āzvar*, *āzūr*, see West and Haug, *Glossary*, p. 16.—2. [. . .] *andaržēnīt*: See remark on § 2, n. 5, end; PtS. gives the text of this sentence as here transcribed, but he notes that he has supplied the missing sentence *'ēvak . . . andaržēnīt*; his text does not include *zak ī*, though necessary to the sense.—3. *Āž-varžišnīh*: PtS. writes this cpd. as two separate words; the fiend *Āž*, Av. *Āzi* (cf. above, § 3, n. 1), is often alluded to in the TPhl. Fragments as the demon of Greed; Mn. text here has *db n rp šn īh* (*dav-varžišnīh*?, cf. Frag. S. 7, c, 20, *d v x v n d*, "lord of lies" ?).—4. *čāštakīh*: So rightly Mn.; the text of PtS. attaches *č* to the preceding word.—5. *nihān*: So PtS., better than Mn. *n aan*, "and others."—6. *apēsahīnītan*: The transcription of this word (cf. § 7) is not quite certain, though the meaning is clear; PtS. Pāz. (p. 295) gives *awsahīnītan* and on § 7 (p. 296) Pāz. *awīsēhīnītan*; West, *Shikand-gūmānīk Vijār*, p. 233, has *awasāinīdan* "to exterminate, annihilate"; possibly we should read *apaxšīnītan* (cf. Skt. *apakṣināti*), cf. Bthl., *IF.* 38, 18, n. 1, 2, 3.—7. *ūjān ī*:

Thus rightly Mn. (though with an unnecessary *ī* before *ū jān ī*); PtS. reads *kāmak*, though adding in a footnote that all the MSS. here read *jān ī*.—8. *gan[r]āk-dahakān*: Mn. *ganādahakān*; the first element of this compound is the common term employed in Phl. and Pāz. for rendering Av. *anra*; for various suggestions regarding the possible Iranian reading of this obscure word (*anrāk*, *zūrāk*, or ? *drvāk*) see Bthl., *AirWb.* col. 105. [In an article which became available only later, I find that Bartholomae, *Zur Kenntniss . . . Mundurten*, i, p. 22 (in *Sitzb. Heidelberger Ak. Wiss.*, 1916, No. 9), proposes to read *dauwāk* as a pres. ptepl. of the verb “to deceive”, thus meaning “betrügend, betrügerisch”. This would accord with my suggestion just above (§ 3, n. 3) for explaining TPhl. *d v x v n d* as “lord of lies”.]—9. *dām jāvūt* (*yūt*): PtS. conjoins as one word.—10. *davist*: So PtS. throughout (see comments in § 1, n. 6); Mn. has generally *davīt* (cf. Bthl., *WZKM.* 29, 37), though sometimes marked with diacriticals, wrongly as here, *davdīt*.

4.—1. *Ātūrpāt*: Mn. wrongly has a punctuation mark after this word.—2. *patīriftan*: Pāz. *padīraftan*; it is possible also to transliterate as *patagrifan*; TPhl. has both *p d y r y f t* (*padīrift*) and *g r y f t* (*grift*), see Bthl., *WZKM.* 25, 404; 30, 34.—3. *mān-ič*, etc.: The words in this sentence are clear, but the construction seems a little involved.—4. *yehvūnēt* (*bavēt* or *bēt*): Both PtS. and Mn. have the ending *-y t n = ēt* here and in §§ 12, 13; therefore, unless we are to assume that this is a substitution for the ordinary internal form of *t* and read *yehvūntan* (*būtan*)—for which possibility cf. Bthl., “Über ein sasan. Rechtsbuch,” in *Sitzungsab. Heidelberg. Ak. Wiss.*, 1910, p. 9, line 10—the verb here (and in §§ 12, 13) is a 3rd sing. pres. instead of the usual infin.; observe that PtS. Pāz. reads *yēhvūnēt*; regarding this verb see West and Haug, *Glossary*, pp. 83, 86, 189, and also Bthl., *WZKM.* 25, 407, n. 2.—5. *ašgahānīh*: Abstract in *-īh*, cf. NP. *ašgahān*, “lazy, slothful, indolent,” see West and Haug, *Glossary*, p. 29.

5.—1. *pavan (pa) patvand* : Cf. Bthl., *WZKM.* 27, 370.—
2. *rāyēnītan* : Cf. Bthl., “Über ein sasan. Rechtsbuch,” in *Sitzungsb. Heidelberg. Ak. Wiss.*, 1910, p. 22. In Manichæism only the Auditores, not the Elect, indulged in marriage.

6.—1. *pēšēmārīh ū pasēmārīh* : Lit. “complaint and defense”; on these legal terms used in the case of plaintiff and defendant, see Bthl., “Über ein sasan. Rechtsbuch,” in *Sitzungsb. Heidelberg. Ak. Wiss.*, 1910, pp. 17, 18, 19, 20, 24; id. *WZKM.* 30, 33; cf. also West and Haug, *Glossary*, p. 114.—
2. *rāyēnītan* : For references see § 5, n. 2.—3. *andaržēnūt* : So PtS. as usual; Mn. here has an abridged form *andaržn*.—
4. *an ap tnn = anāftan* : See likewise § 7, where PtS. (p. 296) gives Pāz. *anāwtan*, though here Pāz. *hū-āftan*; Jamaspji M. J. Asana, *Pahlavi . . . Dict.*, Bombay, 1886, vol. iv, p. 816, has *anāftan* “to forsake, abandon, withhold one’s hand”, etc.; West, *Shikand-gūmānīk Vijār*, p. 228, also gives *anāftan*, which Neryosang renders by Skt. *naś-*, *nihan-*, and by *nirasana*, “expelling, removal, rejection”; the meaning therefore seems certain, being further confirmed by the TPhl. Fragments; see Salemann, *Manichaica*, 3–4, p. 36.

7.—1. *kūštan ī* : On the infin. construction with *ī* see § 2, n. 3, end.—2. *dn dt n n (gōdītan ? ū ?)* : Mn. has this word as indicated; PtS. omits it in the Phl. text, but gives (p. 295) in Pāz. *dūvītan va*. Accordingly I have ventured to read the Mn. text as *gōdītan ū* and to propose comparing this derivative verb with Av. *gaōdya-*, adj. “cattle-raising” (Bthl., *AirWb.*, col. 481).—3. *ū (?)* : This conjunction “and” may be deduced from the Mn. reading and the Pāz. *va* in PtS., see preceding note.—4. *dārišn ī* : Mn. rightly has *ī*.—
5. *k admn (?)* : Mn. gives the final *mn* as a ligature (*kāda ?*); PtS. writes it separately as *m n (kādman)*. Both variations of the ending find manuscript support elsewhere. This troublesome word has been much discussed. Salemann, *Grundr. iran. Philol.* 1, 1, 320, n. 3, and *Ein Bruchstück*, p. 25 (where the meaning “ur-”, i.e. “original”, is assigned), compares with Arabic *gādīm*, but the latter seems doubtful. Bthl., “Über

ein sasan. Rechtsbuch," in *Sitzungsb. Heidelberg. Ak. Wiss.*, 1910, p. 21, note (*), assumes the meaning "antiquitus", but does not venture to transcribe the word, though giving various occurrences of it in Phl., including ShGV. 4, 76, 89; 16, 8, 89; in these ShGV. passages West, *SBE.* 24, 135, 136, 249, cf. 143, gives "rudimentary", but latest (*SBE.* 47, 120) "ancient"; Neryosang (cf. West, *Shikand-gūmānīk Vījār*, p. 254, *xāmast*, *hāmīst*, with which compare Pāz. *hamāē* "ever, perpetually", yet see Bthl., *Sas. Rechtsbuch*, p. 21, n.) renders by Skt. *prabhṛti*, *ādi*. The word *kadm n* is Semitic in origin. It would be hazardous to transcribe as *kāim*(ō) and compare it with Pers. Arab. *qā'im*, "standing, firm, constant, abiding, established, permanent" (cf. Steingass, *Pers.-Eng. Dict.*, p. 950), with the idea of "fundamental". In such event the phrase *dārišn ī kāim* (?) would denote "fundamental ownership, established possession, permanent holding"—a development from the basic conception of "primary" or "primal". Mānī's adverse views on the subject of owning property are well known and antedate Mazdak. On the whole I decide to follow Bharucha, *Phl.-Paz.-Eng. Glossary*, Bombay, 1912, p. 291, who gives "*kād-a*, non-Ir., each, every, any"; the meaning "every, or any, possession" would suit here. [*Postscript.*—Similarly Bartholomae, *Zum sas. Recht.*, 3, p. 39 (*Sitzb. Heidelberger Ak. Wiss.*, 1920, No. 18).] —6. *anāftan*: See above, § 6, n. 4.—7. *awasīhīnītan*: See above, § 3, n. 6, where the Phl. spelling in the text differs slightly from the spelling here, though the meaning is in both cases the same.

8.—1. *gētī*: Perhaps to be read as *stī*, cf. Bthl., *Zum AirWb.*, p. 80, n. 1.—2. *būnēdātak* = *būdātak*: Although the former writing is found in both occurrences of the word in this paragraph in the two editions, the transcription as *būdātak* is preferable (cf. also Freiman, *WZKM.* 20, 240, n. 2); an etymological explanation as a derivative of **būnē* (loc.) *dāta* has been proposed by Salemann, *Ein Bruchstück*, p. 25, yet we have the familiar *būdahišn*.—3. *parkār*:

NP. *pargār* "circle", see Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.*, p. 39, and compare Av. *pairikara*-; the orb of the earth is here intended.—4. *stūn ī Kūndag*: Lit. "the column of Kūndag". Kūndag is the well-known Avestan demon Kunda, Kundi (Vd. 11, 9, 12 = Phl. Vd. 11, 26, 35; Vd. 19, 41 = Phl. Vd. 19, 138; Bd. 28, 42), who is especially alluded to in ShGV. 16, 10–20, in connexion with Manichæan heretical beliefs which the author anathematizes. The passage thus interpreted throws new light upon Manichæan studies, especially in connexion with the story of the flayed Archontes in Theodore bar Khoni's Scholia and elsewhere; see Pognon, *Coupees de Khouabir*, p. 188, and consult the references in Cumont, *La Cosmogonie manichéenne*, pp. 23–9, 69–75. [Cf. now also my note on this in *JAOS.* (1923), 43, 24–25.]

9.—1. *čabun* (*hēr, xēr*): Cf. Unvalla, *King Khusrau and Boy*, § 5 and p. 93, No. 598, Paris, [1921 ?] = Vienna, 1917.—2. *gēvī*: Cf. § 8, n. 1.—3. *Yazdān* or *Yazatān*: Written in an abridged form, as usual, and used in the plural to include Ormazd and his angels (*izads*), cf. likewise § 12; see Freiman, *WZKM.* 20, 237, n. 1.—4. *šadkūnā* (*hištan*): Regarding this verb and the disguised Phl. ending *-ā*, with its variants and several values (e.g. *hišt, hištan, hilēt, hilēnd*) see Bthl., *WZKM.* 27, 357.—5. *apāyistan* or *awāyastan ī vinās*: Lit. "to be a necessity of sin", i.e. conduce to sin (quite Manichæan); Mn. here has *apāstan*. On the verb *apāyēstan* see Bthl., *WZKM.* 29, 14, 16, 24, 25, and regarding the *ī* (which is written attached to the verb in PtS., though lacking in Mn.) as following the infin. see notes above, § 2, n. 3, end; § 7, n. 1.—6. *ap-aš* (= *ū-š*): Transl. "and its"; on this conjunction (*ū*, written *ap*) followed by the enclitic pron. *-š*, as often in Phl., see Bthl., *WZKM.* 29, 5, n. 1 (with references); similarly West, *apaš* "and his", in *Grundr. iran. Philol.*, 2, 84, line 44; 2, 85, line 4; observe that PtS. has *ū* unnecessarily prefixed to this word; it is lacking in Mn. and is also not found in the Pāz. of PtS., which gives simply "*ajaš*". Cf. furthermore § 10, end.—7. *bažak-kar*: TPhl. *bazakar*, cf. Salemann, *Man. Stud.* i, p. 61; PtS. here has *bažakgar*.

10.—1. *ī*: Mn. has *ī*; PtS. omits.—2. *mēnōg*: PtS. inserts (*čabun*) in parentheses after this word.—3. *ī*: Mn. has *ī*; PtS. omits.—4. *arāstakīh*: So Mn.; PtS. has *arāstūh*.—5. *ap-aš* (= *ū-š*): See § 9, n. 6, and cf. West and Haug, *Glossary*, p. 14, “and thereby.”—6. *hūhēmēt* (?): Both editions have *an adm dt n*, and the reading and meaning of the element *hēm* or *xēm* “nature, character” are certain, because the word occurs elsewhere in BkPhl. compounds; compare also TPhl. *abrāst-lēm*, “of perverted nature” (S. 9, c, 26), NP. *xīm*, and Av. *haya-*, see Horn, *NP. Ety.*, § 516.; Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.*, p. 59. The explanation of the form *hēmēt* or *xēmēt* seems less simple, although the word in a derivative sense is preserved in the Phl. Rivāyat of “the saintly Hēmēt” (West, *Gdr. iran. Phil.*, 2, 105). In any case, the parallelism with *bōxtišnīh* demands an abstract; “good character” (?) is adopted in the translation. It might be tempting to propose an emended reading *hūhēm[īh] ast*; the change of construction from the preceding infinitive to the finite pres. *ast* “is” would be warranted by the change in the thought and paralleled in §§ 12, 13. [*Proof-sheet correction.*—Perhaps it is better to transcribe as *hū-ēmēt*, in the sense of “good hope”, with *ēmēt* for *ōmēt*, see Junker, *Frahang i Pahlavik*, p. 80, for references; and cf. Dk. 9, 30, 5, ed. D. D. P. Sanjana, vol. xvii, p. 92 (text), p. 70 (transl.).] The polemical statement made against Mānī in this paragraph is wholly without foundation.—7. *bōxtišnīh-ič*: Before this Mn. has *ū*, which is rightly not found in PtS.

11.—1. *tan ī drūž*: Mn. omits *ī*; in that case to be taken as a compound, *tan-drūž* “embodied fiend”. Either way the polemic correctly represents the Manichæan attitude towards the human body.

12.—1. *Yazdān* or *Yazatān*: See § 9, n. 3.—2. *yehvūnēt* (*bavēt*): See § 4, n. 4.—3. *bastak*: The idea of the divine particles of light having been taken captive by the powers of darkness and imprisoned in the body is wholly Manichæan; it is often alluded to in the Turfan Fragments (e.g. S. 9 recto,

a 14-22) and elsewhere, cf. Cumont, *La Cosmogonie manichéenne*, p. 19.—4. *ast*: Cf. Bthl., *WZKM.* 29, 23; but see id. 29, 2, n. 2, on doubts as to the supposed existence of an infin. *astan*, *hastan*. See also above, § 10, n. 6 on *ast*.

13.—1. 'ē ū 'ē: So the manuscripts read, and there is no authority for PtS. to alter the text to *Vēh Dēn* "Good Religion" either here or in the preceding chapter, Dk. 3, 199, 13, where the identical phrase, 'ē ū 'ē dēn (*andar*) 'ē ū 'ē, occurs, meaning lit. "one and one among one and one", i.e. one with another, or individually and collectively. For a somewhat similar collocation compare NP. *yak nah yak* "one or another" (Steingass, p. 1535), *yak bi yak* "one by one".—2. *našša* (*xvēš*) *tan*: Lit. "one's own body, himself", pl. "themselves"; PtS. erroneously has a conjunction ū before *tan*.—3. *vīrāstan*: Lit. "to arrange, put in order, restore, make perfect". The whole sentence runs parallel with Ātūrpāt's injunction in the preceding chapter, Dk. 3, 199, 13: *jīnāk* (*vyāk* or *gyāk*) 'ē ū 'ē dēn (*andar*) 'ē ū 'ē *našša* (*xvēš*) *barā* (*bē*) *vīrāyēt ap* (= ū)-*tān hamāk gēhān vīrāst yehvūnēt* (*bavēt*) "make ye yourselves, one with another, the region perfect, and by you the whole world will be made perfect". This formulates the Zoroastrian conception of a regeneration of the world (Av. *ahūm frašəm kar-*, *frašōkərəti-*, etc.). The author of ShGV. 16, 48-50, using terms kindred to those in this passage, declares that the Manichæans affirm that "this world will be finally destroyed (*višōwīhēd*) and not arranged again (*ārāhyihēt*), nor will there be a restoration (*vīrāstārīh*) of the dead (and) a future body". While the statements both of the Dēnkart and of the Shikand-Gūmānīk Vijār are in general true with regard to Mānī's views on this point, particularly with reference to any physical regeneration of the world, there still is found in one Turfan Fragment, S. 9 b 15-16, an allusion to the spiritual "resurrection of the good-fated soul" (*giyān 'īg nēvbaxt rīstāhēz*).—4. *akōrž* or *hakūrž*: Both editions have *ak n rž n*, which is found elsewhere written also *agarč* or *agarž*, cf. NP. *hargiz*, see Horn, *Neupers*.

Etymol., p. 244, No. 1092; regarding the regular employment of the negative [*lā* (*nē*)] after this word, except in Phl. translations from the Avesta, consult West and Haug, *Glossary*, p. 31.—5. *vīrāstār*: See above, note 3.—6. *yehvūnēt*: See § 4, n. 4; § 12, n. 2.—7. *ātūr*: This allusion is a correct reference to the well-known Manichæan doctrine of the final conflagration, lasting 1,468 years, by which the world is to be destroyed; it is called *Ādūr Vazurg* "the Great Fire" in the Turfan Fragments, M. 470, caption (= Müller, *Handschriftenreste*, ii, p. 19); see, furthermore, Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 90, 236, 237–9, 397; Kessler, *Mani*, pp. 353, 393.—8. *višōwīhēt*: Similarly Pāz. *vašōwihat* in ShGV. 16, 48 (cf. note 3, above; also Salemann, *Ein Bruchstück*, p. 20); the radical of this verb (Av. *xšub*, Skt. *kṣubh*) is likewise found in TPhl., for example, S. 9 a 2, *āšūb* "confusion, disorder".

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Dramatic Representations in South India, with Special Reference to Travancore and Tinne- velly District

By K. N. SITARAM

TRAVANCORE and Tinnevelly, which form the southern-
most end of India, have been very little affected by
Islam, and hence have preserved traits of Hindu culture and
civilization which are not found anywhere else. The dramatic
representations can be divided into three classes :—

(1) Indigenous, as the *kūttu*, *āṭṭam*, etc., including (a)
those acted in temples, and (b) those acted in public places
other than temples ;

(2) Imported, *yātrās* ; and

(3) Devil-dances and propitiatory dances, such as the
Fire-dance, *Bhadrakālī*-dance, etc.

Yātrās are prevalent only among Brahmans, and the actors
should be only Brahmans ; other castes and persons should
be merely spectators and have no part in the action. Since the
performance is sacred (most Hindu dramatic representations
have a religious original) and takes place only in the temples,
especially during the festivals, only the pūjārīs (officiant
priests) and other distinguished outsiders (who, though
Brahmans, have now formed a regular caste, corresponding
to the Sūta and Māgadha) take part in the action. The
representation seems to have been imported. The actors are
called Bharatas and the play is sometimes called Bharata-
nāṭyam. It is also called Śākkiyar-kūttu ; probably the
word Śākkiyar is a Malayalam corruption of the Sanskrit
ślāghya = “celebrated,” “best.” (This derivation is possible,
but I doubt it. The word is properly chākkiyar in Malayalam,
śākkiyar in Tamil ; and it seems more natural to derive it
from Sanskrit Śākya, “Buddhist.”)

It will be observed that the Buddhist play Nāgānanda

forms a stock part in the repertoire of these people (L. D. B.). In this the part of men is taken by male Śākkiyars and that of females by their women, who are called Nangiyār. There is a combination of speech and action, and the actors enact their parts and speak what they have to say as in a modern drama. But the action is different from that of a modern drama, inasmuch as it is represented by means of mudrās or gesticulations, and the speech is often only a translation into words of the action and mudrās.

Of the mudrās 64 are primary and 128 are secondary. One who has been initiated into the mysteries of the mudrās can easily understand the whole story by means of the signs by the actor or actors, without a word being spoken. With this may be compared the dancing as practised in Southern India, especially the dancing of the Tinnevely and Tanjore schools. Though originally it was only a temple institution, and to a large extent is still so, the dance is now performed in private families during marriages, either by persons belonging to the temples or by outsiders belonging to the same caste. The party consists of a woman who performs the dance, a chief man called naṭṭuvan, and a subordinate singer and party playing instrumental music to the tune of the vocal music. The naṭṭuvan sings and the woman translates into gestures, movements, and poses what he sings. Sometimes she also repeats what he says inaudibly, more for her own guidance than to be heard by the audience. Most of the songs had originally a religious theme, and the most fruitful subject is the love of Krishna and the Gōpīs and other episodes of his life. But now other songs have been added to the list, the majority of which are of an erotic nature; for example, one song begins with words to the following effect: "I know not which wench has filched away the love which my sweetheart gave me, etc."

The mudrās represent every action of life and everything else in the world, from the crowing of the cock to the summit of a temple. There are particular mudrās from which the

spectator can at once understand whether the sun, a horse, an elephant, a lion, a bull, a vyali (fabulous animal), a lotus, a face, a throne, an arch, a garland, a cloth, learning, protection or a doctor is meant ; and this science of *mudrās* has been so developed that one can express poetry with the hands and eyes alone, without the aid of the lips. All action is accompanied by recitation as well as by this gesticulation.

About two centuries ago an extra character, the *vidūshaka* (court fool or buffoon) was introduced (from the Sanskrit classical drama.—L. D. B.). Even now he does not form a part of the *dramatis personæ*, and his business is to translate into the vernacular difficult Sanskrit and Prakrit passages. The plays that are acted in this way are always Sanskrit dramas ; when Sanskrit learning began to decay, and ordinary people could not understand the performance, this *vidūshaka* became necessary as a translator. The plays most commonly acted are Harsha's dramas, of which the *Nāgānanda* is the most popular, and the *Chārudatta*, *Vikramorvāśīya*, *Mrich-chhakatika*, and *Svapna-vāsavadatta*, the last of which has been recently published by Ganapati Sastri in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

There is some rough attempt at scenic representation ; for instance, when a forest is to be represented, the curtain is pulled back and exposes to view a place made to look like a forest with ferns, coco-nut palms, and areca palms. A palace is represented by a throne with steps leading to it, and the courtiers seated or standing around the throne. The *Dēvas* are made invisible to the view of mortals by means of a thin veil ; and when gods or demi-gods or kings appear on the scene for the first time there is a procession of temple paraphernalia or regalia,¹ such as the white umbrella, fan, banners, and bannerets ; and the conch is blown once to announce the state entry of any one of these mighty personages.

¹ In South India the paraphernalia are the same for gods or for kings, and the word *kōvil*, lit. "house of king", may denote either a temple or a palace.

It is curious, and perhaps not merely fortuitous, that not only did South India represent its gods after the manner of its kings, giving them the same paraphernalia, but that the countries with which she had commercial relations from early times, Babylonia and Egypt, did the same. The actors generally wore classic Indian dress. Those who took the female parts decked their hair with flowers and put a few peacock feathers in the midst of the *chūdā*, especially when they represented Gōpīs.¹ Actors taking male parts had various dresses to represent various personages.

When a person acted the part of Krishna or Rāma he had a full crown of peacock's feathers, and his dress and jewellery were modelled on the description given in the Bhāgavata Purāna or Garga Samhitā. Rishis were generally represented like Sannyāsis with the difference that Sannyāsis had bald heads while Rishis had the *jatā* or matted hair; both carried a staff, water-pot, and rug, which was either the skin of a tiger or black antelope, or a mat of *kuśa* grass. In modern times, as the *valkala* or bark from which the robes of these personages were made is hard to obtain and reduce to smoothness, a red cloth is worn instead.

From this *kūttu-āttam* acted in temples there were derived about 1,000 years ago two secular varieties, the Rāma-nāṭakam and the Kṛishṇa-nāṭakam, which were sometimes acted outside the limits of the temple, and had no caste restrictions attached to them. In the Rāma-nāṭakam or Rāman-āṭṭam representing the adventures of Rāma, the

¹ The hair is generally divided into three parts, the *sīmanta*, or front part (sometimes decorated with ornaments like the *sūrya-prabhā* or *chandra-prabhā*), the *chūdā*, or middle part, filled with flowers and surmounted by the *chūdā-maṇi*, or hair-jewel, with peacock-feathers around the latter, and the *jatā* or *sikhā*, the lower part of which was gathered into a knot or plaited into various patterns and left hanging down or filled up with flowers like an elongated basket, or with the plait tied up in the shape of an X or W or S. When the plait was left hanging it was sometimes decorated with the *jatā-śringāra*, a plate of gold and precious stones, especially rubies, with a tassel of pearls and silk at the end. In South India the art of decoration of the hair and the interweaving of it into beautiful patterns by means of flowers was raised to a fine art.

parts are played by men alone, and no women are allowed to take part in it. Female parts are enacted by men dressed as women, with shaven faces and braided hair. This performance is held only by night, and is more of the nature of a dumb show. The dresses, especially of the Rākshasas or demons, are very fantastic and their faces are highly painted; there is no singing or speaking by the actors. The stories are taken from the Epics or Purānas, and are mostly written in the vernacular with a large admixture of Sanskrit, or in the maṇipravālam style (one vernacular word to every Sanskrit word), and are set to music. The actors perform their parts by means of mudrās, gestures and poses only, without speaking, while special musicians sing the substance of what is being acted, or rather the players act to the music. To translate into action a particular length of music which itself may last about ten minutes generally takes from four to eight times that time; hence to obviate this discrepancy the song is either repeated or, more often, elongated into a *rāga* or *ālāpa* until the whole music is translated into action.

Besides the musicians who sing there is also much instrumental music accompanying the singing and keeping time with the song. The instruments generally used are (1) the *śuddha-melam*, a large tambourine played on both sides; (2) *śaṇḍā uruṭṭi*, a very high-pitched drum; (3) *vīkkaṇśandā*, another variety of drum; (4) *sengilā*, a circular instrument made of bell-metal, which is used by the principal musicians to keep time and is generally beaten by a wooden mallet; and (5) *jālā*, cymbals. This kind of performance, especially from the Epics, is still very popular in Java and Bali, and may have been introduced there by the Tamils, who colonized those islands about the fifth century A.D.

The Krishṇan-āṭṭam or Krishṇa-nāṭakam varies slightly from the Rāman-āṭṭam and was founded by a Zamorin of Calicut some four hundred years ago. In this only the Rāsa-kṛīḍā of Krishna was enacted. The dress for males was that described in the Bhāgavata, including the *vana-mālā*, or

garland of wild plants (especially the *tulasī*, or basil), and full crowns of peacock feathers. The Gōpīs wore on their heads only the *pinchhika*, in which was stuck a single peacock feather. This class of play is tending to disappear, owing partly to neglect and partly to the decay of the sense of æsthetic appreciation in the rising generation. Besides these two main varieties, there are some performances which are confined to the Nāyars. These are more military plays, imitations of battles, etc., than anything else. Among the most important of these are the *Ēzhām attukkālī*, literally "The Seventh Play", and the *Paḍaiy-anī*, a kind of military pageant. Only soldiers may take part in these, and they include boxing, fencing with swords and lathis, races, and other exercises and games. The performance known as *tullal*, of which the most popular kinds are the *ottan*, *śīdangal*, and *paraiyan*, contain only one character, who acts and recites stories set to a special kind of music called *tullal-pāṭṭu* in Malabar, corresponding to the *irāḍi* and *māvaḍi* of the Tamils. This *tullal* is not very old, having been practically invented by the greatest comic genius of Malabar, Kunjan Nambiyar, some four centuries ago. Besides Puranic themes, social life and the leading personages of the times are skilfully satirized by him. Besides being in many ways superior to our modern *Punch*, Kunjan Nambiyar was also a great poet and a deep philosopher. Nothing was too droll for him, and nothing was impossible, provided it could be made to yield its share of fun. Even Arjuna and Kṛishṇa, Nara, and Nārāyaṇa are made to fight fiercely for the sake of a devotee.

Another variety in Malabar resembling the *tullal*, but without its peculiar metre and modes of singing and acting, is the *Pāḍagam*, which is rather a recitation of Puranic and other stories in an entertaining and humorous way with passing allusions, character touches, and satires on contemporary life. These correspond to the *hari-kathā* or *kāla-kshēpam* of the Tamil country, which are performed either in temples or outside them. Sometimes the stories are accompanied by

little dancing or pantomime by the singer. The most popular themes for the *kāla-kshēpam* are those taken from the Epics and Puranas and from the Marathi Bhakta-Vijaya, a Vaishnava hagiology. Besides these, the stories of Nanda, the Pulaiya devotee of Chidambaram, and of the god Suprahmanya and his wife Valli are great favourites. Along with these the drama is also very popular. In most respects it resembles the modern English drama, the only difference being due to the presence of the ubiquitous *vidūshaka*, or clown, who sometimes adds to the mirth, but often spoils the story with his crude jokes. He is, in fact, a stopgap and keeps the audience amused during the intervals between the scenes. He is generally a Brahman and the boon companion of the hero, and is paid as high a salary as the hero or heroine. Until thirty years ago, no women took part in the play. Their parts were always taken by men dressed as women, with shaven faces, false hair, false breasts, etc. But now women also take part in the play, and in some of the more fashionable theatres the part of the hero is enacted by a woman and the acting is supposed to be better thus than if the rôles were played according to sex. In these dramatic performances full advantage has been taken of the development of scenery, and many new features have been included. The dramas were formerly based on Puranic themes such as Tārā-Śasānka, Hariśchandra, Subrahmanya-Valli, etc., but now there is a craze for adaptations from Shakespeare, "Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp," etc., and original plays by Tamil novelists and dramatists, such as "Manohara", "The Bandit Chief," "Bhōja-charitam," and the like, and plays based upon the plots of old Tamil classics like the Śilapadigāram and Maṇimēkhalai, the most famous being the Kōvilan-charitram. Last in the category of dramatic representations come what are called Devil Dances or Fetish Dances, which are propitiatory, and are danced to rude music by fantastically dressed figures. In the Tamil districts they are animistic in origin. The chief kind is called *koḍai*, literally "gift" or *ettu-kuḍuthal*. The deity propitiated is the *māḍan*,

an aboriginal god, who is called by various names according to the locality he inhabits or the tree in which he lives, or according to his powers for mischief. The chief of them are known as Śudalai-mādan (the mādan living in the burning ground), as Vahni-mādan (the Mādan of Fire), or the Madan belonging to a particular haunted place or tree or dangerous pool; others are called Irulan, Kateri, Muṇḍhi, Chāmuḍi, and Karuppanār. During the performance one or more persons become seized with *sannadam* or inspiration, under which they dance to peculiar kinds of music and foretell the future or possibility of rain or drought. During the dance, sheep, fowls, and pigs are sacrificed, and are often killed by the person seized with the *sannadam*. These *koḍais* are sometimes carried out by professionals, and are given either as a thanksgiving for the healing of some disease or as a propitiation to obtain such healing, in which case an image (usually life-size) of the sick persons is offered to the deity. A variety of this is the *Koḍum-bāvi*, literally "Great Sinner", which is celebrated by the villagers if there is no rain for a long time. In it a huge figure of a man, made of straw, represents the collective sins of the community. A number of people, usually of the Maṟavar caste, divide themselves into two parties, mark themselves with black, white, and red spots, drag the straw man through the village while singing symbolical songs, and finally burn him outside the village in the cremation ground with beating of the breasts and weeping. A more refined variety of the Mādan-kūttu is the worship of Ayyanār or Śāstā, who is supposed to be the son of Śiva and Viṣṇu (Hari-hara-putra). In this several persons are seized with the *sannadam*, and a "propitiatory feast" (*prīti*) is held in their honour. They wear various dresses, weapons, and insignia, according to their degree of inspiration—as Dharma Śāstā, Ikshi, Kundantadi, Śāngilivattai, etc.—and they are bathed, fed, and otherwise treated as are the god's images during a festival.

In Malabar there are several propitiatory dances which are

performed by particular castes, viz. the Kainyan and Vēlan, for the cure of neurasthenic and hysterical girls. There are several varieties, the chief being the Gandharva-bali and Mōhini-bali. Another variety is the Kāla-pāsa-kaṭṭu, in which there is held a mock funeral, etc., by means of which Death is supposed to be scared away or satisfied, so that the sick person is spared. Another variety on a grander scale is the Kōlam-tuḷḷal; another kind is the *palu-vēsham* meaning many costumes. Among other varieties are the *Bhadrakālī-āttam* (dance of Bhadrakali), *Śāstā-āttam* (dance of Śāstā), *Tīy-āttam* (fire dance), *Madan-tuḷḷal*, *Malai-tuḷḷal* (mountain-farce), *Lakshmī-tuḷḷal*, etc. In these a huge figure of the deity to be propitiated is drawn or constructed on the ground with sixty-four hands or with symbolical representations of his or her powers and weapons in various colours, and then follow song, dance, acting, and feasting.

April, 1922.

Some Words and Sentences Illustrating the Argot of the Doms

COLLECTED BY THE REV. C. PHILLIPS CAPE (late of Benares) AND
EDITED BY STEN KONOW

THE secret language of the Doms, as of other Indian "Gipsy" tribes, is very unsatisfactorily known. I have made some remarks on it in vol. xi of Sir George Grierson's *Linguistic Survey*, where I have also given references to such other papers about the subject as I have come across. But very much remains to be done, and we must be thankful for the new materials which are now made available. The compiler of the list says about them:—

"The following is a collection of words and sentences in use by the Magahiyā Doms, who have made Benares their centre or fixed abode. The language is known to wandering Doms in the Panjāb, and also to those who live in the United Provinces. It was apparently unknown to village Doms in Bengal, though the town and city dwellers in some parts of the Province were familiar with it. Most of the words and sentences were obtained from gipsy Doms who visited Benares in 1914, and then settled in the city, where they came under the influence of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission, of which the present writer was superintendent. The sedentary Doms of Benares city and the village Doms of the district are acquainted with this argot.

"The people were naturally somewhat reluctant to explain the meaning of their jargon, but when through the influence of the Mission they began to abandon their criminal practices they consented to interpret their slang into the local vernacular.

"I ascertained that this argot is not known to the hill Doms of the Kumaon and Rohilkhand district, who seem to have little in common with the Magahiyā Doms."

"This argot will be of no interest to the general reader, but it may be of value to the Indian police and to the philologist.

"The author of *Les Misérables* states that 'most commonly, in order to mislead listeners, argot contents itself with adding promiscuously to all the words of the language a sort of ignoble tail, a termination in *aille*, in *orgue*, in *iergue*, or in *uche*'. The Dom contents himself with adding *tul* to some words, that only Doms may know their meaning. For instance, *ghamtul*, sun, and *paptul*, wicked; the words themselves are slightly modified, *ghām* becomes *gham* and *pāp*, *pap*."

I have brought the writing into accordance with the system of transliteration followed in the *Journal*. Where I have deviated from the draft list I have, however, always added its readings within parentheses. I have further arranged the words of the list into groups, in order to make it easier to use it. The phrases, on the other hand, I give as I have received them.

OBJECTS OF NATURE

<i>konhariya</i> and <i>Lakṣmī jī</i> , dark night.	<i>duṣman</i> , moon, lit. enemy.
<i>ghamtul</i> , sun.	<i>ceōsā</i> , bamboo.

HUMAN BEINGS, PARTS OF THE BODY, DRESS, AND ORNAMENTS

<i>mairā</i> , man.	<i>culāk</i> , nose-ring.
<i>benuā</i> , or <i>meriyā</i> , woman.	<i>ḍharā</i> , anklet.
<i>natkhaiā</i> (- <i>khaiyan</i>), tooth.	<i>khalika</i> , a necklace of rupees.
<i>ṭippari</i> (<i>ṭippari</i>), clothes.	<i>khauntī</i> , finger-ring.
<i>gemmalū</i> , shoes.	<i>narkī</i> , an ear-ring.
<i>bonca</i> , nose-ring.	<i>nūtī</i> , neck-ring.

HOUSE, FURNITURE, IMPLEMENTS

<i>dhiwārī</i> , door.	<i>nūgar</i> , an earthen water-pot.
<i>cinpowa</i> , brass pot.	<i>angocā</i> , <i>bogdā</i> , and <i>cibākī</i> ,
<i>khapra</i> (<i>khapra</i>), a pot or pan.	jemmy.

nūrī, knife.*lūr*, stick.*lakrī* (*lakrī*), a gun, lit. a stick.*rām dīn*, a long stick.

ANIMALS

kurkā, horse.*teorā*, dog.*reonā*, a little pig.

FOOD AND DRINK

gehar, rice.*ragautī*, meat.*nanṭua* (*nantua*), pulse.*tillār*, spirits, liquor.*ponpī*, bread.

COINS AND MONEY

cubī, farthing.*khobar* (*khobar*), gold coin.*ghumānī*, money.

THIEVING AND CHEATING

cagī, hole broken in the wall.*naggī karnā*, to sell brass as gold.*guleff*, *gulefī*, poison.*gaimī*, thieving.*rehdī*, loot.*mājhī*, an expert thief.

POLICE AND PRISON

berānā, police station.*kātī* (*kāntī*), prison.*birātī*, prison.*mākhī* (*mākkhī*), police*gilaharā*, policeman.

inspector.

goidhā, watchman.

SENTENCES

gilaharā asarwāt, a policeman is coming.*tillār tipuat hasuat*, he drinks spirits.*kurkā gulefī dīsū-dī*, he gave the horse poison.*cagī karuat*, he digs into the house.*do tīn kātī khāgail*, he has been to prison several times.*naggī karnā*, to sell brass as gold.*koto* (*koto*), run away.*gaī māī*, hide the loot (?).

rikāis, hit him.

gemmalū rikābe, beat with your shoes.

ḍhiwārī ḍhuru-de, open the door.

gengar jāo, run away.

Sarpāl guru rehdī dehlas, our guru Sarpāl has given us loot.

gilaharā dhurkāka koto (koto), strike the bobby and clear.

turkal hasuat, he is sleeping.

teorā laget-bā, the dog barks.

lūr hasuat, he has a stick.

birātī (birātī) khāgaīl, he has gone to prison.

bhārī rehdī lesuā, he has brought much loot.

nokhtua asuat, noto (noto), you are surrounded, run !

ḍharṭua de cīlu desu, bribe him to let you off.

caltā rehdī lesū-le, steal in the fair.

maiṛa asuāt, dauṭua nahī, a man comes, there is no chance.

benuā (or meṛiyā) asuāt, lesu-le, a woman comes, steal from her.

ponpī chikā-de, throw bread (over the prison walls).

cikan lesū, sell the loot (lit. perhaps, take a greasing).

khālī lesu-ā, come quickly.

nebh cīṭual, did they find any loot ?

It will be seen that we have to do with an argot of the usual kind. There are several peculiar words, which are partly known from similar argots, such as *gaimī*, thieving ; *gemmalū*, shoes ; *ghumānī*, money ; *kurkā*, horse ; *lūr*, stick ; *rehdī*, loot ; *tillār*, liquor ; *turkal*, sleeping, etc.

In other cases ordinary words are used in an unusual sense. Thus *Lakṣmī jī*, the goddess of luck, becomes a designation of a dark night, because it is favourable to thieves and burglars ; *gilaharā*, a squirrel, denotes a policeman ; *mākkhī*, a fly, a police inspector ; *mājīhī*, a master, a helmsman, means an expert thief. Cf. also *guleff*, *gulefī*, poison, lit. probably "a pill", as in *Sāsī golī* ; *culāk*, nose-ring, lit. probably "glitter", as in *Qaṣāī cīlknī*, ring ; *lakraī*, gun, lit. a stick.

Otherwise the different words are disguised in various ways ; letters appear to have been transposed in *tīpuat*, he is drinking, if this word is a disguised *pītā* ; aspiration has been added in *dhīwārī*, from *duwār*, door, etc.

The most usual devices are to add something before or after the word, wherewith other slight changes of the letters may be combined.

A guttural is prefixed or substituted for an initial sound in *konhariya*, a dark night, cf. Hindī *andherā* ; *koṭo*, for *noṭo*, run ; *khāgail*, he went.

Ch is used in a similar way in *chikā-de*, throw, cf. Hindī *phēknā* ; *ceōsā*, bamboo, cf. Hindī *bās*.

n is substituted for *ch* in *nūrī*, knife, Hindī *churī* ; for *d* in *natkhaiā*, tooth, cf. Hindī *dāt* ; for *r* in *nokhtua*, surrounding, cf. Hindī *roknā* ; and perhaps for *k* in *nebh* in *nebh ciṭual*, did they find any loot, which should perhaps be literally rendered as " was anything found ".

b is perhaps used in a similar way in *bonca*, nose-ring, and a double prefix *ber*, *bir* seems to occur in *berānā*, police station (cf. Hindī *thānā*), and in *birāṭī*, *kāṭī*, prison, whatever the origin of this word may be.

Also disguising additions are used. Thus, *khaiā*, which is well known from Magahiyā Dom, in *natkhaiā*, tooth, Hindī *dāt* ; *tul* in *ghamtul*, from *ghām*, sun ; *paptul*, wicked, from *pāp* ; *tua* in *dautua*, chance ; i.e. probably of running away, Hindī *daurnā* ; *dhartua*, bribe ; *nokhtua*, surrounding, cf. Hindī *roknā*, and perhaps in *nanṭua* pulse, if this word is not connected with Bihārī *kaṭuā*.

On the whole, the methods of disguising are the well-known ones.

With reference to grammar, we cannot expect to find any consistency. The state of affairs is, broadly, the same as in the Dom argot, described by me in the *Linguistic Survey*. The use of cases is loose ; thus *kurkā*, to the horse ; *gemmalū*, with the shoes ; *caltā*, in the fair, without any suffix. The usual present suffix is *uat* or *uāt* ; thus *asuāt* and *asawāt*, is

coming; *hasuat*, is; *karuat*, does; but also forms such as *lagatbā*, is barking, are used.

Past tenses are *khāgarīl*, he went; *dehlas*, he has given, and the compound forms *lesuā*, having taken came; *ciṭual*, it was found. In *gulefī dīsū-dī*, poison giving was given, he gave poison, we have the usual passive construction.

It is of little use to go further into details. I should only like to add that it would be highly desirable that the study of argots like that of the Doms should be taken up in earnest before it becomes too late, and thankful though we are for the new addition to our knowledge, we are wishing for much more to come.

Proto-Hittite

BY THE REV. A. H. SAYCE

PROTO-HITTITE is the name given by Dr. Forrer to the prefixal language, examples of which are found in the cuneiform texts of Boghaz Keui. In them it is called *Khattilis* "Hittite", the mixed official language of Boghaz Keui being known as "the language of the scribes" (EME *sa ameli dubbi*, *Annals of Archaeology*, iii, 3, pl. xxvi, 1, 12). This latter was, in fact, a mixture of Sumerian, Assyrian, and Indo-European elements on the basis of an Asianic language which was spoken in Arzawa (Western Cilicia) and Kizzuwadna (of which the southern Qumani or Komana was the capital). The royal line of Boghaz Keui, as their names show, originally spoke Proto-Hittite, and must have given the name of Khattu and Khattusis ("Silver-town") to the city which they made their capital after the conquest of the surrounding territory. They came from Kussar, written Kursaura in earlier documents, the Garsaura of classical geography, and their capital had been Arinna ("Well-town"), the Phreata of Ptolemy. Here their annals reached back to the time when Sargon of Akkad had invaded their country (2800 B.C.).

A long bilingual hymn in Proto-Hittite and official Hittite has recently been published in *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*, ii, pp. 9 sqq. Here are the stanzas with the Hittite translations so far as the text has been preserved :—

waskhat-ma eswur kakkhir	AN-MES KUR-MES maniyakh-
sûwâ	khir
ALU Khattus tittakhzilat sûwâ	dâir-mat ALU Khattusi lie
tabar-na katti taniuras	dâir-mat nuza labarnas sarrûs

"The gods govern the world ; they take much ; of the city of Khattu they take not much since our lord is the king (thereof)."

anna eskhakher-bi tabar-na na... mânat tapariyaueni¹-ma la...
 lêwael nîbu-bê zîy[apa]... . . . as BIT-ir iyaueni-mas...
 yâe imalkhib... nassi biueni DAMQ-an du...

"We also are the lords of them... the house we make...
 to him we give prosperity..."

bîb isakh taste[kh]... idalus-ma-ssi-gan abui(?) anda
 urana kartanna pa[la]... [uizzi]
 tastekh karziya... tatranza-ya-ssi-gan alkha...
 anda...

"Then the wicked men come against(?) him, and, then to
 him... [comes]."

zîyapa Saktu nuwawa... ina KHAR-SAG Sak[tu]...
 wâsakh khamurûwa wâsakh... idalun GIS-GUSUR idalun...
 tewassine waz-asakh tal... idalun khuimpan mun...
 wakhzîkher

"In the mountain Saktu... the bad beam, the bad..., the
 bad..."

imalkhibbi zîkhar imal[khibbi] DAMQ-in-ma GIS-RU DAMQ-
 khâburûwa imalkhib... an tan...
 imalkhib talutkheît... GIS khittassa DAMQ-in GIS-
 katte-yâ SU[-A]...
 labar-nai sarri

"But good timber, good... and *khittas*-wood, a good
 throne... to our lord the king."

... si(?) razil-bi wâ... dankuwai-ma taknî...
 imalkhi[b]... assû-ma sarri labar-na[i]...

"Both a fortunate throne... and wealth to the king our
 lord..."

¹ Or "ordered", since *dais* (as opposed to *das*) = the ideographic ME-is.

ândukhan kastipan [AN Zili- KA-as-tak-za-gan AN Ziliburas
 buras] sarrus zi (?) . . . GIS Khalmas
 katti pala ambu lêwa[el] . . . suittan
 kê . . . an wâsuttun . . . ieit . . .

"In the seat at the Gate the deified Ziliburas the king
 [sits ?]; the throne (?) of Khalma he holds . . ."

ântukh lêzûkh lesterakh kula dâs-ma-za ŠU-ZUN ŠU-GAR-
 ud[atanu] TAK-ZUN
 . . . anneis kâkhan wâsuiddûn ŠU-E-SIR-ZUN-ya na-ssan dâis
 GIS-TAK-ti

"When he had taken the arms (?), the leather cushions and
 the leather straps, all this he took for thy throne."

. . . udatanu pala lêzzibir dâis-[ma-]za . . . ya nat-san dâis
 pala . . . kâkhan wâsuiddun GIS-TAK-ti

"And when he took . . . all this he took for thy throne."

pala m(?)andabbu . . . pala . . . nassa [TUR ?]-MES . . . nu bier
 pala âssiya AN . . . ga tabar-na niyata
 kattê . . . anta [tabarnai] sarri

"And he . . . [the children ?]; so they gave a . . . [to our
 lord] the king."

pala-kh sawa . . . uan katakh- . . . TUR-MES khassus
 khias pala lêbinu . . . biandu
 pala lêzi . . . at (?)tu . . .
 pala lêzi . . . tu

" . . . the royal children . . . let them give."

. . . kâwâkh AN Sulinkitti AN (?) . . . massi-ssan wâtar-
 [l ?]ê . . . tûkhul tuwakh-si nakhkhi
 tekhila . . . gan sarri GAR-as imkhulius
 . . . kassil iskatekh . . . za kuttan pakhsaru

" . . . he has appointed him general; so . . . wicked
 assaults on (?) the king; . . . they will defend (his) side."

anakh tastenuwa bêwil
isbiaru tastêtanusi

nu-wa-gan idalus-wa-gan [khatr?]-
a uizzi
idalus-wa-gan UN-as BIT-ri anda
lê 'uizzi

"Thereupon when the wicked come [for]th the wicked
men come not to the palace."

ântukh AN Sulinkitti kittê lêwae dâs-ma-za AN Sulinkittes sarrus
ka (?) . . . unutes nat sarâ dâs nat-gan
pala ândakha akkatukh pala anda dâis khatriwas GIS-RU-i
ântakha
kâwakh-bi [zi]khalutu

"When the deified Sulinkittes the king had taken the
furniture this he took over and this he took thither, even the
logs of timber."

[im]alkhib-bi (?) têtakhsûl as- nasta âssu anda tarniski d-an
akh-bi idalu-ma-gan anda lê tarnâi
nastûta sûla AN Sulinkitti katti AN Sulinkittiss-an sarrus anda
taniwas ûnkhu-bi êszi

"So prosperity he gave him and delivered him not to the
wicked ; the deified Sulinkittes the king is for him."

neuttâ udakh bizzi SE-GA-wa-gan namma
kuit-ut anda paisi

"So in happiness (?) henceforth thou goest to (him)."

A bilingual list of the titles of trades and professions in
Proto-Hittite and Hittite has been already translated in part
by Professor Hrozný (*Ueber die Völker und Sprachen des alten
Chatti-landes*, 1920, pp. 26-8). The text has now been published
in B.K. v, No. 11. In another text quoted by Hrozný we are
told that *tâkhaya* signified "barber" "in Hittite", i.e.
Proto-Hittite, and in v, 11, we have :—

AMEL wînduqqaram	= AMEL QA-SU-GAB-as "wine-bearer".
AMEL zûlûwê	= AMEL GIS-BANSUR-as "table-man".
AMEL khantib-suwâ	= AMEL MU-as "cook", "baker".
AMEL bar (or mas) sêl	= AMEL QAR - QAR - ŠUN - as "prophet". ¹
<hr/>	
AMEL sakhtarîl	= AMEL US-KU-as "gallos-priest".
AMEL dû(?)el	= AMEL Ziliburiya-tallas "priest of Ziliburiyas".
AMEL khaggasûel	= AMEL ekuwatarra[s] "libationer".
AMEL dâgulrunâil	= AMEL GIS-zalam-GAR "image-maker".
<hr/>	
AMEL tâni-sawa	= AMEL GIS-PA-[as] "scribe".
AMEL tuskhawâ-duntânisaun	= AMEL KIT-tar-[as] "weaver(?)".
AMEL lûizzîl	= AMEL MURGU-E-[as] "brick-maker".
AMEL kîlukh	= AMEL IMZU AMEL MURGU-E "potter".
AMEL dudduskhîyâl	= AMEL dudduskhîyalla[s] "spear-man".

I published a fragmentary tablet from my own collection in the *JRAS.*, October, 1912, p. 1037, which we now know to contain a Proto-Hittite text. The tablet has been cleaned since the copy was made, and consequently one or two corrections have to be made in the published text. It reads as follows:—

¹ The ideograph is literally "image-of-mouth-with-teeth-showing". In a ritual text from Assur published by Ebeling (*Quellen zur Kenntniss der babylonischen Religion*, ii, No. 5) offerings are to be made "before (the image of) the Mouth with (protruded) tongue", which must therefore have been honoured as a god. References to an image of a similar character are also to be found in the Hittite texts.

kakhân yaktul . . .
 akkhân istarraz qa . . .
 akkhân kâbar li[kut] . . .

ûqqa intâ ta[barna ?] . . .
 likût khaliskhâ . . .
 tabarna likut . . .

Then comes the Hittite [nu] GAZ-ma *kuwabi dâi* . . . GIS PASSUR *dâi* "Next he takes the victim . . . he takes the dish", and since we have learned that *kakhan* corresponds with the Hittite verb "to take", we may conclude that *yaktul* signifies "victim" and *istarraz* perhaps "a dish" or "table". *Intâ* is probably "not".

KUBK. i, No. 14, 15 sqq. Here we read that "the priests of the deified Ziliburiyas speak as follows in Hittite":—

[ta]barna katti	"To (?) our lord the king of
[MAT ku]wîna AN Ziliburi	this (?) country, the deified
[l]ikkuru AN Takasukh	Ziliburiyas, descendant (?) of
. . . khil pâûn	the deified Takasukh."

gauma khubbis

tisuk kistân

Khatilât teriyan

ALU Khattus khazzin ukhe . . . a

. . . ni

. . .

KUBK. i, No. 17, 16 sqq. "The table-men bring the food to the king, and he approaches the great Asherah behind him with the table (or dish); the flutists (*khallires* = AMELI GI-GID) sing, the prophet prophesies, the *Kistas* cries (in Hittite)":—

- | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. nû tê takkikhal tabar-na | 6. wûrû-si-mû ta . . . ra |
| 2. saîl zibtibil | 7. anâkhu misâ [sa]il |
| 3. tûkhurubtes es-tabartilis | 8. zibtiwâil . . . mâ |
| 4. sunti tunti . . . palâ | 9. wûru-si-mû . . . ur |
| 5. wuromû ta . . . ra | 10. kunkunâ . . . ma |

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 11. tabarna . . . [sâi]o | 22. saîl . . . lunun |
| 12. kânakhis . . . is | 23. omû . . . kar wûru-se-mû |
| 13. sâio s[êta] . . . an | 24. saio . . . ân MAT Kubenna |
| 14. MAT Kubenna . . . | 25. sêta . . . [AN] Mezzullan |
| 15. wûru-se-mû . . . | 26. sêta AN |
| <hr/> | |
| 16. nûpa sewu . . . | 27. nuwâ [AN Mez]zulla MAT |
| 17. ALU Arinna . . . | Kubenna |
| 18. sipakhar . . . | 28. kîsa . . . izzi |
| 19. likhzu . . . | 29. sakharu . . . alwâbizza |
| 20. es-tabarti[is] . . . zis | 30. sakha[ru] . . . wâskes |
| 21. tabar-si-ru . . . [ALU] | 31. awâ(s ?) . . . wâres |
| Arinnâ | |

The following lines are destroyed. Then the second column begins :—

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. tassêgarâm | 4. MAT Kubenna tabar-na |
| 2. wûru-se-mû tassêgarâm | 5. likhzikhkuwâs |
| 3. nûpâ-si wûru-se-mû | |

After this three cooks or bakers come forward ; the king distributes the sacramental food, the wine-bearer approaches on horseback, and “ the prophet speaks thus (in Hittite) ” :—

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. imakhu-saîl | 5. wûru-se-mû MAT Kuwîna |
| 2. kâtti MAT Kubenna | 6. es-tâwêni wâriulli |
| 3. wîdus kâbar wûr | 7. zipâtiwâil |
| 4. wâskha-wun liggarân | 8. es-tabartilis |

Then the king drinks (or pours a libation) in honour of Tessub of Zippalanda out of a goblet in the shape of a golden bull ; after further ceremonies he goes to the “ great Asherah-pillar ” with a dish of offerings ; the flutists sing, and the prophet prophesies as follows :—

- | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| 1. mîsâ sâîl | 8. . . . tabar-na |
| 2. zibtipâîl | 9. . . . sû |
| 3. sâio liggarân | 10. . . . sêl |
| 4. MAT Kuwênnâ | 11. . . . [mas]bu |
| 5. [l]iggarân sâro | 12. . . . ziya |
| 6. [lig]garân | |
| 7. . . . [s]ârô | |

After a break the third column of the tablet begins :—

- | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. sâio ligga[rân] | 6. MAT Kuwênnâ tûw[o] |
| 2. MAT Kuwênnâ lig[garân] | 7. sâîl zâpasa . . . |
| | 8. zimakhsun ¹ . . . |
| 3. Zippalanti (= Zippalanda) | 9. masbu tuwo . . . |
| 4. liggarâ nûpâ[si] | 10. tekhuzzi . . . |
| 5. Zippalanti-ya . . . | |

Other ceremonies follow. Eventually the order is given to “cease worship”; the cup-bearer comes riding as before, and “the prophet speaks as follows in Hittite” :—

- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. imâkha-sâîl | 7. wâskha-wûn |
| 2. ugga wârwo | 8. liggarân |
| 3. sugga wâr-wâskhat | 9. wârû-se-mu MAT Kubenna |
| 4. zibti-paîl | 10. . . . sê ir . . . |
| 5. katti MAT Kuwênnâ | |
| 6. bîdûs kabar-wûn | |

In the fifth column of the tablet we are told that the king pours out a libation to the deified Kabu-kuzzi[*lis*], while the “singers of Kanis” (the modern Kara Eyuk near Kaisariyeh) “sing”; the cup-bearer comes riding and then “kneels down” (*ginuwas*), the king pours a libation from a cup in the form of a golden lion, and finally, after many other ceremonies, there is a fragment of another Proto-Hittite hymn :

- | | |
|----------------|-----------------|
| . . . | lêwâ khu . . . |
| [w]âkhân . . . | lêwâ kû . . . |
| âskhuz . . . | es-tabartil[is] |

¹ Or *zibakhsun*.

After this a sacrifice is offered, and (in the sixth column) the following hymn is recited :—

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. sâio liggarâm . . . | 9. akhâ MAT Kuwêna lizzibti |
| 2. liggarâm Khawânta[li] | 10. tabar-na lizzibti-wâil |
| 3. liggarâm nupa[li] | 11. nupâli tabar-na MAT |
| 4. Khawântali MAT Kuwên[na] | Kubenna |
| 5. tabar-na wâraisu[n ?] | 12. pa-kkattenna li-katti |
| 6. Khatts-ru sepse | 13. iyakhsû liwât-katti |
| 7. kayakhsu dubbu liwo . . . | 14. lê-bbinû lê-bakkû |
| 8. tekhuziya wâkhâ izzi | 15. lê-wârun es-tâbartilis |
| [-wâkhâ] | |

“ Then the singer trills (*ueriyazi*) the name (?) of the king, the prophet prophesies, the sacrificer sacrifices ” :

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. wâkhâ izzi-wâkhâ MAT | 5. kâtt-akhnâli kâtt-akh |
| Kuwêna | 6. iyakhsû lêwâ-kâtt-akh |
| 2. lizzibti-bîl tabar-nas | 7. se-bbinu lêwâ-kkû |
| 3. lizzibti-bîl nupâ-si | 8. sê-wîrû es-tâbartilis |
| 4. tabar-na MAT Kuwêna | |

“ Then the cup-bearer takes a cup to the king. The prophet does not prophesy. But after adoring (?) ¹ the Ashera-pillars the prophet prophesies ” :

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. zizzinna AN Khanwâsût | 5. tass-iggarâm nupâ-si |
| 2. KAL-GA-lenna wîl | 6. kammama MAT Kuwêna |
| 3. tazzasnêr MAT Kuwêna | 7. tabar-na likhzi kuwâ[s ?] |
| 4. tass-iggarâm kamma-mâ | |

Hrozný ² quotes another text (*Bo.* 2074) in which a mutilated Hittite translation is attached to the Proto-Hittite words. In the introduction to it we have : “ Then they shear (*balzakhanzi*) a sheep, [the wool] they card (*tarmâizzi*), and [repeat] in Hittite ” :—

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. imâ-lên zardu ûg | “ This [sheep] . . . |
| 2. wâkâ-bunadu kânaiu | Then he . . . |

¹ *Karimuwanzî*. In *K.B.* iii, 4, *Rev.* iii, 17, we read that when the women who had been sent to him embraced the king's feet, . . . *kâri tiyanun* “ I allowed [them] to pay homage ”, or something similar.

² *Ueber die Völker und Sprachen des alten Chatti-landes*, p. 33.

3. wâtakhazi wâkhtû palâ	[he] shears . . .
4. a(?)s-akhdu lêizziwâtu	on both sides (<i>duwân duwanna</i>)
	. . .
5. lêi-bînu palâ	his children, etc. . . .
6. lê-pa-zizintu	let them remain. And they . . .
7. intâ teswâu	to the place on both sides will not assemble.
<hr/>	
8. [ima]-llên zârdû	Then like this sheep
9. . . . wâsunu wâsti palâ	his person shall birds (and) foxes
10. . . . aiwâs khêni ûg	devour ; and the wicked
11. is(?)gabbusê palâ	man and his wives
12. [a ?]sakhdu lizzwadu	his children, his people, entirely (?)
13. lêi-bînu	let birds (and) foxes
14. lê-pa-zizintu	etc., devour."

It will be noticed that although a new combination of cuneiform signs was devised in order to denote the sounds approximating to *wa*, *we*, *wi*, *wo*, and *wu*, at times *b* (as in *bidus*, *widus* ; *Kubenna*, *Kuwîna*) and *p* were employed. Also that the initial dental of *tabar-na* is usually replaced in official Hittite by *l*. Professor Hrozný suggests that the actual sound was that of the Welsh or Armenian *ll*. It is evidently the same word as the *Κύβηρις* of Hesychius, which he defines as signifying "the priests of Demeter".

Dr. Forrer has already pointed out that *katti* is "king" (cf. *Katys*, *Kotys*, and *Katê* or *Katî*, king of the Que, 850 B.C.), *bînu* "children", *wil* "house", (*a*)*sakh* "wicked", *nu* "come". To these we can add *ima-lkhi(b)* "good fortune", *kakh* "take", *nîbu* "make", *zârdû* "sheep", *zuwadu* or *ziwâtu* "wives", *pa-zizintu* "people". In the first bilingual *washkat* and *es-wur* must correspond with "gods" and "countries", while *sûwa* forms part of the compound word for "cook" or "baker", and *tani-uras* may be connected with

tani- in the word for "scribe". The last bilingual makes it clear that the prefixes *sé* and *lé* signify "thy" and "his". *Ugga* or *uqqa* and *sugga* must be "to me", "to thee"; *inta* is "not".

Ima seems to be a demonstrative, and *pald* introduces a new sentence. *Zizzinna* will be related to *zizin-tu*, and the two lines *zizzinna* AN *Khanwâsûit* KAL-GA-*lenna wûil* may signify "the people of Khanwasu(it) are powerful". *Tastekh* "he comes", compared with *tastenu-* "comes not", shows that the suffix or infix *nu* denotes the negative conjugation. From *katti* "king" we have *kattakh* "he is king". *Waskha* appears to signify "god" and *wûr*, *wâr* "country".

The Proto-Hittite texts give us the names of a good many early kings who preceded the rise of the Hittite empire. They were deified not only after death but also during their lifetime, and it is a question whether the deification of the king was not introduced into Babylonia from Asia Minor instead of the converse. It falls in with the general character of the religions of Asia Minor, and never took firm root among the Babylonians.

Among the early deified kings whose names have been recovered from the ritual texts are Khate-binus (British Museum, *Hittite Texts*, lviii, 6), Ziliburiyas, Kalumziburis, Walizilis, Kantuzzilis (the same name as that of Katu-zilu, king of Kummukh, 858 B.C.), Zibarwâs, Yaliyas(?), Sâuwaskhilas, Khilassiyas, Sulinkittes, Takasukh, Khawântilis (written Khantilis in the official Hittite texts), and Khanwâsûit, to which Hrozný adds Bimbiras and Pamba, a contemporary of Sargon of Akkad (2800 B.C.). Khanwâsûit is a variant of Khalmassuttum (*KBK.* iv, 9, iii, 17), and the name appears to signify "throne of Khalma" (see above, p. 247).¹

August, 1922.

¹ To this list of deified kings is probably to be added Khasamilias, Khasmilis, whom I would identify with the Kabirian Kasmilos, Kadmilos, identified with Hermes (Schol. to Apoll. Rhod., i, 917). Khasa-milis is a word of similar formation to *duddu-milis*, *dud-milis*, "spear-man"; the Proto-Hittite *milis* "man" is the origin of the Hittite word *miliskus* "slave".



MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

MOUNT D'ELI

In the issue of this *Journal* for January, 1923 (pp. 83-5), Sir Richard Temple appears to accept almost too readily the view expressed by Mr. K. V. Subramanya Aiyar in his article on "An Unidentified Territory of Southern India", that the real meaning of Mount D'Eli is the Rat Hill, and not the Seven Hills. I venture to suggest that Mr. Subramanya Aiyar's explanation is ingenious but incorrect, and that Sir Richard Temple and others who have held that the vernacular name for Mount D'Eli signified the Seven Hills need not so easily abandon that opinion.

Mr. Subramanya Aiyar admits that in Sanskrit works like the *Kerala-Māhātmya* the region surrounding this hill is called the land of the Seven Hills (*Saptaśaila*); but he states that the mistake arose with the Indian scholiast, who confounded the dental *l* with the lingual *ḷ* in transcription. This appears to me to be a gratuitous assumption; for it is not only in Sanskrit works, which are more or less modern, that the hill in question is known as the Seven Hills, but also in Tamil works of undoubted antiquity in which this hill is mentioned the name it bears means unequivocally the Seven Hills. Thus in *Narriṇai*, which is one of the acknowledged Sangam works, we find in lyric No. 391 the following passage:—

Ponpaḍu Koṅkāna Nanna-nannātt'

Ēḷir kuṇṇam perinum,

which means "even if we obtain the Seven Hills (*Ēḷir Kuṇṇam*) situate in the prosperous territory of Nannan in golden Koṅkāna". Again in *Aganānūru*, another well-known Sangam collection, we read in lyric No. 152, *Nannan ēḷinedu-varai*, that is, "the Seven Hills of Nannan". We gather from old Sangam works that this Nannan belonged to a minor branch of the Cēra line (*Aganānūru* 97; 258) and ruled over a territory, *Pūḷi-nāḍu* (*Paḍirrup-pattu* IV, Epilogue), situated in

Koṅkānam, the modern Konkan (*Narriṇai* 391). His chief cities were Kadambu-peru-vāyil (*Paḍiṇṇup-pattu* IV, Epilogue), Pāḷi (*Aganānūru* 15; 258), Viyalūr (*Aganānūru* 97), and Pirambu (*Aganānūru* 356); and he owned two mountains, Ēḷil Kuṇṇam or Ēḷin Neḍuvarai (*Narriṇai* 391; *Aganānūru* 152) and Pāḷi Cilambu (*Aganānūru* 152). Kuṇṇam, Varai, and Cilambu are synonyms, meaning mountain. It is this Ēḷil Kuṇṇam or Ēḷin Neḍuvarai—the seven mountains—that the European navigators came to call Mount D’Eli. Thus, if the evidence of ancient Tamil literature be accepted—and there is no reason why it should not be—the term *eli* in the European Mount D’Eli has no connexion with *eli*, the Tamil word for *mūshika* or “rat”, but it stands for *ēḷu*, the Tamil numeral denoting seven. In these circumstances, no purpose is served by attempting to connect the name of the hill with the Tamil word for rat, as Mr. Subramanya Aiyar has done, on the strength of a story told by a romancing poet-chronicler of comparatively recent date. It will be much nearer the fact to hold that the poet gave an ingenious twist to the name of the hill to suit the exigencies of his miraculous story.

K. G. SESA AİYAR.

TRIVANDRUM.

THE ALLALLU-BIRD = CORACIAS GARRULUS LINN.

The *allallu*-bird of the Gilgamesh Epic has never been satisfactorily identified. It will be remembered that he was one of the lovers of Ishtar, and that Gilgamesh taunts the goddess with her cruelty to the unfortunate bird:—


“Next thou didst love the gay-hued *allallu*-bird; him thou hast smitten,



Breaking his wing: in the grove doth he perch, crying
kappi, ‘my wing!’”

While I was serving in Basrah in 1915–16 I used constantly to see the brilliant-coloured Roller (*Coracias garrulus* Linn.) darting in short flights amid the palm-groves, uttering its harsh cry. Its very striking colouring aptly coincides with

"gay-hued" (*bitruma*); the head is greenish-blue, mantle chestnut-brown, wings light and dark blue, chin white, underparts light blue (Saunders, *British Birds*, p. 272). Its cry is a rapid repetition of a harsh sound, which I may indicate (perhaps Assyrianizing here excusably) as *chap, chap, chap, chap, chap, chap*, half a dozen times or more, certainly in late June. Saunders' description of it is to the point: "During the breeding-season the male indulges in some extraordinary tumbling antics, turning somersaults in the air, and uttering a harsh cry which the Germans syllable as 'Racker-racker' and the Spaniards as 'Carlanco-carlanco'." ¹

In this description of its cry and tumbling flight we must obviously see the parallel in the epic of the cry *kappi* and the broken wing of the *allallu*-bird. So insistent were the Assyrians about its cry that we have in one of the bird-lists (my copy in CT. xiv, 6, r. 1, the restoration pointed out by Meissner, *MVAG.*, 1904, 200) [*al-lal*]-*lum* | *kap-pa ip-pu-uš* "the *allallum* | makes '*kappa*'."

The modern Arabic name for the bird in Basrah is  *muhelhel*.

muhelhel, i.e. from  "to shout" (Hebrew )², thus even repeating in a slightly different form the old Assyrian *allallu* (= "the crier"), from the same root. I think, therefore, that in every way—colouring, cry, "broken wing," habitat in the palm-grove, and even name—the *allallu* corresponds with the *Coracias garrulus*.²

R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON.

¹ W. J. Gordon, *Our Country's Birds*, p. 89, says "its flight is like a Tumbler Pigeon's, rapid and erratic . . . its cry is a peculiarly dry and thirsty 'rakker-rakker-crea' ". I once asked an Arab policeman in Basrah if he knew what the Roller said in his cry, and his answer was that Solomon, the Prophet of God, knew what it meant, thus referring to the old tradition of Solomon's knowledge of bird-language.

² Houghton, in his article *PSBA.*, viii, 142, identified *allallu* with "starling". His quotation from Dr. Tristram is, however, to the point: "You ought to find places for the bee-eater and the roller; so common, beautiful, and striking birds must have been known to the Assyrians."

NOTE ON OPHIR

The question of the geographical position of Ophir is still an object of keen controversy. The choice is between Africa, India, and the two coasts of the Persian Gulf (Glaser, *Skizze*, ii, p. 353 seq.). Thus far the attempts to decide the question moved on vaguely historical or rather speculative grounds. There is, however, a philological side to it, and a certain clue towards the solution of the problem is furnished by the Greek version of Genesis x, 28, where we find the spelling *Oύφειρ*. The variations *Σουφειρ* and *Σωφειρ* given in the Prophets and Hagiographa can be discarded. *Oύφειρ* corresponds to Arabic *أَفِير*, a diminutive form common in proper nouns. The Hebrew transcription could hardly be anything but *אופיר*. The root *أَفَر* is not frequently found in the dictionaries and its meaning *to be prompt, nimble* does not bear any relationship to gold, although this is not really necessary for the name of a locality. The *י* in the Hebrew word *may be mater lectionis*, but it seems preferable to think of *وَفَر* *to be abundant*, which brings us much nearer to the probable identity of the two words. A Hebrew speaker or writer would instinctively change the initial *י* to *ס* while putting the *ו* in the second place of the transcribed word. Thus the south-eastern coast of Arabia might have a better claim than the other places. Moreover, the Biblical Ophir is a descendant of *Yoqtān*, the eponymos of the genuine Arabs. It is also more probable that Salomon's ships did not travel farther than a little way round the coast of Arabia instead of venturing on a perilous journey to India or even South Africa.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

THE KUNDAMALA OF DIGNAGA ACARYA

The second publication in the Dakṣiṇabhārati Series, edited by M. Ramakrishna Kavi and S. K. Ramanatha Sastri, is a play attributed to Dignāga Acārya, and entitled *Kundamālā*. It deals with the story of the banishment of Sītā, the birth of her two sons, Kuśa and Lava, and their ultimate discovery by Rāma in the hermitage of Vālmiki. Though perhaps a little uninspired, the play is affecting and in tone elevated and pure. The editors state that a play of this name is mentioned in the *Bhāva-prakāśa* of Śāradātanaya, and in the *Kāvya-kāma-dhenu*, and there are quotations in the *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* of Bhoja, the *Mahā-nāṭaka*, and the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*.

The identification of the author, named in the *prastāvanā* as the poet Dignāga of Arārāla-pura, with the celebrated Buddhist logician will no doubt be debated. The Tanjore copies of the play are stated (preface, p. iii) to read Dhīranāga in place of Dignāga and *Anūpurādhasya* in place of *Arārāla-pura-vāstavyasya*—the Editors think of *Anurādha-pura* in Ceylon (p. vi), whereas according to Tāranātha the Buddhist divine belonged to the neighbourhood of Kāñcī and died in Orissa (pp. 130–5). The dedication of the play to Heramba may or may not be a further difficulty. If so, it applies also to Dhīranāga, who bears the Buddhist title *Bhadanta*, and whose verses quoted in the *Saḍ-ukti-karṇāmṛta* and the *Subhāṣitāvalī* do not seem to occur in the play.

It is worth while to point to one touch which is suggestive of a Ceylonese authorship. This is the expression *jyotsnā-nirmoka* “slough of moonlight” (resting on the ground). I am not acquainted with this idea of the moonlight patches (on roofs, etc.) as comparable to a snake’s (white) cast-off skin, except in verse 4 of the *Jānakī-haraṇa* of the Ceylonese poet Kumāra-dāsa. Or is it known in south India, e.g. in Tamil literature?

F. W. THOMAS.

THE PADA-TADITAKA OF SYAMILAKA

In this *bhāna*, which I have discussed elsewhere (in the "Centenary Supplement" of this *Journal*), there are many points of interest. Among these I may call attention to the character and nomenclature of the numerous personages and the references to classes and peoples.

Here is a list of the Rakes (p. 7)¹ assembled to provide the dénouement of the story :—

The Kāmacāra Bhānu.

The Gupta Lomaśa (Romaśa, p. 47) and his friend Mahesvaradatta (p. 47).

The Councillor (*amātya*) and Judge (*prāḍvivāka*, p. 9) Viṣṇudāsa.

The Śaivya Ārya-Rakṣita, a poet who sells his poems in Kāśī, Kosala, and among the Gargas and Niṣādas (p. 45).

The Dāseraka Rudravarman (a poet, p. 47).

The Āvantika Skandasvāmin.

The Bāhlika Kākāyana Aiśānacandri (p. 14) Hariścandra.

The Ābhīra prince Mayūradatta (Mayūra-Kumāra, p. 39).

The drummer Sthāṇu-Gāndharvasenaka.

The Upāya-nirantakatha Pārvatiya (Dhāvaki Anantakatha, p. 44).

The first Aparānta (Koṅkaṇa, p. 19) ruler Indravarman.

The prince Mukhavarman from Ānanda-pura.

Jayanandaka of Surāṣṭra.

The Maudgalya Dayitaviṣṇu, the Commander-in-Chief.

A certain Bhavakīrti (p. 46).

Taṇḍikoki Viṣṇunāga, the "hero" (p. 48).

In the course of the narrative we become acquainted, further, with :—

Bāṣpa Bāhlika-putra (p. 11).

Kauśika Simhavarman, half-brother of the emperor.

Ārya-Ghoṭaka, who, though no Hūṇa, wears Hūṇa costume (p. 15).

¹ The page references are to the *editio princeps* in *Caturbhānī* by M. Rāmakrishna Kavi and S. K. Ramanatha Sastri (*Śivapurī*, 1922).

Bhaṭṭi-Maghavarman, son of the Senāpati Senaka (p. 15).

Śamadāsī, a Śaurpārika woman (p. 20).

Bhadra-yudha, chief Chamberlain, Lord of the northern Bāhlika and Kārūṣa-Maladas, who addresses the Lāṭa folk with *j*'s in place of *y*'s, and who may well visit foreign countries, since—

“ Having set upon the heads of Aparānta, Śaka, and Mālava kings

His two feet, he goes as he will,

And, at length visiting his mother and mother Ganges,

Displays the glory of the family of Magadha kings ”

(pp. 20-1).

Nirapekṣa, a Buddhist *ḍiṇḍi* (pp. 21-2).

Guptakula (*sic*), the Yuvarāja, son of the Dāseraka king, whose agent is scornfully described as possessed of the full complement of his country's (Magadha's ?) dress, language, and manners (pp. 23-4).

Śivasvāmin, teacher of painting, and the Pratihāra Padmapāla (p. 25).

Sūryanāga Taundikoki of Śūrpāra, the Baladarsika Skandakīrti, and the Maudgalya *pāraśava* Haridatta (pp. 30-3).

Mayūrasenā, a Sinhalese Hetaera (p. 33).

Talavara Hariśūdra of Vidarbha, who is surrounded by Dākṣiṇātyas and wears an Āndhra *kārṣṇāyasa* (p. 33).

Jayanta of Saurāṣṭra, a Śaka prince (p. 39).

Ghaṭadāsī, a Barbara woman (negress) (p. 39).

Draṇḍilaka, the Pratihāra, who is *veśyādhyakṣa* (p. 33).

The *pustaka-vācaka* Upagupta; a sort of Falstaff, at war with his mother-in-law (pp. 28-9).

Bhaṭṭi-Ravidatta, an old rake, a Lāṭa (pp. 29-30).

The Yavanī Karpūratuṣṭhā with her sibilant, unintelligible speech, her recourse to “ thingumlob ”, etc., and to the use of gesture (p. 40). Her lover Varāhadāha (*sic*), son of Śārdūlavarman (pp. 39-40).

The Deccan poet Āryaka (p. 46).

Hastin of Gāndhāra (p. 47).

A Sauvīra (p. 47).

Bhaṭṭi-Jīmūta, the chief rake (p. 48).

We have also some pungent descriptions of national types. Thus the Lāṭa man (p. 16) :—

“ Bathes naked in a crowd, always washes his own clothes
in the water ;
Has dishevelled hair, goes to bed with unwashed feet :
Eats anything, as he walks in the road, wears a tattered
cloth ;
And, if he once happens to get in a blow, boasts of it
for ever.”

A Dāseraka man (p. 23) :—

“ His middle covered with a fragment of foul rag ;
Goat-faced, his shoulders yellow, hairy and fat ;
Here comes, eating a root, with eyes tawny as an ape,
If not a Dāseraka, then clearly a Piśāca.”

“ Saurāṣṭrikas, apes, and Barbaras are all one lot ” (p. 39) ;
“ A Yavana woman and a hetaera, a female ape and a dancer,
a Mālava man and a lover, an ass and a singer ” have the same
qualities (p. 40).

The peoples represented in the imperial city are enumerated (p. 9) as Śakas, Yavanas, Tuṣāras, Pārasikas, Magadhas, Kirātas, Kalingas, Vaṅgas, Kāśas, Māhiṣikas, Colas, Pāṇḍyas, and Keralas : we have also mention of Yaudheyas, Rohitakas, Bāhlikas (p. 11), Dākṣinātyas, Konkaṇas = Aparāntas, Keralas, Lāṭas, and others mentioned above. Nowhere is there any suspicion of Musalmans ; and, what is quite strange in a scene especially favouring western India, the Gurjaras are never mentioned. These facts, combined with the contempt poured upon the Guptas, suggest irresistibly for Śyāmīlaka a date considerably earlier than the lower limit fixed by the reference of Abhinava-gupta. It is the time of Harṣa of Kanauj, or even that of the later Guptas, that is indicated, and the lexicographical and stylistic affinities to Bāṇa point in the same direction.

The fictitious name of the capital city, Sārvabhauma, invites even a further reflection. Why should not Ujjain or Daśapura or Kanauj have been named ? Is it possible that a real capital would have too definitely identified the subjects of the scandalous gossip, whose names and titles, in fact, show little sign of being merely invented ? In that case we should be able to boast an acquaintance with at least the caricatured lineaments of a number of personages belonging to an interesting period, upon whom a northern poet thought it worth while to exercise his spiteful wit. If so, the names may have been disguised only slightly, or not at all. In any event the characters are such as had a satiric probability in his time.

F. W. THOMAS.

WERE THE ASURAS ASSYRIANS ?

The identification of the *Asuras* of Indo-Iranian mythology with the *Assyrians* was first suggested by Mr. H. M. Chadwick (in J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 32), who derived *Aššur* from *Asura*, and his idea was then modified by Dr. F. W. Thomas (*JRAS.* 1916, p. 355), who, on the contrary, derived *Asura* from *Aššur*. This derivation has met with some approval, Mr. Belvalkar in his book on Sanskrit grammarians alluding to this etymology as generally accepted and standing beyond all doubt.

On the other hand, Professor A. Berriedale Keith in the *Commemorative Essays presented to Bhandarkar*, p. 88, denies the possibility of either derivation. He says : " There is no identity of character in the two conceptions, and the similarity of name is far from close. The Indo-Iranian Asura has an obvious derivation from *asu*,¹ and, while the name of Aššur

¹ I am quite aware that Professor Keith alludes to another *asu* than Yāska, *Nirukta*, iii, 8, but, in speaking of the etymology of the word *asura*, we should not forget this oldest etymology known to us. Yāska says : " it is well known that he (the Creator) formed the *suras* (gods) from *su*, ' good,' in which their essence consists, and that he formed the *asuras* from *asu*, ' not good,' and that in this consists their essence." [I do not think that the question of *Asura* > or < *Aššur* is yet ripe for discussion.—F. W. T.]

is less certainly interpreted, it is important to note that its western form seems to have been Ašir, and in Palestine we have the place-name Ašer, and among the Amorites, the sacred post, the Ašera, and the divinity which took up its abode therein."

Though I agree with Professor Keith in rejecting the etymology *Aššur* \lesssim *Asura*, I am not satisfied that his reasons for rejecting it are conclusive.

But there are reasons of a phonological character which prevent us from accepting the enticing possibility of identifying the Assyrians with those mythological beings.

For, first of all, Old Indian *asura* corresponding to Avestan *ahura*, the second sound of the word must, in the time of linguistic community of the tribes speaking these languages, have been what is styled an Indo-European *s*. As a representative of Assyrian *š* we would have expected not this sound but rather that one, which the Old Indian renders by *ś*, the Avestan and Old Persian, as known to us, by *s*. In an older epoch still, the Iranians also pronounced it *ś*—this has been proved by Jacobsohn in his *Arien und Ugrofinnen*: the oldest Iranian loan-words in the Finno-Ugrian languages presuppose the existence of Iranian *ś*. Now, if the reading of *Assara Mazāš* in a record of Assurbanipal is to be relied upon, it proves that *Aššur* has nothing to do with *Assara* or *asura-ahura* whatever.

But there is another point which I think settles the question beyond all doubt.

In the cuneiform inscriptions of Darius I we meet with the deity *Ahuramazda*, who in the Persian text appears as *auramazda*, in the Babylonian as *iu-ú-ri-mi-iz-da*, in the Elamite as *an-ur-mas-da*. But we also meet with the Assyrians, who are called *atura* in the Persian text, *matu-áš-šur* in the Babylonian, and *İaš-šu-ra* in the Elamite. As will be seen, in none of the three languages there exists such a phonological similarity as might speak in favour of Messrs. Chadwick's or Thomas' suggestion.

What is of special interest is the fact that the Persians represent the *š* of *Aššur* by a sound that is believed to be identical with or approaching to New Greek *θ*.

The *Assara Mazāš* of Assurbanipal, if reliable, can help us in settling a point of sound chronology. We know that the Indo-European *s* has passed to *h* in Iranian. As *Assara Mazāš* hardly can be anything but the Old Persian deity, we must infer that in the times of Assurbanipal (668-626 B.C.) this sound process had not yet taken place.¹ Now, in the cuneiform inscriptions of Darius I, the *h* already appears for *s*. And thus the said phonological process must have taken place between the middle of the seventh and the end of the sixth century B.C. As the Avesta also shows *h* instead of Indo-European *s*, the Holy Books of the Parsees, as known to us, could hardly have originated in the time of Assurbanipal or earlier.

But if it should happen to be true that the Indo-European *s* was still pronounced in Old Persian at the time of Assurbanipal, this implies also that Iranian *š* had not yet passed to *s*. For those sounds would else have been confounded. And thus the latest epoch when the oldest Iranian loan-words of the Finno-Ugrian languages could have been borrowed would seem to be the time fixed above, viz. from about the middle of the seventh century to the end of the sixth century B.C. At any rate, this must have been earlier than Darius I, if they were borrowed from Old Persian or an Iranian language that developed parallelly with Old Persian. But this, of course, remains to be proved.

HANNES SKÖLD.

LUND.

February, 1924.

¹ [This argument is evidently fallacious, and the fallacy vitiates all that follows. A similar argument would prove the *s* of *Paris* to be still pronounced in France. We do not know when the Assyrians and Babylonians first heard of *Ašura Mazdā*.—F. W. T.]

NOTE ON *JRAS.*, P. 136

The reviewer appears to have confounded, as is frequently done, the author of the *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* with the Kūfi grammarian 'Alī ibn Ḥamza al-Kisā'i, who accompanied the caliph Hārūn on his last journey to Khorāsān and died on the way in the year A.H. 189. The nisba Kisā'i points to Persian origin and this is borne out by other scholars and traditionists. The exact date of Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Kisā'i, the author of the *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, is not known, but I believe I am correct in saying that he lived towards the end of the fourth century of the Hijra. The reason why he did not find a place in the many books of biographies of traditionists is not far to seek. Though in the books on traditions there may be many which are spurious, the work of Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh is so crammed with fables and legends that hardly any other book could contain more in the same compass. It was written for people who preferred the wonderful to the truth. The very authorities mentioned by the reviewer prepare us for a large store of inventions. While Ibn 'Abbās is in earnest, this cannot be said of Ka'b al-Aḥbār (not Akhbār, as the reviewer writes) and Wahb ibn Munabbih. The former, a convert from Judaism, brought forward a large quantity of Jewish legendary lore, which he often palmed off as being derived from the Torah; while the latter, probably also a convert from Judaism, invented similar tales and added such about the antiquities of Yemen, his native country. His knowledge about the antiquities of South Arabia was nil.

The reviewer states further that the book is one of the oldest books on tradition, which is a clear error, as is evident from the date of the author stated above. However, to make the point clear I should like to state that at the date assigned by the reviewer no *books* on traditions existed in the sense we understand it. While the century that followed produced an endless number, it was the acknowledged practice that traditions were handed down *orally*, and it is frequently stated as a reproach to traditionists that they *wrote* their

traditions down. The process was, however, that certain hearers made notes of the traditions which they had heard from their Shaikhs, and these notebooks, intended to serve as a help to the memory, may probably later have served in the compilation of the canonical collections. It was considered a sign of untrustworthiness if a person recorded a tradition in later times from the jottings of a third party unless he himself could prove that he had heard them from the other person himself. For this reason we find on the earliest manuscripts the attestation of the teacher (*Ijāza*) that a certain person had read the book over to him. The earliest books on traditions, by which I mean those before *Bukhārī*, will generally be found to have been shaped into book-form by their pupils or even the pupils of the latter. I have seen two printed editions of the *Musnad* of *Abu Ḥanifa* (died A.H. 150 or 151), but both were issued as books later than *Bukhārī*, while of the *Muwaṭṭaʿ* of *Malik* (died A.H. 179) all sixteen recensions are by his followers. The *Musnad* of *Shāfiʿī*, of which I know two different recensions, does not appear to have been definitely made into a book till long after the death of *Bukhārī*. The only book on tradition which has come down to us and which is older than *Bukhārī* is the *Musnad* of *Tayālīsī* (died A.H. 204), which has been printed in *Haiderabad*. All these books are later than A.H. 189.

F. KRENKOW.



NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE BĀBUR-NĀMA IN ENGLISH. By ANNETTE SUSANNAH BEVERIDGE. 2 vols. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, lxi + 880 pp. London : Luzac, 1921.

Mrs. Beveridge, having from time to time whetted our appetite with *hors d'œuvre*, now sets before us a noble feast. The appearance of the life-story of this most attractive personality, told by himself, and presented to us in English by the greatest living authority on the man and his time, is an event in the history of Oriental studies in the West ; and the book is such as might have been expected of the translator's ripe scholarship and long devotion to her subject, and is fittingly dedicated to her hero's fame.

The life of Bābur has hitherto been known to English readers chiefly from Leyden and Erskine's *Memoirs of Bābur*, a work which, useful as it has been, is but a translation of a translation. Mrs. Beveridge has gone to the fountain-head, and the result of her labours convinces us that she has, by long and deep study, so identified herself with her model that we have before us his thoughts and his deeds as he expressed and described them, and that we have before us the man as he was.

Her subject is worthy of her devotion. Even from the translations already in our hands, Persian and English, it was recognized that the *Bābur-nāma*, in its simplicity, sincerity, and complete absence of affectation, stood alone among Oriental biographies and histories ; but Mrs. Beveridge gives us a more complete and faithful portrait of the soldier, poet, man of letters, boon companion, and practical philosopher to the study of whose life she has devoted herself, and a very lovable character he is. A king, beset by enemies before he was twelve ; four years later a conqueror almost immediately compelled to relinquish his conquest and reduced to such

misery that he "could not help crying bitterly"; but ordinarily cheerful and even gay under the most severe hardships and the bitterest disappointments; surely none born to a throne ever tasted more of "the hot and the cold of fate". His deep grief for departed friends, his gaiety, enhanced by, but not dependent on wine, his generosity, his patience, the æsthetic sense which could expatiate on the beauties of a scene amid sufferings and privations, the courtesy which invited but never urged a guest to drink, endear the man to us and enable us to appreciate Mirza Haidar's eulogy, quoted by Mrs. Beveridge, "Bābur . . . at a time so provoking, gay, generous, affectionate, simple, and gentle."

Not the least of his merits as an author is his observation, usually so accurate that his remark that Hindūstānis sometimes drop a vowel, saying *khābr* for *khābar* and *Asd* for *Asad*, comes as a surprise. The tendency now is the reverse, and natives of the Panjāb and Hindūstān find so much difficulty in pronouncing two consonants together that they will usually say 'ilam for 'ilm, 'aqal for 'aql, chasham for chashm, and shamas for shams, though they will write and point the words correctly. That this intolerance of two "quiescent" consonants together is nothing new is shown by the tendency of Hindī to insert short consonants not found in the corresponding Sanskrit words.

The book is not entirely free from blemishes, mostly typographical. Among these are the occasional misplacement of the letter 'ain and the hamza, as in *t'alīm*, *Yaq'ūb*, and *Qu'rān*; and a few errors of transliteration, such as *saiyār* for *siyar*, *nū-roz* for *naurūz*, *nashka* for *nuskha*, *kasht* for *kusht*, and *Qalāt* for *Kalāt*. We must protest, too, against the transliteration *Badāyūnī*. The historian took his territorial name from the town of Budāon, which is so spelt and pronounced, and it would be as reasonable to write the name of a neighbouring town *Āyūnla* as to write *Badāyūn*. *Bī murād*, too, does not mean "against his will", but "without attaining his object"; *hī bāqī* cannot mean "without fear" (*bāk*).

These remarks are made in no spirit of carping criticism, and the slight blemishes noticed in no way diminish the deep debt of gratitude owed by Oriental scholars to Mrs. Beveridge for her careful, exhaustive, and masterly study of one of the most attractive characters in the history of Islām.

W. H.

GEMS OF CHINESE LITERATURE. By HERBERT A. GILES, Hon. LL.D. (Aberdeen), Professor of Chinese in the University of Cambridge. 11 × 8½, xiv + 287 pp. Shanghai : Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., 1922.

This handsome second edition of the "Gems" has been carefully revised, and by many additional translations has been doubled in size and brought down to the present day. Beyond question, these accessories of pearl-powder and carmine have not failed to accentuate the charms of the original edition, albeit these were of unusual attraction. And I do not know really who is most to be congratulated, the translator or the translated. The translator, because with the exception of his *Chinese-English Dictionary*, a monument of massive labour and learning, but naturally devoted only to the student, *Gems of Chinese Literature* will probably of all his works represent him at his best, exhibiting him as a great interpreter and conciliator between the mentalities and ideals of the East and West. While the thin shades of the translated must feel an almost genial breath from the upper world, as their long silent words, though in a strange and unknown tongue, echo once more among the haunts of men. And though in his original preface Professor Giles repeats "that translators are but traitors at the best", the fidelity to the spirit of these originals that he has maintained is as striking in the final accomplishment as it must have been exacting in the process of sympathetic transfer.

All of these specimens are gems of prose, not of poetry. Eighty-eight authors have been illustrated, ranging from the

Duke of Chou, in the twelfth century B.C., to Mr. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, still living, and we trust "flourishing". Of all these extracts there is but one that had better, I think, have been omitted. It is headed "A broken oath", and whether kept or broken, the text of the oath can hardly claim to be a Gem of Literature.

Let me rather end this brief notice of an admirable collection by drawing attention to the charming allegory of the Peach-blossom Fountain on pp. 162-3, with its waft of Hans Christian Andersen.

L. C. HOPKINS.

THE TRAVELS OF FA-HSIEN (A.D. 399-414), OR RECORD OF THE BUDDHISTIC KINGDOMS. Retranslated by H. A. GILES. 7 × 4½, xvi + 96 pp. Cambridge: University Press, 1923.

The pioneer of Chinese pilgrimage to India appeals to all who take pleasure in tales of adventure. It is primarily as a book of travel that Professor Giles now presents Fa-hsien; for he gives a bare translation ungarnished with foot-notes, Chinese characters, or other additions likely to hinder the general reader from full enjoyment of the narrative. A fine tale it is, and this handy volume is bound to be widely welcomed.

Much has already been written on Fa-hsien's travels, and much remains to be written on them both as an eyewitness's account of India and as a pious devotee's record of the Buddhist religion fifteen centuries ago. The first published version in an European language was that of Rémusat in 1836. Klaproth had worked on the book as early as 1816, and it was he who shaped a rough draft of part of Rémusat's translation, and finally prepared it for press with the aid of Landresse. An English version of it, with still more notes, was brought out at Calcutta by J. W. Laidlay twelve years later. Twenty years after that Beal's first translation appeared. In 1877 Professor Giles' former translation was published in

The Shanghai Courier, and again in book form under the title *Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms*. Professor Giles in his preface stated that he had "not spared the feelings of Mr. Beal", and, indeed, he had not; for his criticism was ruthlessly severe. Some sixty pages of the *China Review* for 1879-80 were taken up by Watters in discussing mainly the respective merits of the two translations. Unfortunately that distinguished scholar did not himself provide a translation. Beal included a revised version of the *Travels* in the introduction to his *Buddhist Records of the Western World* of 1884. Two years later Legge published a translation annotated with a Korean recension of the Chinese text.

W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

Some Recent Persian Books

The trustees of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" have inaugurated their "New Series" (N.S.) with two Persian texts, the one geographical and the other historical, as follows :

THE FÁRS-NÁMA OF IBNU'L-BALKHÍ. Edited by G. LE STRANGE and R. A. NICHOLSON. "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, New Series I. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xxxii + 199. Printed at the Cambridge University Press. London : Luzac, 1921.

This old and important account of the province of Fárs, compiled early in the twelfth century by a little-known author, whom, for want of a more definite name, his editors denote as Ibnu'l-Balkhí, is represented in Europe only by two MSS., the old thirteenth century Codex of the British Museum (Or. 5983) and the Paris MS., which is only a modern copy of it, made, apparently, for the late M. Ch. Schefer, whose library of Persian books, both manuscript and lithographed, was probably the finest from the literary point of view ever brought together by a private collector. To Mr. G. le Strange belongs the merit of first calling attention to Ibnu'l-Balkhí's valuable work, of which he published a translation in this

Journal in 1912 (pp. 1-30, 311-39, 865-89), afterwards embodied in Vol. XIV of the Society's Monographs. In the preparation of the text, now at last rendered available to students, he has had the valuable co-operation of Dr. R. A. Nicholson, whose name is a guarantee of accurate and scholarly work. Besides geographical material, the book contains a great deal of ancient legend and history, and is provided with full indices of personal and place names and of books cited, an alphabetical list of archaic forms and unusual words found in the British Museum MS., and an illuminating introduction in English, to which the reader is referred for fuller particulars.

THE RÁHATU'S ŠUDÚR OF AR-RÁWANDÍ. By MUḤAMMAD IBN 'ALÍ . . . AR-RÁWANDÍ. Edited, with Notes, Glossary, and Indices, by MUḤAMMAD IQBÁL. "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, New Series II. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, xlii + 800 pp. London: Luzac, 1921.

This detailed and authoritative history of the Saljūq dynasty, from its rise in the early eleventh to its fall at the end of the twelfth century of the Christian era, is contemporary with the latest events recorded, and is represented by a single MS., copied in 635/1238, which originally formed part of the late M. Ch. Schefer's unrivalled Persian library, and is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (*Suppl. Pers.* 1314). The original was very carefully copied by Mírzá Kázimzáda in 1913, but nearly ten years elapsed before an opportunity of printing the text arose. It was then taken in hand by Dr. Muḥammad Iqbál, then a Government of India Research Student at Cambridge, who, after much patient and judicious work, has finally produced a text worthy of the best traditions of Oriental scholarship, in spite of the difficulties which are inseparable from editing a text from a single MS. A scholarly preface deals with (1) the author; (2) the contents and sources of the book; (3) some of the later histories that borrow directly or indirectly from the present work; (4) orthographical and grammatical peculiarities of the book. It is also furnished with

full indices of names of persons, places, and books mentioned in the text. The numerous and extensive quotations from early Persian poets, seldom available in so old a MS., give the book a special literary value. In all 2,799 verses are quoted, of which no less than 676 are from the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī. These the editor has, as far as possible, identified and traced in Turner Macan's edition. The historical portion of the work ends on p. 405 of the text, and is followed by dissertations on Chess (pp. 405-16) with diagrams; Wine-drinking (pp. 416-28); Archery and Riding (pp. 428-31); Hunting (pp. 431-7); Calligraphy (pp. 437-47), with illustrations; and the method of Divination called *al-Ghālib wa'l-Maghlūb* ("Victor and Vanquished").

THE IDEA OF PERSONALITY IN ŠUFISM. Three lectures delivered in the University of London. By REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON, Litt.D., LL.D., F.B.A., Lecturer in Persian in the University of Cambridge. 7½×5, 77 pp. Cambridge University Press, 1923.

This little book contains the revised and annotated text of three lectures delivered in the University of London (School of Oriental Studies) last summer by Dr. Nicholson. Its chief purpose, he tells us, "is to show, by means of examples chosen from the literature, that Šufism, or Mohammedan Mysticism, is not necessarily pantheistic, but often bears the marks of a truly personal religion inspired by a personal God." No one can speak with greater authority on this subject than the author, whose fine scholarship includes not only Arabic and Persian, but also (a qualification of great importance for all researches in Islamic philosophy) Greek, thanks to which he was able to show in one of his earliest published works (*Selected Odes from the Dīwān of Shams-i-Tabrīz*) how great an influence Neo-Platonism exerted on Muhammadan thought, especially in this realm. Since then he has given us in text (e.g. the *Kitābu'l-Luma'*) or translation (e.g. the *Kashfu'l-Mahjūb*) some of the oldest and hitherto

least known manuals of Šúfí doctrine ; and, indeed, he and M. Louis Massignon (on whose profound and illuminating studies of that wonderful mystic Ḥusayn ibn Manšúr al-Ḥalláj he freely draws) have done more than any other living Orientalists to present us with a picture of Šúfism at once sympathetic and scientific, far in advance of the vague generalizations of an earlier generation. The old notion that Šúfism was a "reaction of the Aryan mind against a Semitic religion" tended to divert attention from the very important part played in its development, if not by Arabs, at least by men of Arabian speech, such as the great Egyptian mystical poet, 'Umar ibnu'l-Fárid, and the Maghribí "Doctor Maximus" (*ash-Shaykhu'l-Akbar*) Muḥyi'd-Dín ibnu'l-'Arabí, whose influence, even at the present day, is after seven centuries still potent throughout the Islamic world. To these Dr. Nicholson does full justice, and from their works he draws many of his illustrations.

PERSIAN LITERATURE : AN INTRODUCTION. By R. LEVY, M.A.,
Lecturer in Persian in the University of Oxford.
Language and Literature Series. Edited by C. T. Onions.
7½ × 5, 112 pp. Oxford University Press, 1923.

It requires some courage to endeavour to compress into about a hundred small pages even an outline of the literary history of Persia from the time of Cyrus to the present day. This is what Mr. Levy has attempted, and it must be admitted that, so far as the limitations imposed on him allowed, he has accomplished his task with wonderful success. Four periods are distinguished, the pre-Islamic (558 B.C.—A.D. 650, pp. 5–16) ; the 'Abbásid Caliphate (A.D. 750–1258, pp. 16–53) ; the Mongol and Tartar Domination (A.D. 1258–1500, pp. 53–86) ; and the Modern Period (A.D. 1500–1910, pp. 86–103). The book concludes with a short but well-considered bibliography and an adequate index. Brief as it is, the book is not a mere compilation, but bears the traces of original thought and wide reading, and the author has avoided the fault common to

so many writers on Persian literature of thinking only of the poets and of assuming that there is no literature worth speaking of after the time of Jámí (circ. A.D. 1500). Of contemporary poets, Mr. Levy mentions Bahár of Mashhad, Sayyid Ashraf of Gílán, and 'Árif (not 'Ásif, as it is misprinted on p. 103), but omits the more versatile and talented "Dakhaw" (= *Dih-khudá*, "Squire") of Qazwín, whose prose satires, published in the *Charand-parand* ("Charivari") columns of the unhappily deceased *Šúr-i-Isráfíl*, marked an absolutely new departure in style; and whose poetry included on the one hand the really beautiful and touching elegy on his friend and former editor, Mirzá Jahángir Khán, a victim of the *coup d'état* of 23rd June, 1908, and the rollicking buffoonery of "Kabláy". Since the war, Berlin has become one of the chief centres of Persian intellectual progress, as shown by the very high critical level attained by the now deceased newspaper *Káwa* ("Kaveh") of the "New (i.e. post-war) Cycle" (1920-1), and the remarkable work accomplished by the "Kaviani" Press, of which something must now be said.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE "KAVIANI" PRESS, BERLIN.¹

This Press, financed and managed by Persians desirous of producing good and cheap Persian books, both classics and modern educational works, offering correct and well-printed texts, provided, where necessary, with the requisite indices and *apparatus criticus*, has in the last year or two published some dozen volumes. These include three Persian plays by the late Prince Malkom Khán, for many years Persian Minister in London; a reprint of Ḥamza of Isfahán's (Arabic) history of the pre-Islamic kings of Persia; a treatise on Persian music; a German-Persian Dictionary containing 30,000 words; a Persian Wall-calendar for the current solar year; a "Boys' Guide" (*Rahnumá-yi-Pisarán*); and a "Farmers' Guide" (*Rahnumá-yi-Dihqán*), besides four of the older classical

¹ This Press is located at 43 Leibnizstrasse, Charlottenburg, Berlin. Its publications can be obtained from Messrs. Luzac & Co., 46 Great Russell Street, London, W.C. 1.

works, viz. the *Gulistán* of Sa'dí, the "Cat and the Mouse" (*Músh u gurba*) of 'Ubayd-i-Zakání, and two volumes of the works of that great poet, thinker, and traveller, Násir-i-Khusraw, particulars of whose life and work will be found in the *JRAS.* for 1915 (Vol. XXXVI). The first of these two volumes contain the prose *Safar-náma* ("Travels") and the two poems entitled respectively the *Sa'ádat-náma* ("Book of Happiness") and the *Rawshand'i-náma* ("Book of Illumination"), all of which had been previously published, the first by Schefer, the second by Fagnan, and the third by Ethé. These first editions are now, however, almost unobtainable, and the present edition offers a more correct text and a much needed index to the *Safar-náma*. The second volume contains the hitherto unpublished *Zádu'l-Musáfirín* ("Pilgrims' Provision"), of which two manuscripts (one in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, the other in the Library of King's College, Cambridge) are known to exist, and which contains a very detailed exposition of the religious and philosophical views of that great missionary of the Isma'ílí branch of the Shí'a.

E. G. B.

Books on India and Central Asia

1. L'ART GRÉCO-BOUDDHIQUE DU GANDHĀRA. Tome II, second fascicule. Par A. FOUCHER. 11×7, 409 pp., 331 plates. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1922.
2. ESSAI DE GRAMMAIRE SOGDIENNE. Par ROBERT GAUTHIOT. Première partie, phonétique. 9×5½, xi + xviii+183 pp., 2 maps. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1914-23.
3. DIE ZEHN PRINZEN, EIN INDISCHER ROMAN VON DANDIN, VOLLSTÄNDIG VERDEUTSCHT. Von JOHANNES HERTEL. Three vols., 7×4¾, 182, 209, 140 pp. Leipzig: Haessel, 1922.
4. BOMBAY: A HISTORY OF THE ANGLO-PORTUGUESE NEGOTIATIONS, 1660-77. By SHAFĀAT AHMAD KHAN. 9½×6¾, 155 pp. Oxford: Humphrey Milford, 1923.

5. EAST INDIA TRADE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By SHAFAT AHMAD KHAN. 9×6, vii+325 pp. Oxford University Press, 1923.
6. CATALOGUE OF THE INDIAN COLLECTIONS IN THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON. By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ ×8 $\frac{3}{4}$, 150 pp., 86 plates. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1923.
7. PORTFOLIO OF INDIAN ART. Edited by ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY. 108 plates, with 108 pp. of letterpress. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts (also New York: E. Weyhe, and others).
8. JOURNAL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LETTERS, UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA. Vol. X. 10×6 $\frac{1}{2}$, 360 pp. Calcutta: University Press, 1923.
9. ETERNAL TRUTH. By JWALA PRASAD SINGHAL. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ ×5 $\frac{1}{2}$, 187 pp. Aligarh: Sat Gyan Prakashak Mandir, 1923.
10. ARCHÆOLOGY OF CEYLON, ANNUAL REPORT, 1921-2. By H. M. HOCART. 13×8 $\frac{1}{4}$, 12 pp., with 11 plates. Colombo: Cottle, 1923.
11. ANTIQUITIES OF BHIMBAR AND RAJAURI: REPORT OF A TOUR BY RAM CHANDRA KAK (Supt. Arch. Jammu and Kashmir). 13×10, ii+16+iii pp., 12 plates. Calcutta: Government Press, 1923.
12. ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY IN INDIA (SIR JOHN MARSHALL) FOR 1920-21. 13×10 $\frac{1}{4}$, 57 pp., 20 plates. Calcutta: Government Press, 1923.
13. INDIAN EPHEMERIS. By L. D. SWAMIKANNU PILLAI. Eight vols., 12×8 $\frac{1}{2}$, 413 pp. in each vol. Madras: Government Press, 1923.

1. A work by M. Foucher always marks an epoch, and one feels that an apology is due to the distinguished author for reviewing in a few lines a volume which should have several pages to itself. There is, however, this consolation, that a book from his pen does not need a review. Scholars require

merely to be told that a new volume has appeared, and they know what qualities to expect. This "second fascicule" on the Græco-Buddhist Art of Gandhāra contains the history of that art, the wonderful story of the rise, efflorescence, and decline (one cannot say "death", for its spirit lives still) of that remarkable school. M. Foucher, with the lucidity of thought and charm of style which are characteristic of him, unfolds the history of the meeting of Hellenism, arising out of the conquests of Alexander, with Buddhism pushing its way north owing to the missionary efforts of Aśoka, and shows how there grew up, not in Takṣaśilā, where superficially it might have been expected, but in Gandhāra, fitted for it by various circumstances, that school of artistic reproduction which influenced all India until the time of Muhammadan power, and Ceylon, Tibet, Indochina, Japan, and China, down to the present day. Its foundations must be looked for in the first century B.C., it was at its best in the second century A.D., and began to decline in the third century. No one could then have foreseen the greatness and extent of its influence on India and other eastern countries.

One of the striking facts brought out is that the representation of Buddha is due to the Gandhāra school. Previously he had been implied, but not represented, and all the later images of the Madhyadeśa and other parts of India show traces of the original Gandhāra sculptures. Indianists, M. Foucher says, will not be pleased to hear this, will not wish to admit it, but the "*tranquille insolence des faits*" allows of no other conclusion. To change the idiom, "*facts are chieftains that winna ding.*" The argument is relentlessly followed to its conclusion—these images are the prototype of all known images of Buddha.

The volume is fully illustrated throughout, and one is able to follow the argument by studying the photographs. The work in its completeness is one which it seems almost an impertinence to praise, for it is useless to "paint the lily or gild refined gold".

2. The Sogdian Grammar by the late Robert Gauthiot, whose lamented death deprived us of one of the foremost of Iranian scholars, ought to have been reviewed at greater length than is possible in this series of brief notices. By a fortunate providence the leaves of this work were preserved during the burning of that part of Louvain where it was housed. The chain of circumstances which have led to our present knowledge of this ancient language can only be thought of as a linguistic romance. An article on the language by Dr. Cowley appeared in the January number of the *Journal* for 1911, followed by articles from the pen of Gauthiot himself in April, 1911, and April, 1912. One has merely to read those articles in order to realize the distance which was travelled in the next couple of years—for this grammar was nearly all written by the end of 1914. The Sogdians lived in the region round about Bukhāra, Samarqand, and Tāshqand. Herodotus calls them Σόγδοι. From Strabo we learn that they spoke a form of Scythian, a non-Persian, but certainly Iranian language. They were agriculturists and traders, and held a position of great importance for many hundreds of years. They finally disappeared along with their language. It is now being recovered, as this brilliant monograph testifies. We realize that it is difficult to place limits upon the information which an earnest scholar can derive from a small amount of material. It is gratifying to know that a second volume—on morphology, may shortly be expected from the pen of E. Benvéniste.

3. *Die Zehn Prinzen* is a translation of the well-known Sanskrit prose work by Daṇḍī. It is printed in three volumes. The first contains an interesting introduction, while the last is given up to appendixes of various kinds, including a discussion of the personality of the author, his object in writing the book, the authenticity of the central portion of the story, and other matters. It contains also genealogical trees, bibliography, and a full index. What may be called the original work has three parts, viz. *pūrva pīṭhikā*, *daśa kumāra charita*, and *uttara pīṭhikā*, of which the first and third are not believed

to be Daṇḍi's work, while some of the second portion is doubtful. It dates probably from the fifth or sixth century A.D. No work could be better adapted for giving us an insight into life in India in the fifth century. Its clear characterization of all classes, kings and courtiers, priests and common people, and its intrinsic interest stamp it as a work of considerable power. The author's real name is unknown. Daṇḍi is a mere title, meaning either mace-bearer (staff-bearer) or, perhaps, door-keeper. It is a pity that the translator has not inserted diacritical marks. They would have been useful if not in the actual story, at least in the introduction and appendixes. However, this is a small blemish in a work of such thoroughness and ability.

4. Mr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan is the author of the two historical volumes under review. He is Professor of History in the University of Allahabad. "Bombay" is reprinted from the *Journal of Indian History*, Ser. III, vol. x (September, 1922). It is a full account of Anglo-Portuguese negotiations relating to Bombay during the years 1660-77, and is largely the story of the East India Company and its connexion with Charles II and Oliver Cromwell, and the relations which subsisted between the Portuguese and all three parties. The author has studied the original documents, and has extracted from them what was germane to his subject. We are taken back to the times of "Oranzeeb" and "Savajed" (under which name it is difficult to recognize Shivaji), and these great historical figures are no longer dim with age, but move over the scene instinct with life. It is a painstaking and valuable record of the history of Bombay at an important period of its existence.

5. The volume which treats of East Indian trade in the seventeenth century is more ambitious in its aim. It is less a historical than an economic treatise. In it we see that the absorbing topics of the twentieth century were discussed with equal vigour 300 years ago. Free Trade and Protection, the question of money—is it a commodity or is it treasure, or, again, is it a mere medium of exchange? These and other

matters were eagerly, even fiercely, debated then as they are now. The volume before us is a serious contribution to the economic history of England for a hundred years. It was the century which took England from James I through the reigns of Charles I and Charles II and through the Protectorate to William III, and which incidentally saw the country shaking off semi-medievalism and emerging into the condition which we recognize as modern England. The author has given full quotations from the documents (a list of them may be found in the index); we learn the economic views of various important persons, and the attitude of the Stuart kings and of Cromwell to the East India Company. Only Charles II appears to have been personally interested in the Company. The author rejects Hunter's opinion that Cromwell was markedly favourable to it. He did indeed grant it a charter, but he failed to give it any support. Both volumes show ability and are characterized by a genuine attempt at impartiality.

6, 7. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, is to be congratulated upon these two sumptuous volumes. The Catalogue is divided into three parts. The first is an introduction in which the Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain religions are discussed briefly and very forcefully. But why does Dr. Coomaraswamy say that Kaikeyi was the mother-in-law of Ram? The second part gives us a useful account of Indian sculpture, with a descriptive catalogue of specimens in the Museum. The third part consists of a series of eighty-six photographic plates beautifully executed. Each of the first two parts is followed by a good bibliography. The Portfolio contains 108 loose plates illustrating the sculptures and other objects of Indian art belonging to the Museum. Each plate is accompanied by a loose page of description which states *inter alia* where, if anywhere, a photograph of the same object has already been published. The talented editor is one of a rapidly increasing band of Indian scholars who are devoting themselves to scientific study of the literature and art of their homeland.

8. The *Journal of the Department of Letters of Calcutta University* affords an opportunity for Indian scholars to make public the results of their studies and encourages the scientific spirit. In the 360 pages of which this number consists are to be found a number of articles on very diverse subjects, all of them interesting and some of real value. The two most important are *Early Buddhist Monasticism*, by Sukumar Dutt (172 pp.), and *Gurjura-Pratihāras*, by R. C. Majumdar (76 pp.). The former discusses his subject in great detail, and shows the "modernity" of the customs of ancient times, as, for example, in the matter of freedom of thought and even speech. Reference is much facilitated by a careful division of the matter into chapters. We are never tired of hearing the story of the Gujars, and Mr. Majumdar is to be congratulated on the acumen with which he marshals his facts. His spelling of modern place-names might be improved. He writes *Shāharanpur* for *Sahāranpur*, *Mirāt* for *Merāṭh*, *Jumnā* for *Jamnā* (*Jamunā*), *Punjab* for *Panjāb*. "Jumna" and "Punjab" might be passed if they were printed without the diacritical mark.

Another article worth reading is that on the Religion of Asoka, by Manindra Mohan Bose. Mr. Abinascandra Das deals with the Art of Writing in Ancient India. Much that he says is of interest, but he mars his work by special pleading. Thus we read: "Whatever may be the views of European scholars, we cannot admit that the Brāhmi script was brought to India from abroad." This may be laudable in a patriotic society, but in a scholarly journal we look for a willingness to form conclusions upon evidence. Again, he repeatedly speaks of the "perfect alphabet of the Brāhmi script", forgetting that everything human is imperfect. He holds that the Brāhmi script was in regular use when the earliest Vedic hymns were composed.

9. *Eternal Truth* is a theological and metaphysical treatise written to prove pantheistic monism. "Every form of matter and every form of soul has come out of primal reality and is

bound to dissolve into it." Two examples of his arguments may be of interest. (1) In support of metempsychosis:—why should God take the trouble to create new souls? It would be much more economical to let one soul do for several bodies. (2) In support of soul-dissolution:—if there were no dissolution the "globe would get piled up with souls". The author is sometimes in danger of a mistake against which he warns the reader—of letting illustration take the place of argument. The book closes with a fervent prayer to Ram.

10-12. We have before us three Archæological Reports. The Ceylon report is very brief, but it helps us to realize the difficulties with which all such work is associated. Lack of funds, insufficiency of trained workers, dissipation of energy in the humdrum task of police supervision in order to protect ancient buildings from deliberate damage—these are negative items, little thought of by the outside public, which take up a great deal of the attention of the Department. The photographs are good.

The report of the tour south of the Pir Panjāl range is extremely attractive, and if the author has not sought assistance in the writing of it, he must be congratulated on his excellent command of our language, and the Jammu and Kashmir Darbar is to be congratulated on having so well equipped an Archæological Department. The photographs are unusually good. The Pir Panjāl route to Kashmir, which was once the most frequented of all, is now seldom traversed by Europeans. These pictures, with their accompanying letterpress, will draw attention to a route which though somewhat rough is well worth following not only for the Mughal remains scattered here and there upon it, but for the views to be obtained from the hills which have to be climbed.

The Annual Report of Archæology in India is an unvarnished account of what is being done to conserve old monuments and buildings and to explore sites where there is promise of good results. The photographs in several instances show ruins both before and after conservation, and enable even

a neophyte to appraise the remarkable skill with which apparently hopeless masses of debris are made to yield up their secret. It must be a matter of legitimate pride to Sir John Marshall that during his tenure of office the department has made such great discoveries and preserved so much that would have been lost. The remarks on "archæological chemistry", a highly specialized science, are of special interest.

13. *Indian Ephemeris* is a work of what appears to the layman at least to be stupendous labour. For the sake of epigraphists and historical students Mr. Pillai has given in parallel columns all dates from A.D. 700 to 1999, according to various eras, including the Christian and the Muslim. All the *tithis* and *nakshatras* are calculated to two places of decimals. Full information is given about Hindu fasts and feasts, the casting of horoscopes, lunar and solar months, and other matters of interest to the chronologist. The author has already written a volume on Indian Chronology—solar, lunar, and planetary—from 3703 B.C. to A.D. 2000. He expresses his gratitude to the Madras Government for their assistance in publication. All who study epigraphy and history are under a great obligation to the learned author for this admirable work.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

Indica

1. GAEKWAD'S ORIENTAL SERIES. Nos. XX, XXIV. $9\frac{5}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, i, 69, 148, 174; 15, 84 pp. Baroda, 1923.
2. THE PRINCESS OF WALES SARASWATI BHAVANA TEXTS, Nos. 1-6, and THE PRINCESS OF WALES SARASWATI BHAVANA STUDIES, Vols. 1, 2. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ and $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$. Benares, 1920-3.

In No. XX of the "Gaekwad's Oriental Series" we have the text of Dhanapāla's Bhavisayatta-kahā, a Jain story in twenty-two cantos of Apabhramśa verse, edited by Messrs. C. D. Dalal and P. D. Gune. It has previously been published by Professor Jacobi (Abh. d. philos.-philolog. Klasse of the

Munich Akademie der Wissenschaften, Bd. xxix, Abh. 4, 1918), and thus is the first considerable work in Apabhramśa that has been printed. The present edition is based upon a better MS. than that used by Jacobi, and is furnished with an introduction treating of the story of the poem, the grammar of Apabhramśa, the metres, and Apabhramśa literature, and with explanatory notes, while a glossary at the end presents the words found in the text with their Sanskrit equivalents where possible, and in many cases the corresponding Marathi, Gujarati, and Hindi words. The work therefore should be a very useful and valuable contribution to the study of that exceedingly important and still imperfectly known stage of linguistic evolution which linked the older Prakrits to the modern vernaculars ; but unluckily its value is considerably impaired by its technical shortcomings. As both Mr. Dalal, who prepared the text, and Mr. Gune, who completed the work with the introduction, notes, and glossary, were removed by death before the publication of the book, we are unwilling to dwell upon these points ; but it must be confessed that the work is badly in need of revision. The introduction contains some valuable information, but it swarms with slips and misprints, and on p. 46 a whole paragraph is out of place, and should be on the next page ; the corrigenda to the text cover eight pages, but they are by no means exhaustive ; and the glossary gives in most cases no references to the places where the words occur in the text, besides mixing up *tatsamas* and *tadbhavas* in the corresponding vernacular words. No. XXIV of the same series is the Tantra-rahasya, consisting of five chapters by an otherwise unknown pandit of Dharmapuri named Rāmānujācārya, which form an introduction to a Sanskrit commentary upon the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-sūtra. Whether the author carried his work further than this introduction is unknown. The present chapters throw considerable light upon the arcana of their subject, and are adequately edited with an English introduction by Dr. R. Shamashastry.

Although " The Pandit " and " Indian Thought " are now

defunct, students of the profounder branches of Sanskrit literature may find some *solatium sui doloris* in the "Princess of Wales Saraswati Bhavana Texts" and "Studies" edited by Gaṅgānātha Jhā and Gōpīnātha Kavirāja, *par nobile*. Of the texts, No. 1 contains Padmanābha's Kiraṇāvalī-bhāskara, a commentary on Udayana's famous Kiraṇāvalī; No. 2 Raṅgōjī's Advaita-cintāmaṇi, a treatise on monism; No. 3 the great Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's Vēdānta-kalpa-latikā, on the same theme; No. 4 Varadarāja's Kusumāñjali-bōdhanī, upon the Kusumāñjali; No. 5 Vādindra's Rasa-sāra, a Vaiśeṣika work expounding the Guṇa-kiraṇāvalī; and No. 6 Maṇḍana Miśra's Mimāṃsā work Bhāvanā-vivēka with Bhaṭṭa Umbēka's commentary. Of these, Nos. 1, 4, and 5 are edited by Gōpīnātha Kavirāja, No. 2 by Nārāyaṇa Śāstrī Khiste, No. 3 by Rāmājñā Pāṇḍeya, and No. 6 by Gaṅgānātha Jhā. The Studies contain some interesting articles on various themes of philosophy, law, and religion by both the editors and other scholars, and also include an edition of a new Bhakti-sūtra by Gōpīnātha Kavirāja, an English translation by the same of the Nyāya-kusumāñjali, etc.

3. HYMNS FROM THE RIGVEDA. Selected and metrically translated by A. A. MACDONELL, M.A., Ph.D., Hon. LL.D. The Heritage of India Series. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, 98 pp. Calcutta and London, 1923.
4. VEDIC HYMNS. Translated from the Rigveda with introduction and notes by EDWARD J. THOMAS, M.A., D.Litt. Wisdom of the East. $6\frac{3}{4} \times 5$, 128 pp. London: J. Murray, 1923.
5. DAS JAIMINĪYA - BRĀHMAṆA IN AUSWAHL. Text, Übersetzung, Indices von W. CALAND. Verhandelingen der Kon. Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afd. Letterkunde, Dl. i, N.R., Dl. xix, No. 4. $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, 326 pp. Amsterdam, 1919.
6. DAS BAUDHĀYANA-DHARMASŪTRA. Herausgegeben von E. HULTZSCH. Zweite, verbesserte Auflage. Abhand-

- lungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, herausgegeben von der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, xvi Band, No. 2. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6$, xi+168 pp. Leipzig, 1922.
7. THE JAIMINIGRHYASŪTRA BELONGING TO THE SĀMAVEDA, with extracts from the commentary [of Śrinivāsa Adhvarin]. Edited, with an introduction, and translated for the first time into English by Dr. W. CALAND. The Punjab Sanskrit Series, No. II. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, xii, 80, 62, i pp. Lahore, 1922.
8. BRIHASPATI SUTRA, or The science of politics according to the school of Brihaspati. Edited, with an introduction and English translation, by Dr. F. W. THOMAS. . . . The Devanagari text prepared from his edition (in Roman script) . . . by Pt. BHAGAVAD DATTA, B.A. The Punjab Sanskrit Series, No. I. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, 20, iii, 32, 31 pp. Lahore, 1921.

The little books of Professor Macdonell and Dr. Thomas are exceedingly welcome. Each of them presents an admirably selected *florilegium* of typical R̥gvedic hymns in excellent translations, the former (40 *sūktas*) in verse and the latter (61 hymns and excerpts from hymns) in prose, with introductions. No better means could be found to interest the general reader in the R̥gvēda than these volumes of selections; tasteful and lucid in style, they have all the advantages of sound scholarship without any of the literary deficiencies that are usually attached to it.

In the absence of manuscript material adequate for a definitive edition of the Jaiminiya or Talavakāra Brāhmaṇa, Professor Caland has done the next best thing: he has produced an admirable volume of excerpts, with translation and indices.¹ The Jaiminiya has the same features as other Brāhmaṇas: while it is full of dreary ritualistic fantasies;

¹ We regret that our notice is so belated; but the book only reached us a few days before these lines were written.

it is, on the other hand, often most interesting as a document of early Sanskrit prose; it contains many important hints as to the development of religious thought, and the wealth of persons and places mentioned in it supplies considerable materials for history. Dr. Caland's admirable scholarship, unrivalled in this domain, finds abundant scope in the selection, critical constitution, translation, and elucidation of these extracts, which form a remarkably rich repertory of brahmanic lore.

In preparing the new edition of the Baudhâya-dharma-sûtra, Professor Hultsch has been able to use seven MSS. and the Mysore edition of 1907 to supplement the materials that were at his disposal for the first edition. For critical purposes these accessions have not been very fruitful, and the editor is justified in lamenting that the textual tradition still remains faulty and uncertain. However, he has handled his somewhat unsatisfactory materials with his usual skill and soundness of critical judgment, and the text of this important law-book which he here presents is incontestably the best that is under the circumstances possible.

Professor Caland's edition of the Jâimini-grhya-sûtra contains a reprint in Nāgarī script of the Roman text published by him in the *Verhandelingen* of the Akademie van Wetenschappen (Afd. Letterkunde, N.R., dl. vi, No. 2), with the addition of a translation, etc. The text as here presented shows a few misprints, and the divisions of paragraphs have been omitted; but in spite of these minor imperfections the book will be very useful to students of Hindu domestic religion.

The Bṛhaspati-sûtra, also termed Bārhaspatya-artha-śāstra, is likewise a Nāgarī reprint of a text previously edited in Roman script, the latter having been published in the *Muséon* for 1916, sér. III, tome 1, No. 2. Dr. Thomas, who has accomplished his difficult task with much skill, is probably right in holding that this "brief and strangely disjointed exposition" of the science of polity is only remotely derived from the ancient Bārhaspatya school, and at any rate in parts

must be as late as the twelfth century.¹ It is, however, interesting, though often rather obscure, on account of its references to social and religious conditions.

9. THE VIRĀṬAPARVAN OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA. Edited from original manuscripts as a tentative work with critical and explanatory notes and an introduction by NARAYAN BAPUJI UTGIKAR, M.A. With three illustrations drawn by SHRIMANT BALASAHEB PANT PRATINIDHI, B.A., Chief of Aundh. 10×7, i, i, lvi, 534, 146, 286, 24, xxviii, 6 pp. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1923.
10. DER PRETAKALPA DES GARUḌA-PURĀṆA (NAUNDHIRĀMA'S ŚĀRODDHĀRA). Eine Darstellung des hinduistischen Totenkultes und Jenseitsglaubens . . . übersetzt und mit Einleitung, Anmerkungen und Indices versehen von EMIL ABEGG. 9½×6, x+272 pp. Berlin and Leipzig, 1921.

The above edition of the Virāṭa-parvan is the firstfruits of the labours which have been in progress for several years for the purpose of producing a sound critical text of the Mahābhārata, and is offered tentatively, as a specimen of the method on which it is proposed to edit the text of the great epic, subject to such improvements as may be suggested by critics of this volume. It contains (1) an introduction by the editor, Mr. Utgikar, explaining the critical method that he has followed, (2) the text of Vp. with *apparatus criticus* in two divisions of footnotes, the upper one containing readings of MSS. and editions of the Northern Recension and the lower one giving readings of MSS. and editions of the Southern Recension, (3) English explanatory notes, (4) an appendix containing lines found in MSS. and editions of both recensions

¹ Among the features of the language of this work noted by Dr. Thomas is substitution of neuters for masculines, e.g. *āśavāni*, *upāyāni*, *dēvalayāni*, *mantrāni*. As he has elsewhere (*JRAS.*, 1922, p. 82) maintained that a few precisely similar forms found in the dramas of "Bhūsa" are archaic Prakrit accusative masculines, this variety of view is interesting.

which the editor has rejected from his text, (5) supplements giving (a) the Rāja-vasati-khaṇḍa of the Vidhura-paṇḍita-jātaka, (b) quotations from Vp. found in the Javanese version, compared with the present text, and (c) readings of Vp. to which the commentary Viṣama-pada-vivarāṇa refers, and (6) a concordance of the verses of Vp. in this text with those of the Bombay edition of 1862 and the Kumbakonam edition of 1906-10. The text as now constituted is based mainly upon three MSS., which together form a group belonging to the Northern Recension, viz. (in order of merit) F., of Samvat 1493, A., of Samvat 14 (? 1400), and M., a modern transcript, supplemented by a collation of thirteen other MSS., together with printed editions, the commentaries, and the Javanese version (made from the Southern Rec. in A.D. 996). The editor has also had recourse to conjectural emendations in some cases, and has not included all lines given in FAM. "Each individual reading," he tells us (p. xvi), "is based upon its own merits, though in the majority of cases the agreement is more with FAM than with other texts; and each individual line or Śloka is admitted into the text or relegated to the Appendix, strictly in the light of the Manuscript evidence as modified by the accepted principles of textual criticism." A striking result of this method is seen when we compare the data of the Parva-saṃgraha-parvan, which states that Vp. contains 67 *adhyāyas* and 2,050 *ślokas*. The Bombay edition of 1862 has 72 *adhyāyas* and 2,272 *ślokas*, the Kumbakonam text 78 *adhyāyas* and 3,494 *ślokas*; but the present text of Vp. has 67 *adhyāyas* and 2,033 *ślokas*, and this number of 2,033 is raised to 2,050½ if we count in the 35 lines (reckoning them as 17½ *ślokas*), which the editor, on purely aesthetic grounds, has banished to the Appendix, although they are found in every MS. and edition. These 35 lines therefore would seem to have existed in Vp. before the Parva-saṃgraha was composed, i.e. not later than c. A.D. 500, and the propriety of ejecting them seems open to doubt. Probably they are ancient interpolations; but at almost all times there was a

possibility of making interpolations, and the athetization of these lines seems to us to be the first step towards a *regressus in infinitum* of arbitrary criticism.¹ We therefore venture to think that, with the still comparatively limited MS. material at his disposal, Mr. Utgikar would be well advised to keep his text provisionally within the bounds laid down by the Parva-saṃgraha. It is to be hoped, however, that the discovery of really ancient MSS. and an exhaustive study of the Southern Rec. (of which he has collated only four MSS., apart from the printed texts) will ultimately enable him to go further, and to trace with certainty the still obscure history of the epic text both in the North and in the South. Meanwhile, we must thank him for a notably able and interesting contribution to this subject; and a word of acknowledgment is also due to the Chief of Aundh, the generous and cultured patron of these researches, for his coloured illustrations, for which he has drawn inspiration from the genial fount of Ajanta.

Dr. Abegg's book is an excellent presentation of Hindu eschatology and cult of the dead according to Puranic doctrine. The Sārôddhāra prepared by Naunidhi-rāma as a summary of the Prêta-kalpa (Uttara-khaṇḍa) of the Garuḍa-purāṇa is often known by the name of the Garuḍa-purāṇa, and is much used in funeral ceremonies; and it seems to be based upon a recension of the Gp. considerably older than the one which has been published under the latter title. Dr. Abegg's careful translation of this Sārôddhāra, furnished with copious and excellent explanatory notes, and prefaced by an introduction treating of the Gp. and its Prêta-kalpa, will be welcomed by students of Indian religion.

¹ Mr. Utgikar writes (p. xix): "The main object of a critical edition of the Mahābhārata is, in the first place, to have a text of the Mahābhārata, which contains no external interpolations, and secondly to have also a text which intrinsically approximates to the spirit and characteristics of the period to which . . . the epic is generally assigned." But the only sound test of "external interpolations" is the evidence of MSS., which in this case Mr. Utgikar overrides; and his second canon opens wide the door to a subjective "Höhere Kritik".

11. STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF SANSKRIT POETICS. By SUSHIL KUMAR DE, M.A., D.Lit. Vol. I. 9×6, xx+376 pp. London : Luzac & Co., 1923.
12. THE VAKROKTI-JIVITA. A treatise on Sanskrit poetics by RAJANAKA KUNTALA, with his own commentary. Chapters I and II. Edited with critical notes and introduction by SUSHIL KUMAR DE, M.A., D.Lit. Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 8. 8½×5¼, xlvii+120 pp.
13. THE SĀHITYADARPAṆA OF VIŚVANĀTHA. Parichchhedas I-X, with notes on Parichchhedas I, II, X, and history of Alankāra literature by P. V. KANE. Second edition. 8¾×5¼, clxxx, 64, 352, 142 pp. Bombay, 1923.

Dr. S. K. De is already known to readers of this *Journal* as a young scholar who has made a thorough critical study of the Indian art of poetry. His investigations have been put together so as to form a history of the subject, which is designed "to trace the development of the discipline through its fairly long and varied course of history", and accordingly he has given in the present volume of this work—after an outline of the beginnings of this study, which first appears in a rudimentary form in the *Nighaṇṭu* and *Nirukta*—a careful chronology of the authors of the *Alamkāra-sāstras*, from *Bharata*, *Bhāmaha*, and *Daṇḍin* to the minor writers, including many of quite modern date, with a complete bibliography in each case. The book shows exhaustive research combined with sound critical judgment, and readers will look forward with eagerness to the appearance of the second and concluding volume, which is to present an historical account of the development of the various rhetorical doctrines. Another valuable contribution of Dr. De to the same study is his *editio princeps* of Chapters I and II of Kuntala's *Vakrōkti-jīvita* with the author's commentary, from the MS. in the Madras Government Library. Kuntala, a Kashmiri who apparently lived between (approximately) A.D. 950 and 1050, held somewhat original views on the nature of poetry, the essence of which he found to lie in the presence of *vakrōkti*,

expression of ideas in language free from prosiness and banality, and these he embodied in his *Vakrôkti-jīvita*, a work which had considerable influence upon the theories of later rhetoricians. The relations of Kuntala to his predecessors and successors are fully elucidated by Dr. De in the interesting introduction which he has prefixed to his edition.

The history of the *Ars Poetica* which Mr. Kane has prefixed to his edition of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, though it does not attain the same degree of critical exactitude as that of Dr. De, shows wide learning, and is on the whole sound and judicious. The English notes in elucidation of books 1, 2, and 10 are excellent in their way, and the book well deserves the success which it has attained.

14. ON THE LITERATURE OF THE SHVETAMBARAS OF GUJARAT. By JOHANNES HERTEL. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, 26 pp. Leipzig, 1922.
15. BHARATAKADVĀTRIMŚIKĀ: THE THIRTY-TWO BHARATAKA STORIES. Edited . . . with an introduction, variants . . . notes, and a glossary by J. HERTEL. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, 55 pp. Leipzig, 1921.
16. THE PAÑCHĀKHYĀNAVĀRTTIKA. Part I, containing the text. Edited by J. HERTEL. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, 65 pp. Leipzig, 1922.
17. PRINZ AGHATA. DIE ABENTEUER AMBADAS. Vollständig verdeutscht von CHARLOTTE KRAUSE. $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, 208 pp. Leipzig, 1922.
18. KAUFMANN TSCHAMPAKA VON DSCHINAKĪRTI. PĀLA UND GŌPĀLA VON DSCHINAKĪRTI. RATNATSCHŪDA VON DSCHNĀNASĀGARA. Vollständig verdeutscht von J. HERTEL. $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, 191 pp. Leipzig, 1922.

The first three of these books form Nos. 1-3 of the publications of the Indische Abteilung of the Forschungsinstitut für Indogermanistik, a series of which we hope to see more. Dr. Hertel is always interesting, and never more so than when he is handling Jain literature. What he presents here is not a bibliography—hardly any books are severally

mentioned by name—but a survey of the nature of the Gujarati Śvētāmbaras' writings, particularly in connexion with folk-tales and Sanskrit. As he says, "during the middle-ages down to our days the Jains, and especially the Śvētāmbaras of Gujarat, were the principal story-tellers of India"; hence their works are of supreme importance for the study of the transmission of stories. Moreover, being more or less soaked with the vernacular, they have drawn from it many words and idioms; and the consideration of these facts leads Dr. Hertel to comment sorrowfully upon the contaminated state in which the Sanskrit classics have been preserved, and to plead for genuinely critical texts. He says: "We do not, in the printed editions, read the works of Vālmiki, of Kālidāsa, of Bhavabhūti, and of most of the other celebrated Sanskrit authors, but only disfigurations of their works, in whose every passage the authenticity of the wording is more than doubtful." These are strong words, but largely true, as are likewise the author's notable conclusions regarding the mutual relations between the Sanskrit of each region of India and the vernaculars spoken therein. The *Bharataka-dvātriṃśikā*, though not altogether new, is now for the first time critically edited. The word *bharataka* denotes a kind of Śaiva monks; and this little collection of thirty-two tales, as Dr. Hertel truly remarks, is designed for purposes of Jain propaganda, satirizing the Śaiva monks by means of stories illustrating their moral depravity and stupidity. The *Pañcākhyāna-vārttika* is likewise a Jain work; it belongs to the *Pañca-tantra* cycle, and contains stories in old Gujarati attached to Sanskrit verses, mostly from the *Pañca-tantra*.

The next two numbers on our list form vols. iv and vii respectively in a popular series of translations, "*Indische Erzähler*." As they are primarily addressed to non-Orientalists, they use a popular system of transliteration of names which must be as displeasing to the translators as it is to us; but in every other respect they are excellent, being attractive to the general reader because of their matter and

literary merit and to the Orientalist on account of their sound scholarship. All these stories are taken from Jain Sanskrit sources. Aghaṭa is a hero of the same familiar prehistoric type as Candrahāsa, the youth of inevitable luck, but the story has been recast in a thoroughly Jain mould. The tale (or cycle) of the miracle-worker Ambaḍa, however, is plainly of Śaiva origin, and for the most part bears distinct signs of its source, having been only superficially jainized by a few mechanical additions. In her interesting appendices Dr. Krause, among other germane matters, discusses the figure of Ambaḍa in legend, the connexion of these stories with the Vikrama-tales (notably the Throne-Vētāla and the Corpse-Vētāla cycles), and the language of the text. In the last she rightly points to the presence of Gujarati influence ; but several of her examples prove nothing for Gujarati, as they are equally applicable to some other vernaculars. The Campaka and Pāla-Gōpāla legends have been previously published in Sanskrit and German by Dr. Hertel (*ZDMG.*, Bd. 65, 1911 ; *BKSGW.*, Phil.-hist. Kl. 69, 1917, Heft 4) ; but their reappearance in this neat and revised form is welcome. Campaka belongs to the same class of heroes as Aghaṭa and Candrahāsa, but Jinakīrti has interwoven with this story the quaint satiric theme of the Rogues' City, which is developed more fully in the legend of the young merchant Ratnacūḍa. In Pāla, Gōpāla, and their father King Mahāsēna of Ujjayinī we have historical names, but the tales attached to them are as mythical as the others. All these stories possess literary merit in varying degrees, and are moreover full of references to circumstances of daily life, superstitions, and ceremonies of ancient and medieval India, which are adequately explained in the notes. Thus these two modest little books are indeed *ἀντ' ὀλίγου μέγα δῶρον*.

19. L'ABHIDHARMAKOŚA DE VASUBANDHU. Traduit et annoté par LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN. Premier et deuxième chapitre. 10×6½, ii+331 pp. Paris and Louvain, 1923.

20. ÉTUDES SUR ĀRYADEVA ET SON CATUḤŚATAKA. Chapitres viii-xvi. Par P.-L. VAIDYA. 10½×6½, 176 pp. Paris, 1923.

For many years the great *kōśa* of Sanskrit Buddhism has remained a sealed chamber to most students, and only to a few have been vouchsafed brief glances at its vast stores of thought. At length there has appeared in Professor Poussin the master who is enabled by his unique combination of linguistic and philosophical knowledge to make it known in its original text and in translation. Already in 1914 he made a beginning towards the publication of the text in his *Cosmologie*, giving ch. iii of the Kōśa (Kārikās, Bhāṣya, and Vyākhyā), and he now presents the first instalment of an annotated French translation, which will occupy at least three more volumes, and will be completed by an introduction dealing with the Abhidharma literature and the doctrines of the Sarvāstivādin-Vāibhāṣika and Sāutrāntika schools discussed in the Kōśa, with a revised text of the Kārikās, extracts, appendices, and indexes. The work is thus in every sense a *magnum opus*, the preparation of which has entailed and will continue to entail a profound study not only of the Kōśa itself, but likewise of its Vyākhyā, the Tibetan translation of the Bhāṣya, and the Chinese versions and commentaries. To the gifted translator and the Société Belge d'Études Orientales, which is publishing the work, are due warmest thanks for this great enterprise; may it soon be our good fortune to congratulate them on its completion!

Āryadēva was in his day—probably the third century of our era—one of the leading lights of the Mādhyamika school of Buddhism, and his Catuḥśataka (in full, Bōdhisattva-yōgācāra-catuḥśataka) has attained the dignity of being translated into Tibetan and incorporated in the Tanjur. To this Tibetan version is due the survival of the work, for of the Sanskrit original only a portion has been preserved. Mr. Vaidya has therefore found in the study of the Catuḥśataka and its author a fitting field for the exercise of his erudition and ability. His book comprises firstly an introduction, in

which he discusses the origin and development of the Mādhyamika school, its doctrine and literature, and its teachers (notably Nāgārjuna, Buddhapālita, Bhāvavivēka, Candrakīrti, Śāntidēva, Śāntirakṣita, and Āryadēva), and then the Tibetan text of chapters viii-xvi of the Catuḥśataka with the corresponding Sanskrit (the original Sanskrit where it has survived, and a conjectural restoration where the original has been lost), followed by a French translation and a Tibetan-Sanskrit vocabulary. The introduction is a learned and useful study, though perhaps open to criticism on some points, particularly as regards its handling of historical tradition. The treatment of the Tibetan text is not altogether impeccable. It has long been a subject of wonder to us that modern scholars should cling to the old-fashioned transliteration invented by Csoma de Kőrös ; Mr. Vaidya follows the same method in general, and in some points does even worse. Thus he uses *tc*, *tch*, *ds*, to represent Csoma's *ts*, *tsh*, *ds* (Jaeschke's *ts*, *t's*, *dz*), and *sh* for Csoma's *zh* (Jaeschke's *ž*), which are all more or less wrong. But, apart from this question of transliteration, the handling of the Tibetan text is in places open to criticism. Firstly, Mr. Vaidya does not seem to have troubled himself to constitute a critical text : he has uncritically copied nine chapters out of some editions, not always quite correctly, and has neglected to compare the readings of other editions and MSS. : secondly, he has sometimes seriously erred in his translations, both Sanskrit and French ; and thirdly, he has often lapsed from accuracy in grammar and spelling. A few examples may be taken, chiefly from the first pages of his work, to justify these criticisms.

p. 69, v. 176 : *rāga* is not a very correct rendering of *mdsaḥ ba* ; *prēma* would be nearer. p. 70, v. 179 : read *cig tu* for *cig du*. Ibid., v. 181 : for *thar baḥi* read *thar paḥi* ; correct *ḥphel pa* to *ḥphel ba*. p. 71, v. 182 : the translation is too free. p. 72, v. 185 : for *parpakṣas* read *parapakṣas*, and for *dkaḥ* read *dgaḥ*. Ibid., v. 186 : there is here a discrepancy between the Tibetan and the Sanskrit, for *bsam bral med pas* means

the opposite of *nīscintēna* ; moreover, *nētarah* does not mean “ non pour un autre ”, but “ not the other thing ”, viz. not *bhava*. Ibid., v. 187 : *skye* is a blunder for *skyo*. p. 73, v. 189 : for *spyin* read *sbyin*. Ibid., v. 191 : the British Museum printed copy of the text (mDo, xviii) reads *dños po gcig gi lta bo gañ . . . de ñid kun gyi stoñ pa ñid*. Ibid., v. 192 : read (as in the B.M. copy) *smos* for *smros*. p. 74, v. 193 : read *sbyar* for *spyar* ; the translation of *gnas ma yin par sbyar ba* should be *asthānayuktam*, not *ayōgayuktam*. Ibid., v. 195 : the B.M. copy reads at the beginning *yod par med dañ yod med dañ*. p. 75, v. 196 : *bzad* is a blunder ; read (with the B.M. copy) *bzañ*. Ibid., v. 198 : for *spyor* read *sbyor*. Ibid., v. 199 : the B.M. copy, probably wrongly, gives *thob nas* instead of *thos nas*. p. 76, v. 200 : for *mthar* read with B.M. copy *mthañ*, and correct *ma tchad* to *ma tchañ* ; in the colophon *spyoñ pa* must be a mistake for *sbyoñ ba* (as in B.M. copy). p. 77, v. 204 : the reading of Haraprasad Śāstri's text, *nāsti tēnāstu*, seems right, and is confirmed by Candrakīrti's commentary ; Mr. Vaidya's emendation *nāstitārvāstu śāsvatañ* is ungrammatical, as well as needless. p. 78, v. 207 : Mr. Vaidya's conjectural restoration of the missing Sanskrit is not quite true to the Tibetan ; better perhaps would be *sō 'nyavaśō bhavēt tasmāt kāryam ēva sa vidyatē*. p. 122, v. 377 : correct *smra po* and *uod* to *smra bo* and *yod*. p. 123, v. 383 : correct *mthum* to *mthun*. p. 125, v. 390 : Mr. Vaidya has omitted *bla* before *shes* in the second line, thus spoiling the metre and sense. These observations, which relate only to fourteen pages of the text, are enough to show that Mr. Vaidya has still a good deal to learn in respect of accuracy and critical method.

21. TIKAPATTHĀNA OF THE ABHIDHAMMA PIṬAKA. Part II. Kusalattikaṇ, together with Buddhaghosa's commentary from the Pañcappakaraṇatthakathā. Edited by Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS, D.Litt., M.A. Pali Text Society. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$, v, i+69-315 pp. London, 1922.
22. TIKAPATTHĀNA OF THE ABHIDHAMMA PIṬAKA. Part III. Tikapatthāna (concluded), together with a digest of the

- five other Paṭṭhānas and the commentary (concluded). Edited by Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS, D.Litt., M.A. Pali Text Society. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, v, i, 317-378 pp. London, 1923.
23. SAMMOHA - VINODANĪ, ABHIDHAMMA - PIṬAKE VIBHANGA-TTHAKATHA. Edited by A. P. BUDDHADATTA THERO. Pali Text Society. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, v, i, 550, i pp. London, 1923.
24. THE PATH OF PURITY. Being a translation of BUDDHAGHOSA'S VISUDDHIMAGGA by PE MAUNG TIN. Part I. Of Virtue (or Morals). Pali Text Society Translation Series, No. 11. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, vi+95 pp. London, [1922].
25. ANURUDDHĀCARIYAVIRACITŌ ABHIDHAMMATTHASAṄGAHŌ. Edited by DHAMMĀNANDA KŌSAMBĪ. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xvi+87 pp. Ahmadabad, 1923.
26. THE LIFE AND WORK OF BUDDHAGHOSA. By BIMALA CHARAN LAW, M.A., B.L. With a foreword by Mrs. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS, D.Litt., M.A. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, xiii+183 pp. Calcutta and Simla, 1923.

Mrs. Rhys Davids deserves hearty congratulations on completing her labours upon that monument of Buddhist scholastic psychology the Paṭṭhāna. She has worked long and with a skill that few, if any, fellow-Palists can equal; and she realizes only too well what the value of its results are. As she tells us, "so far as we can get at the founder of Buddhism at all, we see a man spending nearly half a century in adapting his simple gospel of the good life to every shade of individual spiritual need that came before him. At the other extreme of this passionate patience to help the particular case we find, a few centuries later, the gigantic effort of the Paṭṭhāna to make a class or type of every possible particular case that can be imagined. The result may be imposing in its complexity and ingenuity. But we there move in a world of *dhammas* as far removed from the flesh-and-mind actuality of this man's case or that woman's as are the symbols in a book of algebra. Years were spent on that result, without the work of the founder being advanced a single step . . . How

strange a phenomenon does the growth of any church present!" All the more honour, then, is due to her for the immense energy and ability with which she has ploughed this dreary field. A welcome also may be offered to the Rev. A. P. Buddhadatta for his edition of Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Vibhaṅga, which is a great advance upon the Burmese and Sinhalese prints of the work. Much care has been taken in the collation of MSS., and many of the references to passages in the Piṭakas have been traced to their sources.

Of post-canonical works few could be more useful to the student of Buddhism, and few have been more desired by him, than an accurate and readable translation of Buddhaghōsa's great digest of Thēravāda doctrine; and the first instalment of his version which is now presented by Maung Tin promises abundant fulfilment of all expectations. It is scholarly, with the formal accuracy of the trained philologist and the insight of the oriental; and it is good reading. The present volume comprises chapters i-ii, treating respectively of moral virtue, *sīla*, and of the thirteen permitted ascetic practices, *dhutaṅga*; and of these the second is decidedly the more interesting. The Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha of Anuruddha needs no introduction; not to mention the large number of Oriental editions, a valuable translation by Mr. Shwe Zan Aung has lately been published by the Pali Text Society. The present edition by Dhammānanda gives the text in Dēvanāgarī type, with a judicious introduction in Gujarati and an index, and will be very useful to the growing number of students of Pali in India.

Mr. Law's monograph on Buddhaghōsa is a well-executed piece of work, in which he has collected all the historical and semi-historical materials bearing on the life and labours of the great Master of the Law and sifted them with considerable ability, supplementing this by chapters on the origin and development of the standard commentaries on the Buddhist scriptures (a very interesting *exposé*), on Buddhaghōsa's successors (Buddhadatta, Dhammapāla, Mahānāma, the younger Moggallāna, and Culla Buddhaghōsa), and on his

writings. The account of the Thēravāda system as presented by its greatest exponent might have been more complete ; otherwise the book is really good.

27. HATIM'S TALES. Kashmiri stories and songs recorded, with the assistance of Pandit Govind Kaul, by Sir AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., and edited, with a translation, linguistic analysis, vocabulary, indices, etc., by Sir GEORGE A. GRIERSON, K.C.I.E. With a note on the folklore of the tales by W. CROOKE, C.I.E. Indian Texts Series. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, lxxxvi + 527 pp., 1 plate. London : J. Murray, 1923.

Legend celebrates Hātim Ṭā'i for his princely kindness to mankind ; in a more humble way, and all unconsciously, his namesake Hātim "of the Oil-Mill" is likewise a benefactor of his species, for in the fine *eranos* of scholarship that now lies before us his tales and songs are presented in such wise as to be a perpetual delight to all who love philology and folklore.

To Sir Aurel Stein belongs the honour of being the "great original" of the work. It was he who in 1896 took down these stories and verses from the lips of Hātim, a professional *rāwi* or reciter, transcribing them phonetically in Roman characters, while at the same time Pandit Gōvinda Kāula made a Nāgarī transcript in accordance with the customary spelling of Srinagar pandits, to which he added later a word-for-word interlinear translation into Sanskrit, and then a free Sanskrit version of most of the text. In 1910 these papers were placed by Sir Aurel Stein at the disposal of Sir George Grierson, who has now edited them in their present form, giving us firstly Sir Aurel's Roman transcription (with slight and insignificant modifications) accompanied by a free English rendering on parallel pages, and secondly a Roman transcription of Gōvinda Kāula's copy, in which the words are spelt according to the system based upon Īśvara Kāula's Grammar which he has followed in his previously published works on Kashmiri,

together with an interlinear English translation. Then follow a full vocabulary to this latter text, an index to the words in Sir Aurel Stein's transcript, and an index of words in Gōvinda Kāula's text arranged in the order of their final consonants side by side with the corresponding words in the Stein transcript. To all this are prefixed firstly a preface by Sir Aurel Stein, giving a sympathetic biography of his loved and honoured friend Gōvinda Kāula, and secondly an introduction containing an account of the preparation of the work and the peculiarities of Hātim's language by Sir George Grierson, a survey of the folklore by Mr. Croke (who now, alas! is *kīrtti-sēṣa*), and a note by Sir Aurel on the metres of Hātim's verses. We have thus, with full exposition, a double phonetic record presenting with almost the exactitude of a gramophone the living speech of the Musalman peasantry of Kashmir, which forms a philological *opus* of the first order.

The Dardic speech of Kashmir, as the Pandits would say, is a *Vāgdēvī* as coy as she is fascinating; in plain English, it is a peculiarly interesting but also a singularly difficult tongue. Unlike the Aryan vernaculars of Hindostan, which have simplified both their flexions and their sounds in passing through the various stages of Prakrit, Kashmiri, while it has suffered a considerable amount of phonetic decomposition, has still preserved many ancient features of phonetics and flexion, much of which is now half masked in new subtleties of vocalism, while it has also created a number of novel flexions. The language has thus become crabbed and difficult; but these very singularities render it a veritable Garden of Paradise to the philologer. From the linguistic standpoint, therefore, the materials presented in this volume are of immense interest and value. Making all due allowance for a few archaisms with which the Rāwis may have sporadically seasoned their tales, we are enabled to hear in them the living speech of the peasantry, unspoiled by pandits' pedantries; and even in their irregularities and discrepancies they reveal the processes of phonetic change which have been and are still

at work in the language.¹ Even the loan-words from Arabic and Persian, which are numerous in Hātim's dialect, are instructive in this connexion. Thus we see *ā* (both original and derived from *a'*) becoming *ö*, as in *lōyikh*, *sōhib*, *tōbir*, *tōriph*, from Ar. *lā'iq*, *ṣāhib*, *ta'bīr*, *ta'rīf*,² just as happens in native words, while *ai* also changes to *ö*, e.g. in *göb*, *mödān*, *pöda*, from *ghaib*, *maidān*, *paidā*.³

The racily told stories are also well worthy of study. With the exception of the eleventh, which is a ballad on the forcible impressment of men and women to serve in the camp of Sir Douglas Forsyth during his passage through Kashmir on his mission to Kashgar in 1873-4, they belong to the domain of folklore and folk-poetry, and are adequately treated by Mr. Crooke in his introductory note.⁴

The *saeva necessitas* which limits the space of reviews, however, forbids us to dwell longer, as we wish we might, upon this most fascinating book, and we must now take leave of it, saying in conclusion that it is fully worthy of the two eminent scholars who have collaborated to produce it—than which no higher praise can be bestowed.

L. D. BARNETT.

THE COPTIC THEOTOKIA. Text . . . with an Introduction by
DE LACY O'LEARY, D.D. 11 × 8½, xii+80 pp. London:
Luzac, 1923.

Twelve years ago Dr. O'Leary published a valuable study, with translations, of the so-called *Theotokia*, that Coptic

¹ Hātim is far from consistent: he often pronounces the same word in different ways, thus unconsciously controverting one of the pet laws of the phoneticians.

² But inconsistently *mānē*, from *ma'na*.

³ In this connexion we may note a slight misprint which is not noticed in the corrigenda; on p. 249, l. 2 from bottom, the first letter of *lōyikh* has been dropped.

⁴ With the legend of the fairy Lālmāl we may perhaps connect, *longo intervallo*, the legend of Suvarṇaṣṭhivin (Mahābhār., Drōṇa-p., lv-lxxi, Śānti-p., xxix-xxx). The tale of the ring recovered from the fish has some resemblance to the stories of the rings of Polycrates and Śakuntalā (cf. Mr. Surendranath Majumdar Śāstri's note in *JBORS.*, June-September, 1921, p. 96).

office which consists of a series of hymns to the Virgin for the days of the week, with various additional pieces, differing in context and arrangement according to the type of manuscript, i.e. presumably according to the monastery whence it came. He here publishes the text itself of the seven *Theotokias*, based upon that of the fourteenth century Vatican MS., but with contributions from a number of other later copies—for there is no material for the study of this, or of any Bohairic liturgical book, from an earlier age. Indeed, an investigation of the previous history of the *Theotokia* has yet to be made. Dr. O'Leary refers to Euringer's ascription of its origin to Simeon, the Syrian potter (sixth century), which is, so far, all that has been said on the matter. Something, however, might perhaps be deduced from the occasional phraseology of a different class of composition: the Panegyrics upon the Virgin extant in Sa'idic, such as those ascribed to Demetrius (Budge, *Misc. Texts*, 663 f.), Theophilus (Worrell, *Coptic Texts*, 361), Theodosius (in *Cod. Vatic.* lxi), Damianus (doubtless genuine and, from its date, more significant, Crum, *Theol. Texts*, 27). Only when at last the Sa'idic liturgical MSS. have been edited—as yet nothing is available but fragments of the Mass—can we hope for means of ascertaining whether the use of the *Theotokia* in Upper Egypt had preceded (or, it may be, followed) that which we know in Nitria and thence in the rest of northern Egypt to-day. It would probably be difficult to prove a *provenance* for any mediaeval MS. of the *Theotokia* other than Nitria, and it would be interesting to trace the share these monasteries had in its development and the extension of its popularity.

Dr. O'Leary's Introduction gives a clear description of the elements which make up this, the most popular office of the Coptic church. He has had the use of a good deal of unpublished material in the form of fragmentary MSS., lately brought from Nitria by Mr. Evelyn White. The texts he gives us are those of service-books actually used in church

and therefore far more valuable than the concocted versions which printed editions have hitherto offered us. It is to be hoped that Dr. O'Leary will find time and means to continue his publications in this liturgical field which he has made his own and where there remains still much of interest to edit.

W. E. CRUM.

DAS KLOSTER AM ISISBERG (Wien Philos.-Hist. Klasse, lxvi, 1). By H. JUNKER and H. DEMEL. 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 9 $\frac{3}{4}$, 67 pp., 7 plates, 3 plans. Wien: Hölder, 1922.

Dr. Junker describes the remains at El-Kubanieh (south) on the left bank of the Nile some 10 kil. below Aswan. After an introductory note on the names by which the place has been known he discusses (pp. 9-13) the Ptolemaic sanctuary of Isis, then (pp. 14-60) the Coptic Church and monastery which rose on the site of this Isis sanctuary, and Dr. Demel adds (pp. 61-7) an appendix on the pottery, etc., found there. The church is of the quadrangular domed type with triple apse which Somers Clarke (*Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley*, 1912) classifies as type B.2: it probably dates from the sixth-seventh century. This type seems to reflect the prevailing influence of the neighbouring land of Nubia and the pottery also shows Roman-Nubian and Meroitic affinities. The general plan of the buildings and the details of construction are very fully described, the result of a careful survey made during the winter of 1910-11. Copies of nine Coptic inscriptions are given with translations and notes; one of these refers to the place as *Es(s)aiao* (= *Isieion*) "the mount of Isis". Only of recent years has any serious attention been given to the remains of Coptic buildings, which throw an interesting light upon the derivative form of Byzantine culture evolved in the Nile valley and which from their nature are far less enduring than the monuments of ancient Egypt. Curiously enough the Greek influence seems to have been purer in Nubia than in Egypt itself and the subject of the present work is close to the Nubian frontier. Coptic-

Hellenistic culture continued to flourish long after the Arab conquest and its traces appear as far off as the Yoruba country. The present work does not, of course, deal with the general history of this most important culture drift, but is a careful and exhaustive examination of the material available in one locality, evidence essential to the correct history of the derived forms of Byzantine culture.

THE COPTIC MANUSCRIPTS IN THE FREER COLLECTION
(University of Michigan Studies, X). By W. H. WORRELL.
11 × 8, xxvi + 396 pp., 12 plates. New York: Macmillan,
1923.

The Freer collection contains two Coptic manuscripts and sixteen fragments. One manuscript is a copy (imperfect) of the psalter in Saïdic, which the editor presents as part i of this edition, and dates as between the seventh century British Museum text published by Budge in 1898 and the fifth century Berlin text edited by Rahlfs in 1901. The text has been collated with these and other printed editions, but contains no noteworthy textual variants. The other manuscript is the fifth quire (16 pages) of a codex of which quires 1, 2, and 3 form Brit. Mus. Or. 7028, and quires 4 and 6 form Brit. Mus. Or. 6780. The editor gives the whole text from these three sources as part ii of the present work. It contains two homilies, one on the archangel Gabriel ascribed to Celestinus of Rome, the other on the Virgin Mary ascribed to Theophilus of Alexandria—ascriptions which cannot be received with much confidence. Neither contains any very fresh material. A colophon enables the date of this manuscript to be fixed as A.D. 974. Of the fragments two contain short passages from Job and are here appended to the psalter. A third contains a magical text, seemingly Gnostic, partly an amulet against perils of the sea, partly one against sickness: this is appended to part ii. Of the remaining fragments one contains a brief extract from Matt. i, 22, and is here

reproduced in facsimile, another has a crude portrait, another some pen trials, whilst seven are illegible, three unintelligible. The Coptic text is well printed, practically in facsimile, illustrated by photographic reproductions, followed by a translation of the homilies and the magical text. The whole is well indexed, though some of the proper names are given their references both in the text and in the translation, whilst others (e.g. Solomon) have their references marked for the translation only. The introductions descriptive of the palæographical character of the manuscripts are excellent and form the most valuable feature of this edition. The magical fragment is in the dialect of Middle Egypt; the two manuscripts are described as in Sa'idic, but they contain peculiarities which are distinctive of Middle Egyptian.

DE LACY O'LEARY.

SYRO-CHALDAIC GRAMMAR. By the Rev. FR. GABRIEL, of St. Joseph, T.O.C.D. Mannanam.

Among the many welcome signs of health and growth in the ancient Church of the Christians of St. Thomas in Southern India is the appearance of a grammar of their ecclesiastical language, that language which is one of their strong and enduring links with the "Church of the East". That Church, once powerful and widespread, now long since fallen on evil days, exists only as a remnant in the extreme North of Mesopotamia.

The study of this ancient tongue is fast reviving; it is being taught in Missionary colleges in North India as well as in the seminary of Mannanam; while in Europe the knowledge of Syriac, in connexion with other Semitic languages, widens.

Another link supplied by the book before us is the list of references to writers of the Mother Church: St. Ephrem, acknowledged by Westerns among Ecumenical Fathers and depicted among Latin and Greek Fathers in Italian churches;

the great Gregory Bar-Hebræus ; St. James of Sarug ; and others.

The introductory pages on Syriac language and literature are very clear, and give much detailed information in small space ; the writer has either made up his mind on disputed points such as the language spoken by Our Lord, or else thinks it better not to trouble elementary students with conflicting views. His views also as to the antiquity and value of the Syriac alphabet differ from those held by Western scholars.

The whole book is worked out with great care and thoroughness, but, although the writer acknowledges the help of standard Syriac grammars, his arrangements are for the most part taken from grammars of other languages or are his own idea. Thus he makes use of a few Arabic and Hebrew terms, and later on introduces Latin cases, though these various expressions do not correspond with the character of the Syriac language. Now it may be possible to make use of foreign forms already familiar in the acquisition of further knowledge. But when we come to the verbs, instead of the usual allowance of several conjugations, simple, intensive, causative, etc., with their respective passives, we find a new system, invented by the Rev. Father. We must allow that his set of conjugations is admirably clear, but they are in conflict with well-known Semitic idioms, and this is likely in the end to cause much difficulty to the student. For, in any other grammar which he may consult, whether Syriac or of another of the same family of languages, he will find few terms of Latin grammar ; he will then have to learn afresh in the usual way or else will be led to treat a closely related language as one of a different kind, while with Syriac itself he will find himself in a wood.

Still, the Rev. Father knows his students and their needs, and his painstaking and thorough work may be exactly suitable to them.

J. P. MARGOLIOUTH.

Some Recent Egyptological Works

HIEROGLYPHIC TEXTS FROM EGYPTIAN STELÆ, ETC., IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. Part VI. 14×9, 12 pp., 50 plates. London: British Museum, 1922.

THE CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY. Edited by J. B. BURY, S. A. COOK, P. E. ADCOCK. Vol. I: Egypt and Babylonia to 1580 B.C. 9½×6½, xxii+704 pp., 11 maps, 1 plan. Cambridge: University Press, 1923.

MÉMOIRES PUBLIÉES PAR LES MEMBRES DE LA MISSION ARCHÉOLOGIQUE FRANÇAISE AU CAIRE. By E. CHASSINAT. Tome onzième. *Le Temple d'Edfou*. Tome second, troisième fascicule. 13½×10, Part II, iv+314 pp., Part III, 9 plates. Cairo, 1920.

CHAMPOLLION. By E. NAVILLE. 9×6, 30 pp. Geneva: Société anonyme des Editions "Sonoi", 1922.

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO. A BEGINNING AND A PROGRAM. Oriental Institute Communications No. 1. By J. H. BREASTED. Reprinted from the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, xxxviii, July, 1922, pp. 233-328. Chicago, 1922.

DIE RELIEFS UND MALEREIEN DES MITTLEREN REICHES. By LUISE KLEBS. 11¾×9, xiv+196 pp., plates. Heidelberg: Winter, 1922.

In *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelæ, etc., in the British Museum* are published some reliefs and inscriptions of great archæological and historical interest, those on pls. i-xx dating from the Old Kingdom, those on pls. xxi-xxviii from the Eleventh to Thirteenth Dynasties, and those on pls. xxix-l from the Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Dynasties.

The first twelve plates are devoted to inscriptions and reliefs from the *maṣṭabeh* of Uirneptah, and of these the most interesting are pl. vi, on which male musicians and female dancers are seen entertaining a party of banqueters, and pls. x and xi, which depict Uirneptah's peasants busying

themselves in their various tasks and his scribes making entries in their books, while the great man himself stands leaning on his staff and surveying the scene. For the bed-making episode (wrongly interpreted by Dr. Hall), below the figure of Urinneptah, cf. Davies, *Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrāwi*, ii, pl. xxiii, p. 29, and cf. also Quibell, *Tomb of Hesy*, pl. xx. The scene of sowers followed by sheep driven on by men with whips finds a parallel, exact in almost every detail, in Davies, *Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd*, pl. xvi.

A most interesting representation is that on pl. xvii, the two groups of boys playing games—the central figure of the left-hand group being an older (?) male wearing a lion-mask. Of considerable importance is the stela on pl. xxvi, which bears one of the earliest extant representations of Amunrē'. The god wears not the familiar flat-topped cap with tall plumes, but a head-dress resembling that usually assigned to Onuris.

Of the New Kingdom monuments here published the most important is that of Nebwawy on pl. xlvii. This stela was seen some years ago in a dealer's shop at Luxor by Spiegelberg, who there and then copied the inscription, which he published in *Recueil de Travaux*, xix, pp. 97, 98, Sethe shortly after bringing out a translation accompanied by a commentary in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, xxxvi, pp. 70–2. The copy of the text here given is superior to that of Spiegelberg's, and a very careful examination of the original has enabled the reviewer to make only one or two slight improvements.

Let it here be stated that none of the outline drawings of these often important and interesting reliefs and inscriptions are strictly speaking facsimiles. Indeed, the copies of the inscriptions are often hardly more than hand copies, retaining very little of the character of the original signs, while the drawings of the reliefs are scarcely better than sketches. This seriously detracts from the scientific value of the volume. Egyptian reliefs and inscriptions should always be published in the form of accurate facsimile outline drawings, supplemented if possible by collotype or process reproductions of

photographs to give a clear impression of the style and technique of the originals.

An accurate facsimile is particularly necessary in the case of an inscription like that of Nebwawy, in which there are several lacunæ. In the copy in question of that particular inscription the signs do not occupy the same positions in respect to the signs in the line above and below them as in the original. It, therefore, cannot be employed for deciding, at least with any approach to exactitude, how many groups of signs are missing in each lacuna.

May the reviewer suggest that in the future the name of the scholar who is really responsible for these publications of British Museum texts be placed on the cover and title page of the volume, and not be merely relegated to a passing reference in the preface?

The chapters and parts of chapters dealing with Egypt in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. i, are the work of Dr. Hall and Professor Peet. The latter writes on "Egypt: The Predynastic Period" (ch. vi), and "Life and Thought in Egypt under the Old and Middle Kingdoms" (ch. ix). These two chapters display the careful and scholarly treatment which one expects to find in any of Professor Peet's publications.

He rightly urges caution in the matter of accepting any theory yet advanced as to the origin of Egyptian civilization. There are indications, he owns, that point towards the East, but it is, as he says, impossible to furnish their precise interpretation so long as the early civilization of the Delta remains a closed book to us (p. 256). It is interesting to note that he inclines to the view that there is a strongly marked substratum of totemism in the Egyptian religion, though "in historic times the true totemic stage has passed away". On this totemism sun-worship and other cults were imposed (pp. 328-31). Particularly good is what he has to say on the subject of Osiris, the *ka* (see esp. p. 337), *bai*, and *ikh*. It should be pointed out, however, that on p. 332 a statement occurs

that is liable to produce misunderstanding. Professor Peet rightly regards the Fifth Dynasty as an Heliopolitan family "whose cult was therefore that of the sun". After thus pointing out that the sun-cult became the State religion and referring to the temples built in Rē's honour,¹ he goes on to speak of the Fifth Dynasty kings being "laid to rest in tombs which in form were perhaps reproductions of the pyramidal *benben*-stone sacred to the sun at Heliopolis", a remark that might well be taken to mean, what, of course, Professor Peet does not intend to imply, that these kings were the first to be buried under pyramids. The truth is that the sun-cult was attaining, if it had not yet already attained, to the position of the State religion by the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty, as is shown both by the fact that Khufu and his successors were all laid to rest beneath pyramids, and also that all the kings of the Fourth Dynasty, except Khufu and his predecessor Sōris (Š3-*irw*), bore solar names. It is possible indeed that there was a Heliopolitan predominance anterior even to the Fourth Dynasty. This is indicated by the solar names borne by several of the kings of the Second Dynasty (see p. 275 of the volume), while Sethe, as is well known, holds the view that Heliopolis was the capital of a united Upper and Lower Egypt before the time of Menes, and that the influence of Heliopolis on Egyptian religious ideas and institutions dates from that remote period.

Professor Peet comments on the practical nature of the Egyptians and their apparently almost entire lack of interest, as compared with the Greeks, in philosophic thought and speculation. He rightly points out that the great outburst of literary activity which is such a distinguishing feature of the Herakleopolitan period (Ninth and Tenth Dynasties) and the Middle Kingdom was a result of the disasters that befel the country after the close of the Sixth Dynasty. The third division of chapter ix, that dealing with the morality of the Egyptians

¹ For the nature and purpose of these temples see the reviewer's remarks in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, ix, p. 265.

and the effect that the belief in the efficacy of magic had on their ethical development, is an important contribution to this branch of Egyptological studies.

There are two errors, probably slips of the pen, to which attention should be drawn. On p. 353 Sēth is spoken of as the *uncle* instead of *brother* of Osiris, and on p. 330, line 9, the name of King Mernerē' has surely been omitted.

To Dr. Hall has fallen the task of writing up the history of Egypt from the first dynasty to the end of the Hyksōs period (chs. vii, viii)—a most interesting task in view of all the new knowledge that has come to light since Professor Breasted's *History* was issued in 1906. To Dr. Hall has also been allotted the thorny subject of Egyptian chronology (pp. 166-73), and he likewise contributes ch. xvi, which is concerned with the art of early Egypt and Babylonia.

This last-mentioned chapter contains a great deal of important and interesting information, well put together, though one or two statements challenge criticism. The steatopygous clay figures of women are much more likely meant to represent wives or concubines than mourners (p. 570). On p. 572 it is stated that iron "was not at all common in early times, when it is mentioned in the Pyramid Texts as 'Heavenly Metal' (the Coptic *benipe*, 'iron')". But it should be pointed out that though the word *bīš* "metal" (i.e. probably = "copper") occurs several times in the *Pyramid Texts*, the compound *bīš-n-pt*, "metal of heaven," never once occurs in that compilation, and apparently does not come into use till the period between the Middle and New Kingdoms or the Middle Kingdom at earliest.

On p. 575 the wooden models of boats, servants, workmen, etc., are spoken of as characteristic of the Middle Kingdom. But, as Winlock and Mace have pointed out in the *Tomb of Senebtisi*, pp. 49-56 and 114-16, these wooden models, and the elaborately decorated rectangular wooden coffins with which they are associated, are mostly to be assigned to the Ninth and Tenth Dynasties. Also with reference to the state-

ment on the same page, line 28, it should be pointed out that five of the large decorated tomb-chapels at Meir belong to feudallords of the Twelfth Dynasty, and only two to the Sixth.

On the conclusions arrived at by Dr. Hall in his article on Egyptian chronology is based the Egyptian dating adopted in this volume.

The date of the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty has hitherto been regarded as fixed by the statement in one of the Kahun papyri (preserved in the Berlin Museum) that a heliacal rising of Sôthis took place on the sixteenth day (not the *first* day as Dr. Hall states) of the fourth month of Prôyet in the seventh year of the reign of Sesôstris III. The event is computed by astronomers to have fallen in 1876 or 1872 B.C. Accordingly, the Twelfth Dynasty was calculated as beginning about 2000 B.C. and as ending about 1788 B.C., thus allowing two centuries for the second intermediate period, the Thirteenth to Seventeenth Dynasties inclusive. Dr. Hall does not think that an interval of 200 years is sufficient to account for the changes that took place between the end of the Twelfth and the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. But though he is against accepting the dating of Meyer and Breasted, which is based on the above-mentioned astronomical evidence, on the ground that it makes the second intermediate period too short, he refuses to follow Petrie in putting back the twelfth dynasty a whole Sothic period of 1,460 years, for that, in his opinion, makes the period too long. He demands for it only 400 years, or at the most 500 years, and therefore comes to the conclusion that either there was some mistake in the original observation of the star or in the modern calculation, or "possibly", he adds, "some change in the calendar, unknown to us, was introduced between the time of Senusret III and the beginning of Dynasty XVIII." Accordingly, rejecting the only certain evidence we possess for the dating of the Twelfth Dynasty, evidence accepted by Meyer, Breasted, Petrie, Borchardt, and Sethe, Dr. Hall somewhat arbitrarily assumes "the round date 2000 B.C.

for the end of Dynasty XII". "This," he maintains, "would satisfy all the requirements of our other knowledge." The reviewer is inclined to think that Dr. Hall exaggerates the length of time required for such changes as have been noted to have come about. A catastrophe like the fall of the twelfth dynasty and the ensuing anarchy, and then the Hyksôs invasion and domination on top, were bound to produce changes; indeed, that the changes were not even more far-reaching is to be ascribed to the intense conservatism and the tenacity of the Egyptians.¹

Dr. Hall, be it noted, accepts 4241 B.C. as the date of the introduction of the calendar, but makes the accession of Menes take place about the year 3500, a hundred years earlier than the date assigned to that event by Meyer and Breasted.

On p. 168 Dr. Hall connects Theon's era of Menophris² with the *nswt-byt* name of Ramesses I, Menpehtirê', which he wrongly reads Menpehrê'. As a matter of fact, as Sethe points out,³ "*Μένοφρις* would be a correct (Greek) rendering of the ancient full name for Memphis, which was pronounced *Men-nofru*, and of which the usual name Mênfer (*Μέμφις*) is only a contraction."

The two chapters dealing with the history are full of good things, but now and again display signs of having been somewhat too hastily written. Will Dr. Hall permit the reviewer to point out a few errors and also ask him to reconsider certain of his statements when he revises the chapters for the surely inevitable second edition of this important volume?

Dr. Hall must forgive the reviewer for paying so much attention to the weak points in these two chapters; but

¹ For further evidence in support of the shorter dating of the second intermediate period see G. H. Wheeler in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, ix, pp. 196-200.

² Theon reckons 1,605 years ἀπὸ Μενόφρεως ἕως τῆς λήξεως Αὐγούστου, i.e. till the end of the era of Augustus, the beginning of the era of Diocletian.

³ Sethe, *Die Zeitrechnung der alten Ägypter in Verhältnis zu der der andern Völker*, in *Nachrichte des k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Philologisch-historische Klasse, 1919, p. 309.

Dr. Hall's reputation as a historian stands so high that any errors—and errors are so liable to creep into one's writings when one has as much work and responsibility laid upon one as Dr. Hall has—any errors of which he is guilty are sure to take root in the minds of his readers, unless attention is promptly and plainly drawn to them.

pp. 262, 269 (see also p. 371). Is not Dr. Hall too positive in stating his view that the Egyptians "obtained their knowledge of copper-working by way of Syria"? He should also have referred to Reisner's view, quoted by Elliot Smith in his *Ancient Egyptians*, London, 1911, pp. 3-7; see also Reisner, *Archæological Survey of Nubia*, Report for 1907-1908, p. 132, item 52.

p. 263. Surely it is far from certain that "the Mesopotamian writing-system, originally hieroglyphic, had already become simplified into a semi-cuneiform system when the Egyptian script was still an archaic picture-writing".

p. 265. Sethe, in his *Beitrage zur ältesten Geschichte Ägyptens*, has shown that the meaning of *šmšw-Hr* is "worshippers", rather than "followers, of Horus".

p. 266. "Lord of the Upper Egyptian vulture and the Lower Egyptian uraeus" is an incorrect rendering of the title *nbtj*, which means "the Two Mistresses", i.e. the Pharaoh was the embodiment of the two tutelary goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt as he was of Horus alone or of Horus and Sēth together.

The name of one of the early Delta kings given as Hsekiu should be Seka, as is perfectly clear in all the publications of the Palermo Stone. The name read by Dr. Hall as Uaznar is more probably to be read *W3d-'ad* (Waz'az).

The earlier form of the Egyptian name of Herakleopolis Magna is *Nnw-nšwt*, pronounced something like Nenēsu(t), and meaning "Child of the Upper (or perhaps, rather, 'Middle') Egyptian king". The later form was *H(t)-nn-nšwt*, pronounced something like Henēsu(t) (Coptic Ⲭⲏⲛⲥⲓ; Arabic Ehnāsiyeh), and meaning "House of the child of the

Upper Egyptian king". The form $\bar{H}(t)-n\acute{s}wt$, rendered *Het-insi* by Dr. Hall, does not exist.¹

p. 267. Sethe has shown that the existence of a king Ro is exceedingly dubious, while *Ip*, if a personal name at all, is that of a private person (see *Beitrage*, pp. 30-3).

p. 268. The Pharaoh was not "dressed up as a mummy, Osiris" at the *Sed*-festival. What he does hold and wear in many of the *Sed*-festival representations are the ordinary insignia of Egyptian royalty and the primitive royal mantle or cloak, which Osiris also holds and wears in his capacity of a *king* and not in his capacity of a *dead god*.²

Won-hir, "face-opener," is an impossible rendering of the signs attached to the sandal-bearer on the Narmer palette. The sign read *hir*, "face," by Dr. Hall, is almost certainly that for *hm*, "servant." What the seven-leaved rosette means is at present unknown. On the mace-head of the "Scorpion" king it occurs above the sign for scorpion written in front of the figure of that king.

p. 269. Reference might have been made to Gardiner's highly probable suggestion that the two signs here rendered "Harpoon-marsh" form the personal name of the prisoner who is being smitten, i.e. Wa'-shi. Again, the group of six papyrus plants almost certainly stands for 6,000 (Gardiner, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, ii, pp. 72, 74).

p. 270. The name of the successor of King *Dt* of the first dynasty is probably not to be read *Semti* (*Smyty*) but *Khasti* (*Hs̄sty*).

p. 271. As has been pointed out by Peet in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, ix, p. 124, there is no evidence that the arm with bracelets on it found in Zer's tomb is that of his queen.

The Egyptian word for incense is not *snutri* but *sonte(r)* (Coptic CONTE), and means not "sanctified", but "that which sanctifies" or rather "divinizes".

¹ Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, xlix, p. 16.

² Blackman, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, iii, p. 247, with note 3.

p. 272. What is the Egyptian original of the title of the god Seker rendered by Dr. Hall as "the coffined one"? No title that can bear this meaning seems to occur in Roscher's *Lexikon*, Lanzzone's *Mitologia*, or Budge's *Gods*. "Lord of," or "he who is in the midst of, the *štyt*", is the most usual title. But *štyt* is the name of the shrine of Seker at Memphis and does not mean "coffin". Certainly there is no reason to suppose that "coffined one" is the meaning of the name *Skr*.

p. 286. The statement that the Fourth Dynasty pyramids were "built of solid granite blocks throughout" is, of course, a slip of the pen. The lowest course of the casing of the second, and the lower sixteen courses of the casing of the third, pyramid at Gīzeh are of granite, but in all three pyramids the core consists of blocks of limestone.

pp. 287, 323. The title (*wr mšw*) of the high-priest of Rē' of On is probably to be rendered "Chief of the Seers", not "Great Seer" (Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, lv, p. 65), and *Wr-ḥrpw-ḥmut* (?) means "Chief of the Directors of the Artificers"; cf. the Roman high-priestly title of Pontifex Maximus.

As the reviewer has shown in the articles "Priest, Priesthood" (Egyptian), "Worship" (Egyptian), in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, the sacerdotal subordinates of the high-priest in an Egyptian temple of the Old and Middle Kingdoms were not laymen but priests in every sense of the word. The word *wmw*, generally rendered "lay-priesthood" (whatever that may mean!), is the designation for the whole temple "staff". The division of the priesthood of each temple into four "watches" or phylæ can be traced back to the Old Kingdom and is probably of still greater antiquity (see *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vii, p. 15, note 3; Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, liv, p. 3, note 5).

It was the priestly college of the Heliopolitan sun-god Rē'-Atum, not that of Theban Amūn, that "was imitated . . . in every temple throughout the land," and that long before the Eighteenth Dynasty (see the references given just above, and

also the reviewer's article, "The Sun-Cult in Ancient Egypt," in *Nature*, 14th and 21st April, 1923).

p. 288. It is almost certain that the body was not regarded as the residence of the *ka* ("double"); see e.g. Professor Peet's remarks on the subject on pp. 334-7 of the same work.

p. 289. The recent discoveries at Byblos make it fairly certain that the reliefs in Saḥurē's pyramid-temple depict that Pharaoh's fleet going to and returning from Byblos itself or some other Phœnician port, and not, as Dr. Hall supposes (and also Dr. Borchardt), to and from Sinai.

pp. 292, 295. Neither the Sudanese or, rather, Nubians (*nḥšyw*) in Uni's army, nor those encountered by Pepinakht, were negroes, but Hamites (see Junker, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vii, pp. 121-32). The owners of the so-called "pan-graves", to which Dr. Hall evidently refers on p. 295 (bottom), were also not real negroes but Hamitic Nubian captives or settlers, possibly slightly tinged with negroid blood.

p. 297. The later Herakleopolitan kings must certainly have controlled Memphis, for in his *Admonitions* the reigning king (Akthoi?) advises the crown prince Merikerē' to fortify Athribis, the modern Benha, and to build castles in the Delta (North Land). He also speaks of quarrying operations at Turah, and, moreover, as Gardiner points out, Merikerē's pyramid is probably to be sought for in the region of Dadesut, the pyramid-town of the Sixth Dynasty king Teti at Saḳḳāreh (*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, i, pp. 31 ff.).

Here let it be remarked that strangely enough Dr. Hall has nothing to say on the subject of the invasion and partial occupation of the Delta by Asiatics in the first intermediate period, though there is abundant evidence for this occurrence in the two Petersburg papyri, published in 1913 by Golénischeff, and in the *Admonitions of Ipuwer*, published by Gardiner, which last-mentioned composition Dr. Hall half playfully associates with the Hyksôs invasion of the second intermediate period (p. 325)!

p. 305. Junker, *El-Kubanieh Nord*, pp. 20 ff., has shown Reisner's view that Zefaiḥap of Asyūt was buried at Kerma to be incorrect.

p. 307. The old name for the Ḥanebu (or, rather, Ḥa-nebut [*H3-nbwṯ*]) was not Haau but Nebut (*Nbwṯ*); see Sethe, *Beiträge*, p. 133.

p. 309. Why suppose the "fish-offerers" and sphinxes found at Tanis to have been brought there by a Hyksōs king from Ḥawāra? It is true that the bust of a statue of the same unusual type was found in the Fayūm, but a sphinx also of the same type has been found, according to Petrie, *Ancient Egypt*, 1920, p. 105, at El-Kāb. To what king or group of kings these monuments are to be ascribed is a subject around which controversy rages. Petrie, *History*, i, 10th edition, p. 127, assigns them to a Seventh or Eighth Dynasty Pharaoh of foreign (probably southern) origin. Capart, *Les Monuments dits Hyksos*, dates them to before the Fourth Dynasty. Petrie would have us suppose that these and all the other early statues found at Tanis (see Naville, *Tanis*, i, pl. xiii) were brought together there by Ramesses II.

p. 317. *Dḥutnakht*, the eloquent peasant's oppressor, it should be pointed out, is not described as a *ḥmwty*, "artisan," but as a *ḏt*, "vassal," or "tenant", of the High Steward Rensi. The word *ḥmwty*, by the way, does not occur once in the *Story of the Eloquent Peasant*.

p. 321. The *shawabty*-figures did not apparently in the first instance represent the servants of the deceased person with whom they were buried, but were intended for reduplications of that person himself; see Erman-Ranke, *Ägypten*, p. 357, who gives references in note 1.

p. 322. Surely a dead person is never designated "the god there", though the departed are euphemistically referred to as "those who are there" (*ntyw im*).

p. 323. Dr. Hall speaks of Sutekh (better written Sētekh) as though he were a different god to Sēth. Sētekh or Sētesh is merely the old form of the name, the form that occurs

regularly in the *Pyramid Texts*. He was probably the local divinity of the region of Avaris and was identified by the Hyksôs with a god of their own whom they brought with them (Gunn-Gardiner, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, v, p. 44). Dr. Hall cannot really mean what is implied by the statement "he (Sêtekḥ) became the murderer of Osiris; his worship was proscribed", i.e. on the grounds of his association with the Hyksôs, for Sêtekḥ appears as the murderer of Osiris in the *Pyramid Texts*.

p. 324. Sethe, in his recently published *Beitrage zur Geschichte Amenophis IV*, has pointed out that the Aton, or solar disk, was not regarded by Ōkhnatōn, as the "manifestation of the one god behind the sun". Ōkhnatōn, in his conception of the Supreme Deity, was thoroughly materialistic, and what he worshipped was the actual cosmic body, the physical sun itself (see *Nature*, 21st April, 1923, pp. 537 ff.).

The third part of the second volume of *Le Temple d'Edfou* consists entirely of outline drawings of the reliefs decorating the west and east stairways leading up to the temple roof, the columns and part of the roof of the second hypostyle hall, the vestibule of the treasury, the laboratory, and the so-called room of the Niles. It is a pity that these volumes, which are of such great importance to students of the Egyptian religion, cannot be brought out at shorter intervals and more systematically. Many of the plates in question are long overdue; for example, the texts attached to the reliefs decorating the walls of the east and west stairway were published as long ago as 1897, in part iv of the first volume. Even now, and the work began to appear in 1892, the publication has not got beyond the second hypostyle hall. There still, therefore, remains to be published the first hypostyle hall, the colonnaded forecourt, the pylon, and all the important reliefs and inscriptions on the exterior walls of the temple.

Professor Naville and Professor Breasted deal with the opposite ends, so to speak, of the narrative of Egyptological studies. Professor Naville gives us a short but excellently

written account of the life and achievements of Jean-François Champollion, that young genius who at the tender age of 18 occupied a professional chair at Grenoble! A most dramatic description is given of the events of the famous September morning when Champollion suddenly found he could read the names of Ramesses and Tethmōsis—the morning which signaled the beginning of a long series of triumphs, the due reward of years of hard work and disappointment. It is a tragedy that the long hoped for visit to Egypt in 1828 should have been the cause of the final break-up of Champollion's health, terminating in his all too early death in 1832. By that time he was reading hieroglyphic, hieratic, and demotic with considerable ease, and all this only ten years after he had written his memorable letter to Monsieur Dacier containing the thrilling announcement of his great discovery.

Under the directorship of Professor Breasted the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago has accomplished, and is accomplishing, great things, but it has in view operations of much greater magnitude. In the brochure under consideration Professor Breasted describes his own and his colleagues' travels in Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia, travels undertaken by way of a survey for the purpose of determining upon suitable sites for future excavations.

Professor Breasted also tells us a good deal about the highly important bibliographical and lexicographical work that is being carried on in the Institute under his skilful and far-seeing direction. An achievement of first-rate importance will be the publication, with the assistance and under the supervision of Professor Breasted, of the mostly Ninth to Tenth Dynasty coffin texts. Very interesting and instructive is the account given of the methods to be employed for the collecting, examination, and then finally the publication of this highly important material. The report also contains a description of the Edwin Smith medical papyrus, practically identical with the paper read by Professor Breasted at the Centenary of the Royal Asiatic Society last July.

Frau Klebs' *Reliefs und Malereien des mittleren Reiches* holds a high place among a number of admirable Egyptological works that, despite unfavourable political and social conditions, have recently been published in Germany. The introductory paragraphs dealing with the art of the Middle Kingdom, the various types of tombs and tomb-chapels, the different sorts of stelæ, the coffin, canopic box, *shawabty*-figure, and the statue-house, form a valuable contribution to Egyptian archæology. Very useful, too, is the list which the authoress has compiled of the objects usually to be found in tombs of the period.

One word of criticism. The term *ka*-statue used on p. 26 is unsatisfactory and should be avoided, for it is exceedingly doubtful, as the reviewer has already pointed out on p. 323, if the statues of the deceased have anything to do with his *ka*.

The disquisitions on the various scenes depicted on the walls of Middle Kingdom tomb-chapels and on grave-stelæ, together with the accompanying lists of references, are admirable; everywhere are to be seen signs of unremitting care and labour.

A noticeable feature of the book is the use made of Caillaud's great work, *Recherches sur les arts et les métiers*, published in Paris as long ago as 1831, and yet, in the case of many of the Beni Hasan paintings, still supplying the best available reproductions. Professor Newberry's excellent drawings in his *Beni Hasan*, i and ii, have often, for reasons of economy, been unfortunately too greatly reduced to be of real use when it is a question of studying small but nevertheless important details.

AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN.

LUXOR AND ITS TEMPLES. By A. M. BLACKMAN, D.Litt.
Illustrated by Major Benton Fletcher. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xii +
200 pp., 24 plates, 50 illustrations, 1 map. London:
Black, 1923.

If I have a complaint against this book—and I am not sure that I have—it is that its title is not quite a fair indication

of its contents. In reality the book consists of a number of admirable sketches of life in ancient Egypt, some of them taken from scenes on the walls of the Luxor temples and others not. The title will doubtless under present circumstances attract buyers, and this is all to the good, for there could hardly be a better popular book on Egypt than this of Dr. Blackman's. The word popular, when used of a book, has evil associations, for too often such a work is the product of either the professional book writer or the amateur archæologist possessing only second-hand knowledge culled from ill-chosen sources, and totally ignorant of the language of the documents on which his statements are or should be based. With Dr. Blackman it is far otherwise. His book is so modestly written that few will guess that on some of the subjects he treats, notably matters connected with religion, priesthood and festivals, he is admittedly the foremost authority in this country. His translations from the Egyptian prove at every point his sound scholarship in the ancient language, and are in themselves enough to place the volume in a class by itself among popular books on Egypt. His first-hand knowledge of the country bears its fruit on every page, and his choice of illustrations shows not only the breadth of his reading but the desire to introduce his readers to new material and to spare them, wherever possible, the hackneyed scenes of which we are all so tired.

Major Fletcher's illustrations need no recommendation from my pen, for his work is well known to all visitors to Egypt. They are particularly interesting as a successful attempt to give an idea of Egyptian buildings as seen in detail from close quarters rather than as complete structures from a distance. If I were to add that I do not quite like the brown ink in which they have been printed, it would probably merely be a proof that my taste is inferior to that of the artist himself.

T. ERIC PEET.

THE FALL OF NINEVEH. The newly discovered Babylonian Chronicle, No. 21901, in the British Museum. Edited with Transliteration, Translation, Notes, etc., by C. J. GADD, M.A. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 10$, 42 pp., 6 plates. London: Oxford University Press, 1923.

Mr. Gadd is to be congratulated on a find of great interest and importance. The tablet (79 lines) contains a Babylonian chronicle of the hitherto obscure years 616–609, which are the last years of Assyria; and “everything this chronicle relates is entirely new”. In 616 we find Nabopolassar, “King of Accad,” already at war with Sin-šar-iškun, his nominal overlord; a little later the Assyrian defence is strengthened by an Egyptian army. Mr. Gadd conjectures that the Egyptian policy was to support Assyria as a bulwark against the northern hordes—“Scythians” and the like. Throughout the period covered by the chronicle we find Egypt allied with Assyria. This reverses the accepted theory of the relation between the two powers at this time. In 614 the Medes besieged Nineveh and destroyed Aššur; Nabopolassar then entered into alliance with Cyaxares. In 612 the siege of Nineveh was *renewed* (evidently that of 614 had been discontinued) and after two or three months the city fell, in the month Ab, to the Medes, Babylonians (so! against some moderns), and Uman-Manda (corresponding to the Scythians of Herodotus and the Bactrians of Diodorus). Hitherto the great event has usually been dated 606. The three years’ siege of Diodorus is disproved, but explicable as an inclusive reckoning from the abortive attempt in 614. The Assyrian king perished, apparently with his city, still agreeably with Greek tradition; but no details are found in the existing (defective) text. A contingent of the defenders escaped, and one Aššur-uballit established the kingdom of Assyria at Harran! In 610 Babylonians and Manda drove him (it seems) across the Euphrates; in 609 an Egyptian army joined him, and together they laid siege to Harran. The attempt to regain the new capital almost certainly failed.

The chronicle breaks off in this year. Hebrew history takes up the story in the following (608), when according to 2 Kings xxiii, 29, as hitherto understood (I am not sure how Mr. Gadd interprets it), Pharaoh Nechoh "went up *against* the King of Assyria to the Euphrates". Since these kings were allies, we expect "went up *to*"; and this is sometimes the sense of 'alah 'al (cf. also 2 Kings xxiv, 12).

Besides the above there is a good deal of Hebrew literature relating to the last days of Assyria, much of it contemporary. When re-explored in the light of the new chronicle, it may give some interesting results . . . Meanwhile, Mr. Gadd's editing of the document is admirably thorough.

BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHÆOLOGY IN JERUSALEM. SUPPLEMENTARY PAPERS I, 1923. INDEX OF HITTITE NAMES Section A. Geographical. Part I. Collated and edited in collaboration with the Director by L. A. MAYER, Ph.D. (Vindob), Inspector in the Department of Antiquities for Palestine. With Notes by JOHN GARSTANG, M.A., B.Litt., D.Sc. (Oxon), Director of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem. 8½×11, 54 pp. London: Issued by the Council at 2 Hinde Street, 1923.

This valuable aid to a new science, and to all the archæologies of the Near East, will be gratefully welcomed. The geographical Index is to contain the names in the Hittite texts from Winckler's find at Boghaz-Keui, with a few Hittite names added for completeness or comparison from other sources, e.g. the Egypto-Hittite treaty of Hattušil III. It contains the different forms of each name, classified as Early, Middle, or Late; the references; and in many cases notes and identifications. In this part the names are derived—chiefly—from the texts which have been transcribed; later Part II will index such transcribed texts as have reached Jerusalem in the meanwhile. Notes discussing the identity of many sites are deferred until the evidence is more complete. These

circumstances dispense the reviewer from any attempt to supplement the judicious work so far accomplished.

A map of "the eastern frontier of Hatti under the Later Empire" indicates some of the larger results. The kingdoms of Hatti, Kizzuwadna, Harri, Gašga, and Arzawa would correspond approximately with Cappadocia, Pontus, Armenia, Lesser Armenia, and Greater Cilicia respectively.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE NEAR EAST FROM THE FOUNDING OF CONSTANTINOPLE (A.D. 330 to 1922). By WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS, Ph.D., Professor of History in the University of Minnesota. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 6, xvii + 408 pp., 12 maps. London: Macmillan, 1923.

The scope of this opportune book is to outline succinctly the historical antecedents of those events which have "focussed the gaze of the world upon the unhappy Levant". (By the way, as to the point of departure, the dedication of Constantinople is now believed to have occurred in 324; see J. Maurice, *Centenary of the Soc. Nat. des Antiquaires de France*, p. 287.)

The work will hardly be useful to the Orientalist. In regard to things "Asiatic" we soon lose confidence in our author. The notice that Arabic words will be given in the most familiar forms may or may not justify *Sheik* and *Bagdad*; but surely the general reader is not assisted by, e.g., three different transcriptions of genealogical *bn*, and three each of the letters *g* and *š*—including the exasperating word "Koraichites" (so regularly). Equally disconcerting is an argument from the existence of the Septuagint to the hellenization of *Syria* (p. 5); the statement that the Parthians and their kings were "Turanians" (6); that pre-Moslem Arabia for a thousand years feared *divs* (104); that the Yermuk flows into the sea of Tiberias (130); that Islamic law could not show to Zoroastrians the toleration granted to Peoples of the Book (146); and the etymologies, or suggestions of etymology,

in *Elagabalus*, a "Baal" (9); "*Allah-Taala*"—"God Almighty," the God of Ishmael and of Abraham (105); "*Saracens*" (*desert-dwellers*) (106); the version "There is no Allah but Allah . . ." (109). Allusions to Oriental heresies, also, are sometimes reckless; as the references to speculation "whether Jesus Christ had one or two souls", to persecuted Monothelites before the Arab conquest, and to grievance against communion under one species before Cerularius.

However, it is quite probable that topics of more ordinary interest, and the later part of the history, are more accurately treated. In a second edition the book might be very useful to a large contemporary public. It is well arranged, and the story is clear and brisk.

E. BURROWS.

FIR-FLOWER TABLETS: Poems translated from the Chinese by FLORENCE AYSCOUGH. English versions by AMY LOWELL. 8 x 5, xcv + 227 pp. London: Constable, 1922.

The result of close collaboration between two women of culture and talent, this book must be regarded as a remarkable achievement. Mrs. Ayscough, who has lived many years in China, began by making some rough translations of Chinese poems with which to illustrate a course of lectures, and requested her friend Miss Lowell, of Boston, to put them into poetic shape. Miss Lowell, a writer of some distinction, was so fascinated by the poems that she wished to continue the work, and thus the present volume came into being. It must be freely recognized that this method of translating Chinese poetry has its dangers; for the spirit of poetry is elusive, and especially apt to evaporate if distilled through two minds instead of one. Yet, on the whole, the experiment has been surprisingly successful, even in the case of Li Po, whose brilliancy of diction is so hard to reproduce. No fewer than eighty-three of his poems are translated here, some for the first time. There are thirteen

by Tu Fu, and three by Wang Wei; and about forty other authors are represented by one poem apiece.

Much though there is to admire in the volume, one cannot endorse, without qualification, the claim that these translations are "extraordinarily exact, they are poetry, and would be so though no Chinese poet had conceived them fourteen hundred years ago". In the first place, they are in prose, and moreover in prose which is seldom truly rhythmical. It is unfair to base any general judgment on isolated passages, but the name of poetry is hardly applicable, at any rate, to these opening lines of a stanza by Li Po:—

"In the attitude, and with the manner, of the woman of old,
Full of grief, she stands in the glorious morning light";
or to this by Tu Fu:—

"The poems of Po are unequalled.

His thoughts are never categorical, but fly high in the wind." Nor should a translator of poetry carry the passion for literalness so far as to write: "We think of each other eternally. My heart and my liver are snapped in two." The Chinese idiom is one that cannot be transferred to English without a ludicrous effect.

Owing to the absence of exact references, it has only been possible to test the soundness of the translation in a few instances; these, however, seem to show that Mrs. Ayscough's share of the work has been done very conscientiously and well. But why is *ch'ing* invariably translated "green", even when applied as an epithet to heaven? Mrs. Ayscough has also contributed a long and cleverly written introduction, a number of useful notes, and the plan of a typical Chinese dwelling-house, with a key.

LIONEL GILES.

OBITUARY NOTICE

Réné Basset

Our Society lost by the death of Professor Réné Basset on the 4th January this year one of its distinguished Honorary Members, and the world one of its greatest authorities on the Berber languages of North Africa. An indefatigable worker, it would require much space to enumerate all his works, many of which are scattered in the *Revue Africaine* and other journals. But it is not in his own works that we find all his labours ; one needed only to mention that a certain scholar was intending to write upon a certain subject, and I always found him replying immediately, giving references from his valuable notes made during many years of research, and I believe I can assert that he guided many of his pupils to take up work, and we owe many books of the younger generation of French Orientalists to his inspiration.

Among his many writings on the Berber dialects are the following : *Manuel de la Langue Kabyle*, Paris, 1887 ; *Notes de Lexicographie Berbère*, Paris, 1883-7 ; *Contes Populaires Berbères*, Paris, 1887 ; *Nouveaux Contes Berbères*, Paris, 1897 ; *Le Dialecte de Syonah*, Paris, 1890 ; *Étude sur le Zenatia*, Paris, 1892 ; *Mission au Senegal, with a study of the Zenaga Berber dialect and the Hassaniyya Arabic of the Senegal*. Finally he published the materials for the study of the Tùareg language left by Père de Foucauld, of which have appeared *Dictionnaire Abregé Touarègue*, Alger, 1918-20, in two vols, 8vo, comprising 1440 pages, and the *Notes pour servir à un essai de grammaire Touarègue*, Alger, 1920. He was occupied with the publication of the texts (tales, poems, etc.) in Tuareg, left by de Foucauld at the time of his death.

It was rather later in life that he began to publish works in Arabic, among which the "Synaxaire Arabe Jacobite" in the *Patrologia Orientalis* is perhaps the most important. The

first half, containing the first six months of the Coptic year, has been published, comprising 890 pages of text and French translation, and Professor Basset was working on the remainder at the time of his death. I do not know if he was able to complete it, but in a letter shortly before his death he wrote me that he had a considerable amount of proofs to read. Interested in all appertaining to North Africa, he published the Arabic *Futuḥ-al Ḥabasha*, an account of the temporary Muslim conquest of Abyssinia early in the sixteenth century, and he had in hand an edition of the *History of the Sūdān*, dealing principally with the conquest of Nigeria by the Sharīfian Sultān al-Manṣūr. Destined for the use of students at the University of Algiers were his *Textes littéraires*, Alger, 1917, and an edition of the *Bānat Su'ād* of Ka'b ibn Zuhair, Alger, 1910. He was preparing an edition of the poems attributed to Majnūn Beni 'Āmir on the basis of all accessible manuscripts of the Dīwān, for which I collated the rather bad copy in the library of the India Office. The edition was to contain a study of the origin of this poet, who was probably never historical and to whom verses of many other poets are attributed. I fear this work was not advanced sufficiently to be published.

Considering his numerous official duties as Doyen de la Faculté de Lettres, it is amazing with what zeal Professor Basset was working untiringly right to the end, having always in view the widening of our horizon in the knowledge of the people of North Africa in particular.

If Science and our Society have lost one of its foremost scholars, I have lost a kind and ever helpful friend.

F. KRENKOW.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(January–April, 1924)

Gifts

The Duke of Sermoneta has presented vols. 3–8 of the *Annali dell' Islām*, 1910–18, and *Onomasticon Arabicum*, vols. 1 and 2, 1915. M. G. Coedès has presented *Bull. de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*, T. 17, No. 2, which has been missing from the R.A.S. set; Mr. Beveridge, *William Carey*, by S. P. Carey; and Mr. D. Du B. Davidson, 13 volumes of the *Journal and Proceedings of the Ceylon Branch of the R.A.S.*, a large number of unbound parts, Childers' *Pali-English Dictionary*, 1875, Carter's *English-Sinhalese Dictionary*, 1891, and Miller's *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, with a volume of plates, 1883.

The following twenty-nine have been elected as members during the quarter :—

Mr. S. Barua.	B. Rajendra Sinha, Jagerdar
Dr. S. K. Basu.	of Jubbulpore.
Mr. N. P. Chakravarti, M.A.	Mr. M. G. Raju, L.M.E.
Mr. G. H. Chandavarkar.	Mr. G. Ramadas, B.A.
Mr. A. K. Chatterjee.	Mr. S. H. Rizvi.
Mr. B. Das, B.A.	Mr. I. Rohman, B.A.
Mr. N. A. Das, B.A.	Mr. B. V. N. Roy, B.A., LL.B.
Maulvi Mohammad Din, B.A.	Kaviraj S. Roy, M.B.
Mr. K. N. Dwera.	Sriyukla M. N. B. Saraswati.
Mr. M. B. Hlaing, B.A.	Dr. L. G. Sen, B.A., Ph.D.
Major O. Holstein.	Srijut S. Sharma.
Mr. O. W. McMillen.	S. M. P. Singh, Taluqdar of
Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham,	Khapradih.
C.S.I.	Raja J. Singh, Feudatory Chief
Pandit K. Parshad, M.A.	of Sarangarh.
Shrimati G. K. Parukutti-	Mr. S. Taylor.
Amma.	Pandit M. Y. Wankhade.

The following eleven have resigned :—

Lieut. C. C. Baker.	Mrs. L'Estrange Malone.
Major Cyprian Bridge.	Mr. H. Proctor.
Mr. Darnvalla.	Rai Bahadur S. Prosada.
Mrs. de Z. Elliot.	Rev. D. C. Simpson.
Mr. S. G. V. Fitzgerald.	Mr. E. J. Wood.
Mr. A. T. Holme.	

The Society has lost by death one of its Honorary Members, Professor René Basset, also Miss Louise Kennedy and Mr. Lyon Thomson.

Lectures

During the quarter Mrs. Ayscough, Mr. Grant Brown, and Father E. N. B. Burrows read interesting papers, a résumé of the first appearing in the *January Journal*.

Mr. Grant Brown's lantern lecture in February was entitled "Pictures of Burma". He first took his audience up the Chindwin, beginning with a Burmese town in the south and ending with the border of unadministered territory four hundred miles further up the river. He showed photographs of river scenery, of Burmese life and art, of border raiders, and of the head-man of a village in unadministered territory where human sacrifices were offered annually to the harvest-god. Then he took them to that curious survival in a Buddhist country, the pagan festival at Taungbyon, near Mandalay, with its tree-worship and images of the ancient gods, and ended with some photographs in natural colours taken by Mrs. Scherman, wife of Professor Scherman, of Munich, when on a tour of Burma in 1911. On the President's table were displayed a model of the Dragon of Tagaung (*JRAS.*, October, 1917) and one of the "Golden Boys" that originally guarded the slumbers of the Kings of Burma.

This is a résumé of Father Burrows' paper entitled "The Mythology of the Rivers of Babylonia".

The earliest myth of the Sumerian God Nimurta may be

traced back to a prehistoric incident in the foundation of civilization in Iraq. This was the creation of the first dam on the Tigris and the invention of the same system of river control that has recently been re-introduced in Iraq. Elaborations of his achievement brought Nimurta to the rank of a great god. For instance, the contest with the river being in Sumerian epic a battle with wild beasts, he becomes god of war and of the chase. Nimurta appears probably in Genesis as Nimrod. The thesis was mainly founded on a recent work of P. Witzel and a suggestion of P. Deimel.

The following books are wanted for the Library :—

- China Branch R.A.S. Transactions. Pts. 5, 6, 7, 1855-9.
 China Review. Vol. i, pts. 2, 3. Vol. iv, pt. 4. Vol. xxiii, pts. 1, 2, 6. Vol. xxiv, pt. 1.
 Hakluyt Society, Rundall, Collection of Early Documents on Japan.
 Le Strange, Mesopotamia and Persia in 14th cent. A.D. from the Nuzhat-al-Kulūb of Hamd-Allah Mustawfi. As. Soc. Monographs, 1903.
 Numismatic Chronicle. Vol. ii, Nos. 5, 6. Vol. iii, Nos. 9, 11, 12. New Ser., Vol. iii, Nos. 9, 10. Proceedings from the beginning.
 Ostasiatische Zeits. Vol. i, pts. 3, 4. Vol. ii, pt. 4.
 Sudan Notes and Records. Vol. i, Nos. 2, 3. Vol. 2, No. 1.
 Temple, Legends of the Panjab. Vol. iii.
 Vienna Or. Journal. Vols. i, ii, and xxix, pts. 3, 4.
 Zeits. der Deut. Mor. Gesellschaft. Vol. viii.
 Zeits. für Assyriologie. Bd. xxii, pts. 3, 4.

The remainder of Additions to the Library will appear in the July *Journal*.

PRESENTATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

The Gift of the late H. C. Fanshawe, I.C.S., retired

- An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, written in Egypt during the years 1833-5 by E. W. Lane. London, 1890.
- L'Art Chinois, par M. Paléologue. Paris, 1887.
- L'Art Japonais, par L. Gonse. Paris.
- Bijapur, the old Capital of the Adil Shahi Kings, by H. Cousens. Poona, 1889.
- A Book of Water-colour Sketches of Indian Life. British New Guinea, by J. P. Thomson. London, 1892.
- The Buried Cities of Ceylon, by S. M. Burrows. 2nd ed. Colombo, 1894.
- The Burman, his Life and Notions. by Shway Yoe. London, 1896.
- Cairo, Sketches of its History, Monuments, and Social Life, by S. Lane-Poole. London, 1893.
- The Canton Guide, compiled by Dr. Kerr. 4th ed. Hongkong, 1889.
- Centenary Review of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1784-1883. Calcutta, 1885.
- China, by R. K. Douglas. 2nd ed. London, 1887.
- The Cities of Egypt, by R. S. Poole. London, 1882.
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PART III.—JULY

The Earlier History of the Arabian Nights

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IT is unfortunate that almost all investigators of the origin and development of the Nights have been, more or less, under the spell of that quite modern recension which Zotenberg first identified and called "la redaction égyptienne" (hereafter ZER). In the numerous Egyptian prints derived from the I Būlāq edition (Būlāq, A.H. 1252=A.D. 1835), in the Calcutta edition of the same recension (II Calcutta, A.D. 1839-42), in at least two Beyrout editions (Salhani and Adabiya Press), this recension has attained to the dignity of a Vulgate, and of it most people, even most Arabists, think when they refer to the Arabian Nights. This almost subconscious assumption was the great obscuring element in Lane's mind and with De Goeje in his Britannica article on the Nights. From this point of view it is especially unfortunate that Zotenberg did not publish any further researches; he was evidently on his way to complete freedom of attitude. August Müller, in his "Sendschreiben" to De Goeje ("Zu den märchen der tausend und einen nacht," Bessenberger's *Beiträge*, xiii, pp. 222-44; cf. too his more popular article, "Die Märchen der Tausend und einen Nacht" in *Der Deutsche Rundschau*, xiii, 10, July, 1887, pp. 77-96), had evidently reached such freedom even before Zotenberg's *Notice* (*Notices et Extraits*, xxviii, 1, pp. 167-320) appeared; and the same

holds good of Stanley Lane-Poole in his recast and expansion of Lane's "Review", added to the "Bohn" edition of Lane's translation (vol. iv, pp. 303-22).

In the following notes, by-products of my very broken work for some years past on an edition of the Galland and Vatican MSS. of the Nights (hereafter G and V), I begin with as few presuppositions as I can. I recognize that the Nights has assumed many very different forms and that, perhaps, the title "Nights" is the only thing common to them all. I make no attempt to take account of all my predecessors or to write a history of the long investigation which begins with Galland's *Dédicace* and the notes in his *Journal*.¹ I pick out the elements in that history, brought to light by different investigators in the past, which seem to me significant, and I bring them into relation with what little discoveries I have myself made, and the views which I have come to hold. Much of this work has had to be preliminary—a clearing, as it were, of the ground. Thus Zotenberg cleared the Vulgate out of the way, and I may venture to claim that I have myself cleared away two of the greatest sources of obscurity and confusion in Habicht's so-called Tunisian recension (this *Journal* for 1909, pp. 685-704) and the I Calcutta edition (Browne Volume, pp. 304-21).² And, above all, these notes centre round the evidence which minute verbal study of G has furnished, as it is beyond question the oldest considerable mass of a Nights text which has yet come to light.

In my preceding article in the Browne Volume I began with the extant MS. evidence and worked back. I now begin with

¹ There is a good outline of such a history in the first 26 pp. of J. Oestrup, *Studier over tusind og en nat*, 1891. See also a French résumé of this book with other notes on the Nights by the late Émile Galtier in *Mémoires . . . de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire*, t. xxvii, pp. 135-94, Cairo, 1912.

² May I ask my readers to strike out, in that article, the words (p. 313, l. 11), "In this he follows an Arabic preface to"? I unhappily trusted my memory and it misled me. The Persian preface to I Calcutta is not represented in the Russell MS., but the Arabic *introduction* to I Calcutta is verbatim in that MS.

the oldest *external* evidence and work down towards the MSS. That oldest external evidence is certainly contained in Emmanuel Cosquin's criticism of De Goeje's hypothesis. The great Dutch Arabist suggested (*Britannica*, 9, 10, 11, under "Thousand and One Nights", fuller in *De Gids* for September, 1886) that the frame-story of the Nights and the story of Esther in the Old Testament both went back to the same old Persian folk-tale. This suggestion was and is, perhaps, still very widely accepted, but so competent a folklorist as Cosquin had no difficulty in showing ("Le Prologue-Cadre des Mille et une Nuits," *Revue Biblique*, Jan.-April, 1909)¹ that the frame-story is fundamentally of Indian origin. Further, he analysed it into three quite distinct elements—(i) a husband in despair at the treachery of his wife recovers joy and health in learning that a high personage is equally unfortunate; (ii) a super-human being is tricked by a woman, although he keeps her in close confinement; (iii) an inexhaustible conteuse ingeniously escapes a danger which menaces either her or her father or both, p. 4/268—and proved the separate existence of these in Indian storiology. Still further, through a curious accident of translation, the existence of one of these in India before A.D. 251 can be shown. And again, still further, these elements passed into the folk-lore and literature of Europe apart from the Nights. But most striking of all is the proof that the Prologue to "The 101 Nights", a comparatively little-known companion collection to "The 1,001 Nights", and one preserved in only a small number of MSS., gives the first and most important element in a form much nearer to the Indian story, which is that of the young man, famed for his beauty, who becomes ugly because of a concealed sorrow, and thus incurs danger. That is, the framework of "The 101 Nights" is not a later imitation of that of "The 1,001 Nights", but is nearer to the original.²

¹ Now also in the posthumous collected volume, "*Études Folkloriques*," pp. 265-347.

² I do not attempt here to give details. For these, see Cosquin and Gaudefroy-Demombynes, cited below.

Since Cosquin wrote his masterly study, a translation of "The 101 Nights" by Gaudefroy-Demombynes from MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale has appeared ("Les Cent et Une Nuits Traduites de l'Arabe," E. Guilmoto, Paris [no date], pp. xvi, 352). He based his version on Fonds arabe 3660, but used the other two in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds arabe 3661, 3662, and also a very incomplete MS. belonging to René Basset. All these are quite modern and of Maghribi origin. Another MS., also Maghribi but said to be several centuries old and on parchment, was in the possession of Sainte Croix Pajot in 1842, and certain stories from it, translated by him, were inserted in "Les Mille et un Jours", an omnium gatherum published at Paris by Pourrat Frères in that year and also later (Nos. 309, 310 in Chauvin's *Bibl. ar.*, iv, pp. 122, 221). This MS. had been given to Pajot by "le scheik Reffaa-Effendi, directeur de l'école des langues au Caire . . . il était, dit il, depuis plusieurs siècles dans sa famille" (p. 8); its present ownership is unknown (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, p. 252, note). The text of two stories in MS. 3660 was published in 1888 by Florence Groff in her "Contes Arabes Extraits des MSS. de la Bibliothèque Nationale" (Paris, Leroux). There is also a Berber translation of this collection which has been described by René Basset in the *Rev. des Trad. Pop.*, vi, pp. 449-58.

It will be seen that the evidence for this shorter collection is all very modern and of the extreme West. Even the Cairo MS. was of Maghribi origin, and we have no real assurance as to its age. Yet the Prologue agrees in part with the geographically and chronologically remote Indian story much more nearly than does the Prologue of our Nights; also, in another detail it is in close accord with the description in the *Fihrist*, to which I shall come immediately (Cosquin, pp. 25-7/291-3). In Ḥajji Khalifa, No. 11289 (Flügel's edition, vol. v, p. 356), there is, however, another trace of this collection. There we

read, مائة ليلة للشيخ فهداس الفيلسوف وهو مائة

حكاية. This is, evidently, "le philosophe Fermas ou Fehras" who tells the stories to a king in MSS. 3661 and 3662 (Demombynes, pp. 1, 351). I owe this reference to a note in Chauvin's *Bibl. ar.*, iv, p. 121. Further, Gaudefroy-Demombynes has added to his translation a very rich apparatus of folk-lore and historical notes. In one of these (pp. 13-24) he has described yet another collection with yet another version of this same Prologue. It is in Fonds arabe 3655, fols. 36 ff., and begins with the Indian story, to which Cosquin directed attention, of the man with the beautiful face, but follows it up with quite different stories of men who had similar experiences and closes with the 'Ifrit and his chest.

Whatever view we may take of Cosquin's criticism on De Goeje's hypothesis of a connexion of origin between the Prologue of the Nights and the Book of Esther and of the relation of both to Persian national legends, there can be no question that it has removed the origins of the Nights into the world of folk-lore tales and out of that of literary tradition. These Indian folk-lore elements may have left India at a sufficiently remote period to have become nationalized in Persia, worked up with native Persian legends—if "native" is applicable to any such things—and Persian names, and even to have furnished the basis for Esther. As the bounds of our folk-lore knowledge widen, so frontiers vanish for its tales. Literary tradition, such as the origin of "Kalilah wa-Dimnah", is, of course, another thing.

In this new light the Nights loses, too, its uniqueness; it becomes the one, among several similar collections, which has achieved the greatest success. "The 101 Nights" and at least one other collection have a more primitive form of the Prologue, as we have seen, than is found in any MS. of "The 1,001 Nights" at present known, even although the forms of the Prologue of the latter vary greatly in different MSS. (cf. e.g. Zotenberg's *Notice*, pp. 10/176 ff.).

It is true that all stories, however "literary", go back in

the last analysis to folk-lore elements ; but here the folk-lore elements are much nearer than we had imagined, and as the Nights goes on its way, assuming different forms, we see it changing and developing under continued folk-lore influence. The stories which are gradually inserted in it existed earlier in independent forms and these forms were often of a markedly popular character. There is a good illustration of this in the picaresque stories about 'Alī az-Zaiḥāq, Aḥmad ad-Danaf, Hasan Shūmān, Dalīla al-Muḥtāla with her daughter Zainab, etc., which appear in ZER, Nights 698-719; see e.g. II Calcutta, vol. iii, pp. 416-79. Galland already knew of a separate version in 12 volumes; see the extract from his Journal quoted by Zotenberg in his *Notice*, p. 29/195. There are, too, a number of MSS. in European libraries and several modern prints, evidently for popular reading. For details on these, see Chauvin's *Bibl. ar.*, v, p. 248. I have myself four prints: one (Beyrout, 1866) the author of which is said to be Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Maṣrī; another, carefully expurgated but evidently of the same recension, although the author is not named, of Beyrout, 1894; the third and fourth are professedly by the same author, but are of a different recension, and have many Egyptian colloquialisms; one was lithographed in Cairo in 1297/1880, and the other printed from type at Cairo, 1324/1906. These are all much fuller than the form in the Nights, which consists only of certain incidents with some references left standing to others unnarrated; the complete romance is a very curious combination of the picaresque and the pseudo-historical. Some form of it evidently existed in the time of the Egyptian historian Abū-l-Maḥāsin (d. A.D. 1470), for he mentions (ed. Juynboll, ii, 305) Aḥmad ad-Danaf as a figure in popular romance, and suggests that his original was a certain Ḥamdī of the tenth century A.D. But, of course, it is illegitimate to take this, as does De Goeje in his *Britannica* article on the Nights, as a reference to the extracts which have been taken into ZER and to deduce that the Nights in that form must have existed before 1470.

Further, it so happens that we have quite an old MS. of a story which shows that story on the border line of passing over from independent existence to incorporation in a recension of the Nights. It is the Story of Sūl and Shumūl, which was edited by C. F. Seybold with a German translation from the unique MS. in the Tübingen University Library ("Geschichte von Sul und Schumul . . . herausgegeben von Dr. C. F. Seybold" . . . Leip., Spingatis, 1902). Seybold assigned the MS. to, at latest, the fourteenth century and thought it of Syrian origin. The latter point is probably correct and separates the MS. sharply from the almost certainly Egyptian G; of the date we cannot be so assured. Seybold's edition covers 104 printed pages; on pp. 6, 9, 12, 15, 18, 21, 25, 28, 32 come divisions into Nights, and in this part *أيها الملك* is the form of address. From p. 35 to the end there are no divisions into Nights, but at intervals come *قال* and *قال الراوي*

and the form of address is *يا سادة*; finally, on p. 104 comes a Night ending. The Night divisions are strikingly like those in G and are thus of a form in which the number of the Night can be added, in syntactical independence, as a rubric; and in this MS., though spaces have been left for numbers, these have not been inserted. Thus, p. 21:—

وادرک شهرآزاد الصبح فسکت عن الحديث قالت
دنیا زاد ما احسن حديثك واعجبه قالت الليلة القابلة
احديثکم باحسن واعجب ان عشت وابقانی الملك

[Space of a couple of lines for number of Night.]

فلما كانت الليلة القابلة قالت دنيا زاد لاختها شهرآزاد بالله

عليك يا اختاه ان كنتي غير نائمه فأتسمى للملك حديث
السول والشمول قالت حُبًّا وكرامة بلغني ايها الملك
السعيد أن . . .

In other places *فلما كانت* is omitted and *ا زعموا* stands instead of *بلغني*. All this means, I take it, that the scribe of this MS. had decided to adapt the story to insertion in a recension of the Nights. He therefore transcribes it and breaks it into Nights as he goes, omitting the other *Rāwī* references. But he does not insert the numbers of the Nights, as that could only be done when the story was put in its place in the recension. When rather more than a third through, his patience fails, and he transcribes his MS. as it lies before him—those who have had much to do with such MSS. will not find this strange; then he finishes in style, with an elaborate Night-ending in which the king looks forward to killing Scheherazade when he has got all her stories. Evidently the MS. was never actually part of a recension of the Nights, as the numbers would then have been inserted.

Similar examples of Arabian Nights stories existing in an independent and more original form could easily be multiplied, and perhaps, in the light of such cases, it is not too daring to suggest that the presumption with regard to each story in the Nights is that it existed first in such independence and even in a fuller form. Such a position will, I think, in the sequel be found tenable even for the earlier stories of the Galland recension which, from childhood's associations, we commonly think of as peculiarly *the Arabian Nights*. We must, therefore, completely depolarize our minds as to what lies behind the phrase, "Thousand and One Nights." It denoted very different things at different times; and it is the object of the present paper to attempt some guess as to what those different

things were. Further, it may be for clarity to distinguish three stages in this process: first, the simple folk-lore elements current orally and in the memories of the peoples; secondly, these elements worked up and used in stories by conscious literary artists, whether reciters or writers; thirdly, these stories incorporated in specific recensions of the Nights. For myself, I think that the compilers of the different recensions of the Nights stole their brooms ready made.

In the annals of Ḥamza of Ispahan (finished 350/961) there is a passage (ed. Gottwaldt, pp. 41 f.) which is often brought into connexion with this story-literature. In it he does not mention the Nights, and, although he does mention the Book of Sindibād and of Shīmās and others, it is from an entirely different point of view than that of folk-lore or even of literature. He says, if I understand the passage rightly, that when, after the death of Alexander, the rule fell into the hands of the *mulūk at-tawā'if*, "they ceased from war and from mutual contention among themselves and one of them would overcome another only by difficult questions. In their days were composed the books which are now in the hands of the people, such as the Book of Marūk (?) and the Book of Sindibād and the Book of Barsanās (?) and the Book of Shīmās and the like, about 70 books in all. And they continued in this way until there had reigned of them twenty-odd kings, in the number of whom he whose aspirations urged him to war-like expeditions was exceptional." This is exactly the situation in the Story of Aḥiqār, where the king of Egypt wars against Sennacherib of Assyria by means of difficult questions and the wise Aḥiqār has to be brought from prison to answer them. For Ḥamza of Ispahan, therefore, these books were a form of practical philosophy, and the stories in them were *amthāl*, apologues, stories told as examples or illustrations of situations or precepts; for the distinction see my article, "Hikāya" in the Leyden *Encyclopædia of Islam*, vol. ii, p. 304. Several of these collections have since, in one form or another, invaded the Nights, and even the Story of Aḥiqār has been

taken up into one recension of the Nights, but that meant a distinct fall in their social standing; they had passed from being the instructions of the wise and prudent to being the entertainment of the masses. This change is, I think, indicated even by Ḥamza when he speaks of them as "now in the hands of the people" (*fī aidī-n-nās*) instead of those of kings and their councillors. Finally, it follows from all this that Ḥamza's not mentioning the Nights here is no evidence that he did not know any book of that name. He was not dealing here with books of amusement. That Ḥamza knew some form of a Nights must be taken, considering his date, as almost certain. He was much more a student of literature and philosophy than a historian, although his *Annals* is, unfortunately, his only printed work. See on his literary activity Eugen Mittwoch in *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, xii, pp. 109-69, and *ZA*, xxvi, pp. 270 ff. Professor Mittwoch is about to publish an edition of his *Khurāfāt al-'Arāb*.

But in the *Murūj adh-dhahab* (commonly translated "The Golden Meadows") of Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956) we have an undoubted reference to the Nights; or, perhaps better, to a "Nights". Mas'ūdī (ed. Barbier de Meynard, vol. iv, pp. 89 f.; ed. Būlāq, A.H. 1283, vol. i, p. 297) is speaking of the lying stories made up or developed by pseudo-traditionalists and by the *quṣṣās* on such subjects as Iram Dhāt al-'Imād and of how they made them to be pleasing and even historically accepted, first with kings and then with the masses of the people; he has, of course, to put the matter discreetly, as many such stories went back to traditional authorities of the first rank. He then goes on:—"These are like the books transmitted to us and translated for us from the Persian [in some MSS. Pehlevi], Indian, and Greek, the origin of which was similar to these, such as 'The Book of *hazār afsāna*', or, translated from Persian to Arabic, 'of a thousand *khurāfas*,' for *khurāfa* in Persian is called *afsāna*. The people call this book 'A Thousand Nights and a Night' [or in some

MSS. of Mas'ūdī 'A Thousand Nights']. It is the story of the king and the wazīr and his daughter and her nurse (*dāya*) [other MSS. read 'and of her slave girl', *jāriya*, and some read, 'and of his two daughters'], whose names are Shīrāzād and Dīnāzād [these names are given in many forms in the MSS., as also in the MSS. of the Nights]. And such as 'The Book of Farza and Sīmās' [again many forms of the names in the MSS.; cf. *Fihrist*, p. 306, l. 2, and Chauvin, *Bibl. ar.*, vol. ii, pp. 216 ff.] with what is in it of stories of the king [or kings] of India and the wazīrs, and such as 'The Book of Sindibād' and other such books."

The Arabic word *khurāfa* has been left untranslated above because of the several meanings which it has assumed; I shall return to it more than once below. We have, then, this passage of Mas'ūdī, not only in the two editions cited, but also quoted textually in four separate MS. forms in De Sacy's "Mémoire sur l'origine du recueil de contes intitulé Les mille et une Nuits", *Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. x, reprinted in "Mémoires d'histoire et de littérature orientale", Paris, 1832, pp. 216, 239 ff. To these De Sacy added a fifth, his own "texte restitué", which does not agree exactly either with Barbier de Meynard's text or with that of Būlāq. But out of them all it is plain that Mas'ūdī knew a Persian book called *Hazār Afsāna*, "The Thousand Stories," that it had been rendered into Arabic, and that the Arabic form was popularly called "Thousand and One Nights". Further, it is plain that the framework story *resembled* that of our Nights, but was not quite the same. The characters in it were the king, his wazīr, the wazīr's daughter, and the nurse of the daughter. But it is very curious that this is a combination which can be paralleled in different forms in Indian storiology. Cosquin (pp. 28, 294 ff.) has given a number of similar "cadres", Jain, Siamese, Javanese, Laotian, all linking up together and pointing back to an early Indian form with this combination of characters. Finally, the names as given by Mas'ūdī are suggestively Persian. Shīrāzād can easily be

for Chihrazād, "of noble race," while Dīnāzād means "of noble religion", and De Goeje has shown in his articles already referred to, in *De Gids* (p. 4) and in the *Britannica*, how Mas'ūdī connects these very names with the Jewish girl whom Bahman Ardashīr married, and who was the mother of Princess Ḥomāi whom the *Fihrist*, as we shall see, connects with the origin of the *Hazār Afsāna*. Thus (vol. ii, p. 129) Mas'ūdī gives Shahrazād as the name of this Jewish girl, and in another passage (vol. ii, p. 122) he calls her Dīnāzād, while in vol. i, p. 118, he tells how a king of Persia married a captive Jewish girl, had a child by her, and caused her people to return to their own country. Again, Firdawsī (vol. v, p. 11, of Mohl's transl.) calls Ḥomāi herself Shahrazād, as also does Ṭabarī in his *Tārīkh* (i, p. 689). Evidently those Indian folk-tales have become very closely mixed up with Persian and even Jewish¹ legendary history. Such a broad conclusion, in spite of Cosquin's pleasant sarcasm, seems certain.

The next witness to a Nights is the *Fihrist*. In the first *Fann* of the eighth *Maqāla* we are given information about the tellers of Night-stories (*asmār*) and of *Khurāfāt*, fictions told for amusement, and about the names of the books compiled out of these.—Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [i.e. the author of the *Fihrist*] said: The first who made separate compilations (*ṣannafa*) of *khurāfāt* and made books in which to put them

¹ This raises a much wider and an exceedingly interesting question in the history of literature, but one only indirectly connected with the present subject. It illustrates, however, the interdependence of supposedly quite different fields of research. To put it shortly, the thesis could be maintained that there is evidence of the existence among the Hebrews—or Jews—of a distinct class of foreign story, of Persian origin, and that this class is much older than has been commonly supposed. The individuals in it which can at present be identified are four—Esther, Tobit, the story of Aḥiqār, the Frame Story of the Nights. These are all connected by specific links of names or events, and the date of the group is shown by the existence of Aḥiqār in Egypt and in Aramaic on papyrus fragments of the fifth century B.C. The fates of the individuals have been singularly diverse. Esther got into the Hebrew canon; Tobit into the Greek canon; Aḥiqār still exists as a chap-book in the Near East and is in one recension of the Nights; the fourth is our present subject. All this suggests that the transmission of the Indian folk-lore elements must lie very far back.

and laid them up in libraries and in some gave speaking parts to beasts were the early Persians. Thereafter the Ashghānian kings, who were the third dynasty of the kings of Persia, gave themselves thereto. Thereafter that [branch of literature] increased and spread in the days of the Sāsānian kings, and the Arabs translated it into the Arabic tongue, and the eloquent and the rhetoricians took it up and corrected it and wrote it in elegant style and constructed, according to the idea of it, what resembled it. The first book, then, which was made according to this idea was "The Book of *Hazār Afsāna*", which means "a thousand *khurāfāt*". The cause [or the motif, *sabab*] of that was that one of their kings, whenever he had married a woman and passed a night with her, killed her on the morrow. So he married a girl of royal descent, possessed of understanding and information, who was called Shahrāzād. Then after she had come together with him, she began telling him *khurāfāt* and carrying the story along at the finish of the night in such a way as to lead the king to preserve her alive and that he would ask her in the second [or the following] night about the completion of the story, until she had passed a thousand nights, while he at the same time was having intercourse with her as his wife, until she was given a child by him, which she showed to him, informing him of the stratagem she had used with him. Then he admired her understanding and inclined to her and preserved her alive. And the king had a *qahramāna* who was called Dinārzād, and she assisted her in that. And it has been said that this book was composed for Ḥumāni, daughter of Bahman; and they make, with regard to it, other and different statements.

Muḥammad ibn Ishāq said:—The sound view—if it be the will of Allah!—is that the first to whom stories were told at night was Alexander the Great. He had people who made him laugh and told him *khurāfāt*, not seeking pleasure by that, but only to be vigilant and on his guard. After him the kings used for that purpose "The Book of *Hazār Afsāna*". It contains a thousand nights and less than two hundred stories,

for the stories are often told in it during a number of nights. I have seen it complete several times and it is in reality a worthless book of stupid [*literally*, frigid] stories.

Muḥammad ibn Ishāq said :—Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdūs al-Jahshiyārī, the author of the *Kitāb al-wuzarā*, began to compose a book in which he made choice of a thousand stories (*samar*) out of the stories of the Arabs and the Persians and the Greeks and others, each part complete in itself, not joined to another. He called into his presence story-tellers (*musāmīrūn*), and took from them the best of what they knew and could recite, and he chose from the books compiled of stories (*asmār*) and of *khurāfāt* what was to his taste and was superior. So he brought together for himself out of that 480 nights, each night a separate story (*samar*) containing 50 leaves, more or less. But death overtook him before he had finished what was in his mind, of completing a thousand stories. I have seen a number of parts of that [collection] in the handwriting of Abū-t-Ṭayyib, the brother of ash-Shāfi‘ī.

This is the testimony of the author of the *Fihrist*, writing between A.H. 377 and 400, or perhaps slightly later. The

meaning seems clear, although I am not sure that صنف means exactly “compiled”, or that اسمار, سمر has not passed over entirely from “story told at night” to simply “story told by a professional story-teller”. The language of the *Fihrist* has not yet been studied for itself, and will have difficulties for its future translator. It will be noticed that the confederate of Shahrāzād is a *qahramāna*, manageress, duenna, of the king, and bears the slave-name Dīnārzād, with Dun-yāzād as a variant reading in one MS. Ibn Ishāq also knows the story that the book was composed for Ḥomāi, or Khumānī, or Ḥumānī (there are different forms of the name), daughter of Bahman. The same story appears to have been told, too, by the writer of an anonymous preface to the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī. The same anonymous writer tells

that the *Hazār Afsāna* was versified by a certain Rastī at the court of Maḥmūd of Ghazna. See A. Müller, in his "Send-schreiben", p. 224; De Goeje, "De Arabische Nachtvertellingen," in *De Gids*, p. 2; Payne, vol. ix, p. 279; Burton, vol. viii of 12 vol. ed., p. 67, note 3; I cannot verify farther. All these, except Burton's reference to James Atkinson, the translator of the *Shāhnāma*, p. x, seem to go back to Wallenbourg's "Notice sur le *Schāhnāmè* de Ferdoussi et traduction de plusieurs pièces relatives à ce poème", Vienna, 1810, p. 52, a book which is inaccessible to me. [See, now, note at end of this article.]

But it is certain that in the time of Ibn Ishāq the Persian *Hazār Afsāna* existed and contained 1,001 nights and less than 200 stories—say five nights to a story. In the Frame-Story we can be certain of Cosquin's third point only (see p. xxx above), and not of even that entirely, for there is no mention of any father to be saved. The book was fairly common. A marginal note in an old hand in the principal Leyden fragment of the *Fihrist* (L in Flügel's apparatus) says, "I have seen it in four volumes and it is called 'A thousand nights and a night'." This is evidently a reference to an Arabic translation; but it is attached, in the *Fihrist*, to Ibn Ishāq's description of the *Hazār Afsāna*. It can hardly be a reference to any form of our present Nights, which would have filled much more than four volumes. Ibn Ishāq's judgment on the Persian book is not to be taken as that of the ordinary Muslim 'ālim. The present-day 'Ulamā, of course, with the rarest exceptions, have no use for the Nights, but Ibn Ishāq had a far more catholic range of interest and a sounder taste; his book makes that evident. We may believe him, I think, that the *Hazār Afsāna* was really of very little value.

The Jahshiyārī mentioned above is a perfectly well-known writer who died in A.H. 331. He is mentioned in the *Fihrist*, p. 12, l. 23, and he has a paragraph to himself on p. 127, ll. 22-4. He is there said to have belonged to the class of secretaries (*kātibs*), of compilers of historical anecdotes

(*akhbārūn*) and of writers of formal official letters, mostly in rhymed prose (*mutarassilūn*). Among his books was one on wazīrs and secretaries, a collection of anecdotes, which has survived and is in the Vienna library, and another on prosody. For other references to him see Flügel's commentary to the *Fihrist*, pp. 6, 54, 149, and Alfred Wiener, "Die *Faraj ba'd ash-Shidda*—Literatur," Strassburg, 1913 (Trübner), p. 49, note 3. All these, however, add little information. Much more important are the references by Massignon, in his "Quatre Textes" (Paris, 1914), p. 7.

His book, even in its uncompleted form, must have been of enormous extent. A collection of 480 stories of 50 leaves each would make up 24,000 leaves. On p. 115 of the *Fihrist*, l. 12, we are told that the *Aghānī* filled 5,000 leaves, and the printed text of the *Aghānī* in the Būlāq edition fills 3,850 pp. Jahshiyārī's collection, therefore, must have been nearly five times the length of the Būlāq 20 volume *Aghānī*, and each of his stories would have taken up over 58 pages of the *Aghānī* print. This, it is plain, was no collection of anecdotes. Al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūj*, vol. viii, p. 249) makes mention of another book by Jahshiyārī containing "thousands of leaves".

The reference to the "parts" in the handwriting of Abu-ṭ-Ṭayyib, the brother of ash-Shāfi'ī, is very puzzling. There are precisely similar references in the *Fihrist* to the hand of this brother of an ash-Shāfi'ī, p. 64, l. 14; 65, ll. 2, 18; 72, l. 13; 92, l. 8; but as Jahshiyārī died in A.H. 331 and the ash-Shāfi'ī died in 204, it is plain that this scribe cannot have been a brother of the founder of the legal school. The *Fihrist* knows another ash-Shāfi'ī, p. 214, ll. 1-3, who is distinguished from the Imām by his full name.

On p. 308, ll. 9-12, the author of the *Fihrist* closes this *Fann* on the *khurāfāt* and *asmār* with a significant remark, "Muḥammad ibn Ishāq said:—The *asmār* and *khurāfāt* were much desired and beloved in the days of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs and especially in the days of al-Muqtadir (A.H. 295-320); so the professional scriveners (*al-warrāqūn*) compiled and forged

[them], and of those who made them up was a man known as Ibn Dilān¹ (دِلَان ?), whose name was Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Dilān, and another who was known as Ibn al-‘Aṭṭār, and many besides.”

He is here looking back on the close of a period. Part of the great literary and intellectual flowering under the early ‘Abbāsids had been in stories of different kinds. The sources of these had been Arab, Persian, Byzantine Greek, and Indian. At first the authors and translators of these stories had been reputable writers who did not hesitate to put them out under their own names. They could say that these were traditions of the old days in the desert, or that they had been taken from the wisdom of the ancient Greeks or Persians or Indians. Such translated books brought their own reputations with them, and had behind them learned names; and in the case of the genuine Arab stories it was hard to distinguish between tradition and fiction. Thus in the *Fihrist* (p. 307) there is a section giving the names of lovers whose stories (*aḥādīth*) had passed into night-stories (*samar*). Further, the *Fihrist* (p. 306, ll. 9 f.) gives the names of four writers of established reputation, all mentioned at length elsewhere in the *Fihrist*, who had produced such stories. These appear to have lived towards the end of the second century of the Hijra. Still later, on p. 313, in a section on miscellaneous books, the composers or compilers of which are not known, the author gives a list of 25 *khurāfāt* known only by *laqab*. I suppose he means that these are stories whose only connexion with a hypothetical origin is by a nickname occurring in them. There follow two sections of books on *battālīn* and *mughaffīlīn* in which the names of the heroes are given, although not those of the authors.

But the *musāmirūn*, or professional story-tellers, were in a different situation. These had their temporary and oral

¹ There is a *kātib* Dilān in Ibn Miskawaih's *History*, Gibb Memorial, vol. v, p. 574, l. 4.

reputations, but with the ceasing of their public appearances their names vanished too; their names were as evanescent as those of the mass of actors and public entertainers with us. The forms which their stories had assumed in their memories and on their lips might possibly have been fixed by such eccentric amateurs of their art as Jahshiyārī; but otherwise ran every risk of being lost. Those who know the Muslim East will recognize that this is a situation perpetually recurring and existing to this day. In 1908 I was so fortunate as to pick up in Damascus a number of scrappy MSS. from the library of a deceased *hikawātī*, and their nature and condition were eloquent of the methods of his class. In Bagdad, in the third century of the Hijra, the public demand for such stories had risen beyond the supply of the reputable writers or of the oral performances of the public reciters. So, according to the passage already translated from the *Fihrist*, the professional scribes filled the gap. These were, in general, anonymous, although the *Fihrist* gives two names, otherwise unknown to us. Naturally, this competition drove writers of reputation off the field, or, at least, into anonymity. Their art lost standing, and the public, in fact, wanted amusing and interesting stories with as little art to them as possible. So I have heard a coffee-house audience in Cairo protest to a storyteller when he wished to deviate from his story into poetry. They wanted things to happen and jokes to be cracked and had no use for die-away love chantings, however artistic. So, too, in Bagdad contact with the professional jester and entertainer (*mudhrik*) affected the standing of the story-teller. See on these the *Fihrist*, pp. 140 ff., and especially the case of Abū-l-'Anbas (p. 151, l. 23 f.) and his standing partly as astronomer and partly as boon companion of al-Mutawakkil and purveyor of *bāh*-literature. Pp. 151-3 of the *Fihrist* are very significant as to this declension. Some other sides of the same literary situation will be found in my article "Hikāya" in the Leyden *Encyclopedia of Islam*. The result of it all was that stories in Arabic lost caste and became anony-

mous. It may be worth while in connexion with this to note that the authority quoted by al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama, in his *Fākhīr* (see below) for "stories of Khurāfa", is an Ismā'il b. Abān al-Warrāq, whom I cannot find in the *Fihrist*. He, in his turn, quotes authorities; but I cannot find any of their names either. Yet al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama evidently regards him as a reputable authority. It is allowable to conjecture that he is the *rāwī* who d. 263, a native of Bait Lihyā (*Yāqūt*, i, p. 780). He occurs also in *sanads* in Ṭabarī's "History" (Leyden ed., ser. i, p. 89; ser. iii, p. 2373).

We have seen that the author of the *Fihrist* uses for these stories the two terms *asmār* and *khurāfāt*. The classical use of *asmār* and his very different use have become plain; but what were *khurāfāt*? According to the lexicons (Lane, p. 726b.; *Siḥāḥ*, s.v.; *Lisān*, x, p. 412, ll. 18 ff.) a *khurāfa* is a "pleasant and strange fictitious story". The commonest explanation is that Khurāfa was the name of a man who was carried off by the Jinn and, on his return, told wonderful tales about them. This is supported by traditions from Muḥammad, in one of which the Prophet asserts, or is made to assert, that what Khurāfa told was true. But the general consensus seems to have been that there could be no reliance on a *ḥadīthu Khurāfa*; the phrase is used twice in that way in Maidānī's *Amthāl* (ed. Cairo, 1310, i, p. 131; ii, p. 188). In the usage of the *Fihrist* there is evidently no condemnatory meaning; it is simply a pleasing fiction, and *kharrāfa* means to produce such pleasing fictions. Later it came to mean ridiculously impossible stories as opposed to those which are fictitious but pleasing; thus in Damīrī's *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, i, p. 185, l. 31, and ii, p. 101, l. 25 of ed. Cairo, 1313. At present it is only in the African Tripoli, apparently, that it has survived as the normal word for "story"; see Stumme, "Märchen aus Tripolis."

But the most important passage for our purpose on *khurāfāt* is in the commentary by ash-Sharīshī on the *Maqāmāt* of

al-Ḥarīrī.¹ At the end of Maqāma IV Ḥarīrī calls the tale just told by Abū Zaid *khurāfatuhu* "his *khurāfa*", and says that the audience found it wonderful, i.e. they admired it. There is no context to determine whether Ḥarīrī (d. A.H. 516) thought that a *khurāfa* was simply a wonderful and incredible story, or was a story told with refined literary art, for there is another derivation which regards the word as parallel in formation to *fukāha* from *fākiha* and meaning "choice plucked fruits". See Lane on the whole root and De Sacy's Arabic commentary on this passage. The source for this interpretation, both in Lane and in De Sacy, seems to be al-Muṭarrizī, who died A.H. 610; his *Mughrib* was used by Lane, and his commentary on Ḥarīrī by De Sacy. He is a very late authority for a new interpretation in lexicography, although a good authority for the usage and ideas of Ḥarīrī's time. I suspect that his interpretation is based on a mis-transcription of *nakhl* as *naḥl*. The *Lisān* traces the story of Khurāfa to Ibn al-Kalbī, apparently Hishām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī who died A.H. 204 or 206; cf. Brockelmann, i, p. 139, and *Fihrist*, pp. 95 ff.

Sharīshī (d. A.H. 619) comments as follows (ed. Cairo, 1314, i, pp. 56 f.):—*Khurāfatuhu* means his diverting narrative (*ḥadīthuhu al-mulḥā*). "A *ḥadīth* of Khurāfa" is a proverb current on the tongues of the people in ancient and in modern times to express any narrative with no truth in it. It occurs in the proverbs of al-Mufaḍḍal² with a *sanad* leading up to 'Ā'isha, that she said to the Prophet, "Narrate to me the story of Khurāfa (or a *ḥadīth* *Khurāfa*)."³ So he said, "Khurāfa was a good man and he informed me that he went out one night and a party of three of the Jinn met him and took him prisoner. One of them said, 'We will let him off,' and another,

¹ I have since found this same series of stories with another about Khurāfa in the *Fākhīr* of al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama (ed. C. A. Storey, Leyden, 1915, pp. 137–40). This was evidently Sharīshī's source; but I translate Sharīshī's text with some variants and corrections from the edition of the *Fākhīr*. I return below to al-Mufaḍḍal's date.

² For al-Mufaḍḍal's authority here see top of p. 371.

‘ We will kill him,’ and another, ‘ We will enslave him.’ While they were taking counsel as to him, lo ! there came upon them a man [meaning evidently a human being], and he said, ‘ Peace be upon you ! ’ They said, ‘ And upon thee be peace ! ’ He said, ‘ And what are ye ? ’ They said, ‘ A party of the Jinn ; we took this man prisoner, so we are considering about him.’ Then he said, ‘ If I narrate to you a wonderful narrative, will ye make me a partner in him with yourselves ? ’ They said, ‘ Yes.’ He said, ‘ I was in prosperous circumstances, then they ceased and I was ridden with debt. So I went out, fleeing, and a terrible thirst befel me ; so I journeyed to a well and alighted that I might drink. Then some one called out to me from the well, “ Stand ! ” so I went away from it and did not drink. But the thirst overcame me and I returned ; then he called out to me. Again I returned a third time and drank and paid no attention to him. Then he said, “ O Allah ! if it is a man transform him into a woman, and if it is a woman transform her into a man.” And lo ! I was a woman. I went to a certain city and a man married me and I bore him two children. Thereafter I returned to my own country, and I passed by the well of which I had drunk and I alighted. He called out to me as he had called at first, but I drank and paid no attention to him. So he prayed as at first, and I became a man as I had been. Then I came to my own country and married a wife and begat on her two children. So I have two sons of my loins and two of my womb.’ They said, ‘ This is wonderful ; thou art our partner.’ Then while they were taking counsel, lo ! there came upon them a bull, flying ; and when it had passed them, lo ! a man with a staff (*khashaba*) in his hand, searching in its traces (*yahfiru fī athrihi* ; the *Fākhir* has *yuhdiru*, ‘ running ’). He stopped beside them and saluted, and they returned the salute. And he inquired of them, and they answered him as they had answered their fellow. So he said, ‘ If I narrate to you a story more wonderful than this, will ye make me a partner in him with yourselves ? ’ They said, ‘ Yes.’ He said, ‘ I had a paternal uncle who was

wealthy. And he had a beautiful daughter and we were seven brothers. And my uncle had a calf which he reared : but it escaped. So he said, " Whichever of you will bring it back shall have my daughter." So I took this staff of mine and girt myself and searched in its traces (the *Fākhir* reads as above). I was a youth (*ghulām*) and I have grown grey ; but I have not overtaken it and it is not wearied (*yakillu* ; *Fākhir*, *yankulu* ?). Then they said, ' This is a wonder ! Sit, and thou shalt be our partner.' While they were taking counsel, lo ! there came upon them a man mounted on a mare, and behind him a youth (*ghulām*) on a stallion. He saluted, as his two fellows had saluted, and they returned his salutation as they had returned it to his two fellows. Then he inquired of them and they informed him. He said to them, ' If I narrate to you a narrative more strange than this, will you make me a partner in him with yourselves ? ' They said, ' Yes.' He said, ' I had an evil mother '—then he said to the mare on which he rode, ' Was it thus ? ' and she said with her head, ' Yes '—he said, ' and I suspected her with this black slave (*abḏ*) '—and he pointed to the horse on which his *ghulām* rode [and said to it], ' Was it thus ? ' and it said with its head, ' Yes.' ' So I sent one day on one of my affairs this *ghulām* of mine (I follow the *Fākhir* here, *ghulāmī*) who is riding ; but she shut him up with herself. He fell asleep (*fa'aghfā*) and saw in his sleep as though she uttered a cry, and lo ! there was a large field rat (*juradh*) which had come out. She said, " Bend down thy head (*usjud*) ! " and he bent it down. Next she said, " Plough (*ukrub*) ! " and it ploughed. Next she said, " Thresh (*udrus*) ! " and it threshed. Next she summoned a handmill (*raḥan*) and it ground a cupful of *sawīq*. She brought it to the *ghulām* and said to him, " Take it to thy master." He brought it to me, but I used guile towards the two of them until I had made them drink the cupful, and lo ! she was a mare and he was a stallion.' He said, ' Was it thus ? ' The mare with her head said, ' Yes,' and the stallion with his head said, ' Yes.' Then they said, ' This is the most wonderful thing

we have heard ; thou art our partner.' So they agreed and freed Khurāfa." Then he came to the prophet and told him this narrative. So whatever occurs of jesting narratives is referred back to Khurāfa to whom this narrative goes back (*sāhibu-l-hadīth*).—

In the version of the *Fākhir* the magic scene is somewhat different ; but not, I think, better. It runs after the appearance of the large field rat :—" She said, ' Cleave ! ' and it cleft (*makhara* used of a ship in the water ; not, so far as I know, of ploughing). Next she said, ' Repeat ! ' and it repeated (*karra* ?). Next she said, ' Sow ! ' and it sowed (*zara'a*). Next she said, ' Reap ! ' and it reaped (*ḥaṣada*). Next she said, ' Thresh ! ' and it threshed (*dāsa*)."

Chauvin has already noted (*Bibl. ar.*, v, p. 150, note 1) that a similar scene to that in the story of Badr Bāsim is in the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* (transl. C. H. Tawney, vol. ii, pp. 167 f.). I give it here from Tawney :—" When I did not find you there I entered the house of a certain woman to lodge, as I was worn out, and gave her money for food. She gave me a bed, and being tired I slept for some time, but then I woke up, and out of curiosity I remained quiet, and watched her, and while I was watching, the woman took a handful of barley and sowed it all about inside the house, her lip trembling all the time with muttering spells. Those grains of barley immediately sprang up and produced ears ; and ripened, and she cut them down, and parched them and ground them, and made them into barley-meal. And she sprinkled the barley-meal with water, and put it in a brass pot, and after arranging her house as it was before, she went quickly to bathe. Then as I saw that she was a witch, I took the liberty of rising up quickly : and taking that meal out of the brass pot, I transferred it to the meal-bin, and I took as much barley-meal out of the meal-bin and placed it in the brass vessel, taking care not to mix the two kinds, etc." The woman gives him that in the brass pot ; eats herself of that in the bin, and becomes a she-goat, which he sells to a butcher.

From the *Fākhir*, then, it is plain that Sharīshī's authority, whom he calls only Mufaḍḍal, was Abū Ṭālib al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama b. 'Āsim (*Fihrist*, pp. 73 f.), whom Brockelmann (vol. i, p. 118, No. 8) appears to have confused as to date with his son Muḥammad (De Slane's *Ibn Khallikan*, vol. ii, pp. 6-10; ed. Cairo, 1310, vol. i, p. 460). This al-Mufaḍḍal could not have died as late as A.H. 308, and the *floruit* which De Sacy gives him ("Anth. Gram.," p. 130, note 62) of A.H. 250 is probably correct; with this Storey agrees.

The tale of the redemption of Khurāfa from the Jinn by means of three wonderful stories, told from their own experience by three chance-met travellers, is exactly the first story of the Nights, that of the Merchant and the Jinnī, which occupies Nights 1-7 in the Galland MS. According to Chauvin, *Bibl. ar.*, vi, p. 23, it has been studied by Oestrup, "Studier over tusind ag en nat," pp. 64-6, 149,¹ and by Basset in *Rev. d. trad. pop.*, xvi, 28-36. But the three stories which are told are quite different from those in the Nights, although two of them are found elsewhere in the Nights. It has often been remarked that Shahrazād certainly did not put her best foot foremost in her story-telling and that this first experiment of hers is in a different class entirely from the story of the Fisherman and the Jinnī, which immediately follows. Further, even in the East, there has evidently been much dissatisfaction with the three intercalated stories, for they vary greatly in the MSS. The conjecture may at least be hazarded that this story is all that is left of an early form of a non-Persian and Arabic Nights. It is found, apparently, in all the MSS. which give the beginning of the Frame-Story, and it is of pronounced desert and Arabic type. It thus contrasts at once with the Frame-Story, with its evident Persian origin and Persian names.

Again, we may, I think, legitimately combine this with certain facts that the *Fihrist* gives us:—(i) That the first Arabic Nights was a straight translation of the Persian *Hazār*

¹ In Galtier's abstract, pp. 143, 152.

Afsāna, although later it fell into the hands of litterateurs and rhetoricians who took it up and variously improved and expanded it; (ii) That it was a comparatively small and common book in which every story averaged only a little over five nights; (iii) That, in the opinion of the author of the *Fihrist*, it was a worthless and stupid book. From this we seem driven to posit, as the first Arabic Nights, a comparatively small book, the stories as well as the Frame being of marked Persian character, much like those in the various forms of the Book of Sindibād. Was there, then, formed from this another book, Arabic in type as well as language, but of about the same length as to the whole book and also as to the stories? Our present Frame-Story with this first Story would, then, be all that was left of that recension. This Story of the Merchant and the Jinnī certainly fits that hypothesis in its shortness and general poverty, and it is otherwise very difficult to explain how it stands in such pride of place. From the extant MSS. it is plain that a would-be compiler of the Nights often began with a quite small portion which had reached his hands and added to that such stories as he chose. Thus in the Reinhardt MS. in the Strasbourg University Library the first 73 pages are our best MS. representative of ZER; but thereafter we have an entirely separate recension not found elsewhere; and in the Wortley-Montague MS. in the Bodleian we have the G recension to the end of the Porter Cycle and thereafter chaos. See my "Classification" in the Browne Volume, pp. 318 f.

I return to the three stories told by the three chance-met travellers in al-Mufaḍḍal's narrative. The first—of the well which changes sex—is a very widely spread folk-lore story which assumes many different forms and which has found its way into ZER as part of The Seven Wazirs. Chauvin, *Bibl. ar.*, viii, p. 43, gives ample details on its occurrence elsewhere. It is evidently of Indian origin. The second—of the fugitive bull—has no connexion that I know with any story that has ever been taken into the Nights. I fancy that the folklorist

would look for it under the class of competition in lying—the class exists in Arabic. I am not sure about the “staff” which the youth takes with him. It is *khashaba*, which can mean anything made of wood, but I do not remember it used elsewhere of an *‘aşā*. Is it a yoke? The third story is much more interesting. The essential part is the scene in which the magic *sawīq*, or parched meal, is prepared, and it at once suggests the similar scene in the Story of Badr Bāsim in the Nights, where the Queen Lāb similarly prepares magic *sawīq*. I give this from G, Night 267, vol. iii, fol. 69a; with which V, a transcript here from G, agrees verbatim. The scene occurs in ZER in I Būlāq, vol. ii, p. 261 top; II Calcutta, vol. iii, p. 582 (these two are identical verbatim); Breslau, vol. x, p. 58. This last was taken by Fleischer from a Gotha MS. and corrected by I Būlāq; the text is almost the same as in I Būlāq, but not quite. Another slightly divergent text of ZER is in the Salhani Beyrout edition, vol. iv, p. 209. G runs as follows:—

فلما كان نصف الليل قامت من الفراش والملك بدر
متنبه وهو يظهر انه نائم وفتح عينه الواحده لينظر ما
تفعل فوجدھا اخرجت من كيس من تراب احمر
وفرشته في وسط القصر وادآ هو نهر جاری واخذت كف
شعير وبدرته بجانب النهر على التراب وسقته من ذلك
الماء فصار زرع مسبل فاخذته وحصدته وطحنته فصار
سويق تم شالته واتت الى جانب الملك بدر ونامت الى
الصباح

"Then when it was the middle of the night she rose from the bed while King Badr was vigilant. He was making an appearance of sleep, but he opened one eye to observe what she was doing. So he found that she took out of a bag some red earth and spread it in the midst of the *qaṣr*, and lo ! it was a flowing river. Then she took a handful of barley and scattered it beside the river upon the earth and moistened it from that water. Then it became seed product in the ear, and she took it and reaped it and ground it and it became *sawīq*. Thereafter she laid it by and came beside King Badr and slept till morning."

To be really and essentially the same, two scenes could hardly be more different. If anything, al-Mufaḍḍal's tale is more picturesque. The magical apparatus is more detailed and various, and the field rat which must bend down its neck to have the plough put upon it is a touch of more than folklore. For the folk-lore association of the *juradh*, see it and also *fa'r* in Damīrī's *Hayāt al-ḥayawān*; it would suggest an adulterous woman and also plenty, and so fits this context. Finally, it is noteworthy that al-Mufaḍḍal makes no reference to the Nights in any form, although we should have expected something of the kind in this context. It seems almost unescapable that he did not know our Nights. The other story associated in the *Fākhīr* with the name of Khurāfa is a story of the desert to enjoin hospitality, and the only "wonders" in it are worked by two unnamed visitors who are received hospitably in one case and repulsed in the other. It is thus a moral apologue.

The next chronological point at which the Nights—or a Nights—comes to the surface is in a comment by al-Maqrīzī on certain events in the caliphate of al-Āmir bi-aḥkām Allāh, Fāṭimid Caliph of Egypt A.H. 495–524. He fell in love with and married a Badawī girl in the Ṣa'īd and built for her pleasure a palace on the Island of Rōḍa which, on account of her Badawī origin, was called the Hawdāj, or camel litter. Naturally there was a Badawī cousin who followed her and

with whom she had adventures and exchanged poetry. It is like the story of Maisūn, who married Mu'āwiya. And the people told many tales of them which passed down in oral traditions (*riwāyāt*), and a certain al-Qurṭubī in a "History" (*Ta'rīkh*) compared these to the stories of al-Baṭṭāl and of the *Alf laila wa-laila* (*qad akthara-n-nāsu fī ḥadīth al-Bada'wīya . . . ḥattā šarat riwāyatuhum fī ḥādha-sh-sha'n ka-aḥādīth al-Baṭṭāl wa-Alf laila wa-laila wa-mā ashbaha dhālik*).

This occurs in al-Maqrīzī's *Khitāt* in two passages (I ed. Būlāq, 1270, vol. i, 485; vol. ii, p. 181; II ed. Cairo, 1325, vol. ii, p. 376; vol. iii, p. 290). Al-Maqrīzī, who died A.H. 845, quotes at length from Ibn Sa'īd in his book, *Al-muḥallā bil-ash'ār*, who was in Egypt 640-8 and who died 673 or 685 (Brockelmann, i, p. 336, 3), and Ibn Sa'īd, in his turn, quotes this remark from the *Ta'rīkh* of an al-Qurṭubī. Practically the same citation from Ibn Sa'īd and al-Qurṭubī occurs in al-Maqqarī's *Nafḥ at-ṭib*, ed. Dozy, vol. i, pp. 653 f. Al-Maqqarī died A.H. 1041.

But who was the al-Qurṭubī who made the comment and the comparison? The name is naturally very common, and the late Mr. John Payne ("The 1,001 Nights," vol. ix, p. 302) considered that he was "apparently" Abū Ja'far b. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Khazrajī al-Qurṭubī. I do not know what led Mr. Payne to this conclusion and, farther, to the statement that he was "author of a history of the Khalifs". Professor Asín has been so good as to send me a copy of the biography of this al-Qurṭubī from the *Jadhwat al-iqtibās* of Ibn al-Qāḍī (lithographed Fez, A.H. 1309, p. 70), and from it is plain that he was not a historian but an authority on technical legal traditions (*ḥadīth* and *riwāya*). I venture, therefore, to conjecture that the "al-Qurṭubī" who refers to a Nights was the al-Qurṭī mentioned by Brockelmann in his *Nachträge*, vol. ii, p. 698, foot, and p. 699. He wrote under the last Fāṭimid Caliph al-Āḍid (A.H. 555-67) a history of Egypt which Ibn Sa'īd used in his *Kitāb al-mughrib* (Tallquist, "Geschichte der

Ikhshiden," 105).¹ This would mean, then, that a Nights, of some kind or other, was well known in Egypt in Fāṭimid times.

But the history of "the stories of al-Baṭṭāl" should make us cautious as to broad judgments. It is certain that there existed in Arabic a class of stories of the *baṭṭālīn*: "Ritterromane" Fleischer called them ("Kleinere Schriften," iii, p. 226). Of these the *Fihrist*, in its section devoted to books whose composer or compiler is not known, gives a list of 19, the titles consisting of the names of the heroes (p. 313, ll. 14-19).² Further, it is evident from the above that these stories existed and were well known in Egypt in the sixth century A.H. and were apparently connected with a single individual called al-Baṭṭāl. In our Nights (i.e. ZER) I know only one reference. In the "Story of Maryam the Girdle-maker", Night 885 (II Calcutta, vol. iv, p. 321; I Būlāq, vol. ii, p. 441, top), the wazīr who is sent by the king of the Franks, a mighty and crafty warrior, thief and Shaitān, is compared to Abū Muḥammad al-Baṭṭāl, a name which does not occur in the list of the *Fihrist*. Apparently, for Egypt at least, *baṭṭāl* did not mean a knight "sans peur et sans reproche", but the western "bad man". But of these Arabic tales not one seems to have reached us, and Martin Hartmann (*Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, 1899, 103 f.) can suggest as a parallel in Arabic only the Delheme Cycle which Lane described in his "Modern Egyptians", chap. xxi. See, further, on the Delheme Cycle, Chauvin, *Bibl. ar.*, iii, pp. 134 f.; a complete edition was printed at Cairo in seventy parts in 1327/1909. But there is still extant in Turkish a Baṭṭāl romance which Hermann Ethé translated under the title "Die Fahrten des Sajjid Batthâl. Ein alttürkischer Volks- und Sittenroman" (Leip. 1871, 2 vols.). Fleischer studied it from the point of view of history and Turkish literature ("Kleinere Schriften," iii, pp. 226-54) and

¹ I am glad to have the approval, in this identification, of Professor William Popper, of the University of California, the editor of Ibn Taghri Bardī.

² See also p. 369 above.

George Hüsing from that of comparative, especially Persian, mythology, in his "Beiträge zur Rostamsage (Sajjid Battāl)" in *Mythologische Bibliothek* (V Band, Heft 3, Leip. 1913). For us the significant point is the complete vanishing from Egypt—and, indeed, from Arabic—of a romance, or a romance-type, which in the sixth century A.H. was quoted as parallel in popular favour with a form of the Nights. There would, therefore, be nothing impossible in a similar vanishing of the Fātimid Nights itself.

It is solid ground which we touch next in G, an actual MS. of the Nights. For the date of G there are various indications. Zotenberg (*Notice*, p. 6/171), judging by the character of the handwriting, felt that he could not err in putting it in the latter half of our fourteenth century, i.e. between A.H. 751 and 803; Nöldeke (*Wiener Zeitschrift*, ii, pp. 168 ff.) thought it was still older. We shall see, I think, that both of these estimates make the MS. too old. Further, various notes in G by readers give a *terminus ad quem*. Three of these are reproduced by De Sacy in the "Mémoire", p. 227, cited above, and a fourth, the oldest, is quoted by Zotenberg (*Notice*, p. 6/171). This last is dated A.H. 943 (A.D. 1536/7).¹ These notes were written when the MS. was at the Syrian Tripoli. But the MS. was in Aleppo in A.H. 1001 (A.D. 1592/3), for the latter part of V² was copied from it there in that year. Further, the Patrick Russell MS. and the William Jones MS., more remote descendants of G, were brought from Aleppo in the eighteenth century; see my "Classification" in the Browne Volume, pp. 310 f., 312 f. G itself was sent to Galland "de Syrie" after 1700. That G was written in Egypt seems almost certain; on that there will be more hereafter.

But there are certain indications of date in the MS. itself

¹ For completeness I add a reference to M. Paul Casanova, *Notes sur les voyages de Sindbad le Marin* (Paris, 1919), pp. 15, 65. He finds in the MS. another date, A.H. 682, which, I fear, I cannot accept.

² The first part of V to fol. 87b inclusive is not directly from G but from a somewhat illegible descendant, or collateral to G. The second part, in a quite different hand, is an immediate transcript of G, and the dated colophon was added to the second part.

which call for consideration. (i) The dates in the Story of the Barber. There are two quite exact indications in that story. (a) On the occasion when the barber so wearies the young man and hinders him from his appointment, he gives a precise date and a great many astrological details besides. The date is Friday, 18th Šafar, A.H. 653, and it is said to correspond with 7320 of the era of Alexander (Night 144 in G, vol. ii, fol. 50a). The year of Alexander is, of course, absurd; cf. on that era in Islam, Sachau's translation of al-Bīrūnī's *Ālḥār al-bāqīya*, "Chronology of Ancient Nations," pp. 32, 136. The day of the week is also wrong: Šafar, A.H. 653, began Friday, March 12th, A.D. 1255; the 18th would, therefore, be a Tuesday. Of course, quite historical Muslim dates are often out by a day or two; but the difference here is too great; the day of the week is plainly a guess. In view of this I have not attempted to work out the astrological details. The date and reading are exactly the same in V (fol. 163a) and in Breslau (vol. ii, p. 227, Night 142). The text of Breslau here was copied directly by Ibn Najjār from G ("Classification," p. 317). In I Calcutta (vol. ii, p. 107), a derivative also, but remotely, from G, there is no date; the barber says only that the day is unlucky for meeting anyone. In II Calcutta (vol. i, p. 238, Night 29) the date is as above, except that it is 10th Šafar. But the text is evidently in confusion and some words are repeated. Šafar 10th, also, would have been a Monday. In I Būlāq the date is 10th Šafar, 763, and no year of Alexander is given. It is the text of II Calcutta, but edited.

(b) When the barber makes his apologia to the company against the story told of him by the young man, he narrates an incident which had happened to him in Bagdad. In G (vol. ii, fol. 55b, Night 151) it begins:—

ودلك انى كنت
ببغداد فى زمن المستنصر بالله ابن المستضى بالله وكان
الخليفه هو يومئذ ببغداد وكان يحب الفقرا والمساكين

ويجالس العلماء والصالحين . . . In V (fol. 169a, Night 151) and in Breslau (vol. ii, p. 253, Night 149) the text is exactly as in G. In I Calcutta (vol. ii, p. 124, Night 143) this has become—

فلا يخفى عليكم ان خليفة بغداد كان يحب الفقراء والمساكين

ويجالس العلماء والصالحين . . . In II Calcutta (vol. i, p. 249, Night 31) the only difference from G is one of order, وكان هو الخليفة. In I Būlāq (vol. i, p. 94, Night 30) the text is completely edited and recast:—وذلك اني كنت ببغداد

في ايام خلافة امير المؤمنين المنتصر بالله وكان يحب الفقراء

والمساكين ويجالس العلماء والصالحين . . . That G, with its copies V and Breslau, is original here can hardly be in doubt. The difficulties found in G's reading were partly of date and partly of the construction of the phrase وكان الخليفة هو يومئذ ببغداد. The هو I take to be

ضمير التاكيد (*Wright*³, vol. ii, p. 265) and its force is to

emphasize الخليفة, "and the *Khatīfa* was at that time in Baghdād," not the governors who followed the capture and sack of the city by Hūlāgū in A.H. 656 (A.D. 1258).¹ There must also have been in the mind of the first teller of the story, and of his hearers or readers, that other al-Mustansir, who was taken up by the Egyptian Sultān Baibars and furnished with an army, but who was defeated by the Mongols and killed—or who at least vanished—in A.H. 660 (Weil, "Geschichte der Chalifen," vol. iii, p. 479 ff.; Quatremère's "Sultans Mamlouks de Makrizi", vol. i, pp. 78 ff., 171 f.). This may

¹ It is plain from *Mémoire*, p. 236, that De Sacy understood the passage in this way.

be the cause, too, of the confusion in names, for the barber's al-Mustansir (A.H. 623-40) was the great-grandson, and not the son, of al-Mustaḍī' (566-75); and the last of the Caliphs, who was killed by Hūlāgū, was al-Musta'ṣim (640-56). It follows from all this that the Hunchback Cycle, in its origin, must be put after the fall of Bagdad and, as I shall now show, very considerably after that event, the memory of which lasted long. The insertion of that Cycle in a Nights may, again, have been long after the origin of the Cycle. Both origin and insertion came, therefore, after the time of Baibars, which makes all the greater the puzzle that that brilliant and romantic personality, to whose name a whole romance-cycle has been attached, should not figure anywhere in our ZER. Even the oldest part of that recension took shape after his time. On the Romance of Baibars and its relation to the different recensions of the Nights, see the Leyden *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. i, pp. 589 f.

(ii) Precise indications of locality are not common in the Nights; but in one story there is a series of them, almost all of which we can identify exactly and also date quite closely. The story is in the Hunchback Cycle, and is that told by the Christian broker, a Cairene Copt, of his transactions with the young man of Bagdad whose hand was cut off for theft, and contains the story told to him by that young man of his adventures in Cairo. In it the following localities are named: the Khān of al-Jāwalī in the district of the Bāb en-Naṣr

(G, vol. ii, fol. 32b, l. 8); in G, ii, fol. 33b, l. 4, مصر is used for Cairo; the Khān of Masrūr (G, ii, fol. 33b, l. 5); Bain al-Qaṣrain (G, ii, fol. 33b, l. 7); قياسية جر كس (G, ii, fol. 33b, l. 9); the district called al-Ḥabbāniya (G, ii, fol. 35a, ll. 10 and 14); قاعة بر كوت النقيب أبو شامة (G, ii, fol. 35a, l. 10); Bāb Zuwaila (G, ii, fol. 35a, l. 13); درب التقوى (G, ii, fol. 35a, l. 14).

I give above the references for G only, as I am primarily concerned with that MS., certainly our oldest witness for this story; others will come below as may be necessary. Every one who knows the topography of even modern Cairo will recognize at once that the story is placed between the Bāb en-Naṣr, on the north, through the great artery running south, of which the Bain al-Qaṣrain was part, out at the Bāb Zuwaila and south to the district called al-Ḥabbāniya, the neighbourhood of the Birket al-Fil. It should be noticed that the hero of the story walks from the Khān Masrūr to the Bāb Zuwaila; but takes a donkey there and rides to his destination in the Ḥabbāniya, evidently a longer and different journey.

For the Khān of al-Jāwalī, Lane's note 11 to chapter v of his translation of the Nights can still be used as a reference. The passage of Maqrīzī—giving the life of al-Jāwalī—is in the ii ed. (of Cairo, 1326), vol. iv, p. 247 f. As Jāwalī died in A.H. 745 (A.D. 1344/5) the date of the story can hardly be pushed back before that date. On the Khān of Masrūr, see Lane's note 16; the reference to Maqrīzī is in vol. iii, p. 149 (ii ed. Cairo, 1326); but does not yield an exact date. The Qaiṣāriya of Jarkas, or Jaharkas, is in Maqrīzī, vol. iii, p. 141; but I cannot explain the spelling Qayāṣiriya in G. It looks like a feminine *nisba* from the plural *qayāṣir*; the word has taken many different forms; see Dozy, "Supplément," s.v., II Calcutta, vol. i, p. 207; I Būlāq, vol. i, p. 77. As it was built A.H. 502 it gives no date for our story. Nor, do I think, does the Ḥabbāniya, in spite of Lane's note 23. The name occurs in Maqrīzī, vol. iii, p. 216, and vol. iv, p. 273. In Maqrīzī's time—he died in A.H. 845 (A.D. 1441/2)—it was a district of gardens; but that need not exclude roads, walls, doors, and scattered houses, such as are in this story. The

house in this case, according to G, was on the **درب التقوى** and the hero, very curiously, had to alight from his donkey to go down the *darb*. As to the form and meaning of this

road-name I can only conjecture. What would literally suggest itself at once—the Road of Godly Fear—is completely against Cairene analogy. It may be a *nisba* from some Taqī ad-Dīn and to be pronounced Taqawī; it may be the *nisba* Thaqafi slightly corrupted. Ibn Najjār transcribed for Habicht exactly what he found in G (Breslau, vol. ii, p. 152);

V conjectured **النقوى** (fol. 147a), but the scribe of V did not know the topography of Cairo and turned even the Bāb

Zuwaita into a Bāb az-Zāwiya. ZER read **النقري** (II Calcutta, vol. i, p. 210; I Būlāq, vol. i, p. 78), a road of which there is no trace in Cairo. In consequence Stanley Lane-Poole has conjectured (article, "The Arabian Nights" in the *Edinburgh Review* for July, 1886, pp. 191 ff.; "Review" in the "Bohn" edition of Lane's "Arabian Nights", vol. iv,

p. 318) **النقذى**, a known road in Cairo described by Maqrīzī, vol. iii, p. 63, and has thence developed some considerations of date. This identification was adopted, without acknowledgement, by Burton in his Terminal Essay, vol. viii, p. 78 of the 12 vol. ed. of his Nights, but I cannot follow him in that. The Darb al-Munqadhī was in the neighbourhood of the Azhar, according to Maqrīzī, and the topographical scheme of the story, leading to the Ḥabbāniya in the south, is far too clear for such confusion. This must have been some very little *darb* in the midst of those southern gardens round the Birket al Fil. As to the vocalization and translation of

the whole phrase **قاعة بروكوت النقيب ابوشامة** I am in doubt. If **بركوت** is a proper name—as the translators seem

all to take the **بركات** of the printed editions—the order is very curious, with Abū Shāma at the end. I am inclined to conjecture that behind **بركوت**, the reading of G, V, and

Breslau, there lies some corruption of a common noun, perhaps *بركة*. Even *بركات* is quite late as a proper name, and according to Professor Popper, in a letter, "does not become common until late in the ninth century A.H. in Egypt." [See, now, note at end of this article.]

It seems, then, to be certain that this story did not take its present form earlier than a very few years, at the most, before A.H. 745, and it may be considerably after that date. Of course there are chronological contradictions in the Cycle, as it is evidently made up of stories taken from different sources. Thus in the Story told by the Sultān of Cashgar's Steward, about the young man who had his thumbs cut off, the father of that young man is said to have lived in the days of Hārūn ar-Rashīd (G, ii, fol. 38a). De Goeje has already investigated the historical basis of this story in his "De Arabische Nachtvertellingen" in *De Gids*, Sept. 1886, pp. 12 ff. He translated from a MS. of the Chronicle of Ibn al-Jauzi; the same narrative is now in print in the ed. (Cairo, 1903) of the *Faraj ba'd ash-shidda* of at-Tanūkhī. This is a good example of the Nights story with an historical basis; but in the Nights it has been freely reconstructed and attached to the great name of Hārūn ar-Rashīd.

We seem, then, to be left with the conclusion that the Hunchback Cycle cannot be put appreciably before A.H. 745, and it may have been composed considerably after that date. Still later must have been its introduction into G or the G recension. The elaborate dating of the Barber's story was evidently because of the terrible associations of A.H. 656 for the whole Muslim world. I cannot date with the same security any of the other cycles in G. Yet there are one or two other indications which it seems worth while to give here. In the Frame-Story in G the ḥājibs seem to be more important officials than the wazīr. The Great Ḥājib (الحاجب الكبير) is left in charge by Shahriyār when he goes away (G, i, fol. 4a,

l. 4 from foot). His brother had previously left in charge "some of the ḥājibs" (G, i, fol. 1b). There were, therefore, a number of ḥājibs and one head ḥājib. The wazīr, in the Frame-Story, has charge of executions and is a purveyor. But in the Fisherman Cycle the ḥājibs are reckoned with mamlūks and stand while the wazīrs sit (G, i, fol. 20a, l. 7), and the wazīr is treated as the most important official and left in charge when the king goes away to investigate. Yet the Fisherman Cycle is the first long Cycle in G and follows the Frame-Story immediately, except for the very short stories of the Merchant Cycle. Further, the general position in the stories of the Nights is that the wazīr is the most important official in the court.

Apparently, however, the Frame-Story in G assumed its present form at a time when that had ceased to be the case; in other words, the redaction of the Frame-Story in G is later than the redaction of the stories in G. But to attempt to exactly fix its date would be very hazardous. Ibn Khaldūn, in his *Prolegomena* (ed. Quatremère, ii, pp. 9 ff.; De Slane's transl. ii, pp. 11 ff.), gives three situations which would fit: under the Mamlūk Turks in Egypt; under the Umayyads of Spain; under the later Muwāḥḥids. For the situation under the Mamlūks, see also De Sacy's extract from Maqrizī in his "*Chrest. Arabe*," vol. ii, pp. 157 ff. The Mamlūk time would certainly fit best with the other indications of the provenance of G. This would put the date of the G redaction of the Frame-Story at any time between the middle of the seventh century A.H. and the Turkish conquest.

Again, the following little points may be worth noticing as to the Frame-Story in G. The orthography of the proper names is very careless; so much so that the scribe of V endeavours to correct the evident errors and inconsistencies. Also there are three mentions of the two daughters of the wazīr before they enter the story. When, thereafter, they really enter, they are introduced as though they had not been

mentioned before (G, i, fol. 6a, b). This suggests rough and careless recasting.

It is now, I think, clear that the Hunchback Cycle cannot have formed part of the Nights to which al-Qurṭubī—or rather al-Qurṭī—refers. He wrote, as we have seen, under the last Fāṭimid Caliph, al-ʿĀḍid (A.H. 555–67), and that Cycle cannot be dated much before A.H. 745. And if it is urged that the reference to the Khān of al-Jāwālī is a later interpolation there can be no doubt that the whole Story of the Barber is built round the sack of Bagdad by Hūlāgū in A.H. 656. Further, in the Porter Cycle there is a reference which carries it, too, beyond al-Qurṭī's date. At the beginning of the Story of the Second Calendar (G, fol. 47a ; Night 40) that prince tells that part of his education was in the *Shāṭibīya*, the author of which died A.H. 590 (Brock. i, p. 409 ; Nöldeke, "Gesch. des Qorāns," pp. 337 f.).

It may now be well to tabulate the different forms of a Nights to which the above considerations have led us.

I. The original Persian *Hazār Afsāna*.

II. An Arabic version of the *Hazār Afsāna*.

III. A form in which the Frame-Story is taken from the *Hazār Afsāna*, followed by stories of Arabic origin, taking the place of the original Persian stories. These Arabic stories were short and insignificant, and I conjecture that the Merchant and Jinni Cycle in G belongs to them.

IV. The Nights of the late Fāṭimid period. This may have been the same as III ; but it was evidently very popular in Egypt.

V. The Nights of which our oldest representative MS. is G. This was certainly quite a different book, as to the stories contained in it, from IV. It is closely akin to ZER, and also to all the other MSS. which have reached us, and for details on that varied kinship I refer to my "Classification" in the Browne Volume.

There remain two evident lines of investigation, neither of which, however, I can follow up at present to the end. (i) The

part of ZER parallel to G contains elements which show that the parent of ZER was more complete than G. That is, although the MSS. of ZER are all quite modern, they cannot be disregarded in any attempt to reconstruct No. V above. This is demonstrably certain; but the proof cannot well be given in detail until the text of G is printed. (ii) There is a group of widely scattered MSS.—I know at present six—which appear to be fragments of a recension in which the long Story of ‘Umar ibn an-Nu‘mān was introduced at a much later point than in ZER. It will be remembered that I stated in my “Classification”, pp. 320 f., that this story had been introduced into ZER after the Story of Ghānim and after ZER had reached the full number of 1,001 Nights. I now describe, so far as my knowledge goes, the six MSS. forming this group.

I. A MS. in the Library of the Academia de la Historia in Madrid, Nos. xlix^{1 & 2} in the Colección Gayangos in that library. I have already described it in detail in my “Classification”, 308 f., and it is necessary here only to repeat that its present second volume is the third volume of a MS. of the Nights and contains parts v–viii, giving the story of ‘Umar ibn an-Nu‘mān with several intercalated stories; it is not divided into Nights. That this is not a MS. of ZER is evident from the arrangement of the stories, and from the fact that the whole, lost, second volume, containing parts iii and iv, preceded ‘Umar an-Nu‘mān. This MS. is modern and of Christian origin.

II. In the Tübingen University Library there is a MS. (No. 32) of this same romance, dated by Seybold (*Verzeichniss*, p. 75) at latest at the beginning of the sixteenth century; Wetzstein, in 1863, dated it as about 400 years old. It is a large folio with illustrations, and consists of 209 leaves out of an original 219 numbered 286 to 506; it professes to be a second volume (*kitāb*) of the Nights and part (*juz'*) vii to xiii; the Nights are 283–542. That is, the story in this MS. formed the second quarter of a recension of the Nights.

III. In the John Rylands Library there is another MS. of

this romance (Arabic 706). Like the Tübingen MS. it is very old (the suggested dates vary between A.D. 1500 and 1550); it, too, is a large folio with illustrations, and has lost quite a number of its leaves. These have been (in part only?) replaced in a modern hand or hands. Thus at the beginning there are seven inserted leaves in a hand which strikingly resembles that of Jean Varsy, a pupil of De Sacy, who transcribed the unique MS. of "Ali Baba", now in the Bodleian, which I published in this *Journal* (April, 1910; Jan. 1913; see especially p. 48 of the latter reference). These, by the catchword, connect immediately with the first surviving original leaf, bearing the original number fol. 31, which is now fol. 14. Very careful examination of the MS. would be necessary to determine exactly its original constitution—the leaves that have been lost and those which have been replaced—and at present I have only a very short description which I made myself in 1914 and eleven invaluable page photographs which I owe to the kindness and courtesy of Dr. Guppy. Some of my page references seem to be confused, but I think that the following description will hold. The MS. begins on the first of the inserted leaves in part vi of a recension of the Nights and with Night 255 (or 256). The numbering is very strangely expressed; "and when it was a night and two hundred five and fifty Dunyāzād said," فلما كانت ليلة ومائتين خمسة

. . . وخمسين قالت دنيا زاد. Then follows the story of al-Khailakhān ibn Hāmān, a tale of sea-adventures like those of Sinbad. Of it I have photographs of four pages. On original fol. 31a, connected, as I have said above, by catchword, with the prefixed leaves, is part of a story told in the first person about marvellous birds, led by one with a human face, on a tree beside a fountain. To it a shaykh comes at sunset, riding on an ass, and the teller of the story is warned beforehand by a voice how to approach him. The story of 'Umar Ibn an-Nu'mān begins on original fol. 57a in

Night 281, and extends to the end of the MS. which ends on original fol. 263 in part xii. The story includes those of Tāj al-Mulūk and of Ghānim. I have photographs of original fols. 66a-68b, covering the beginnings of Nights 287 and 288. The Night formula is exceedingly simple and is not rubricated nor distinguished in any way. It runs:—

وادرک شهرزاد الصباج فسکت عن الحدیث فلما کان
لیلة مائتین سبعة وثمانین قالت شهرزاد بلغنی ایها الملك

. . . السعيد. This portion corresponds to II Calcutta, vol. i, p. 372, l. 2 from foot, to p. 380, l. 9, and Night 287, which is complete in it, extends to about 3½ pp. of II Calcutta. A Night in this part of II Calcutta varies from 6½ pp. to 12 pp. The recension seems to me more original and picturesque than that in II Calcutta, but not so grammatical.

IV. With the Rylands MS. corresponds very closely one in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which Zotenberg has described with admirable detail in his *Notice*, pp. 16/182-21/187. It is now numbered 3612 (ancien fonds arabe 1491 A) and is a single large folio of 408 leaves, 870 Nights in 29 parts, incomplete at the end and in different places in the middle, which contained, or was meant to contain, the full 1,001 Nights. It was written in the latter half of our seventeenth century and, according to Zotenberg, was “un essai de constituer un recueil de contes divisés réelement en mille et une Nuits”. In it part vi begins on fol. 138b and extends from Nights 251 to 268. It begins with the Story of Khailadjān ibn Hāmān (just as part vi in the Rylands MS.); this story ends Night 267, and Night 268 begins the Story of the Two Old Men, النمنم

والعوبتان. Part vii begins fol. 152, contains Nights 269 to 286a, except 273 omitted by mistake, and has the close of the Story of the Two Old Men, the Story of Bāz al-Aschhab Abū

Lahab (Nights 269-76) and the beginning of the Story of 'Umar ibn an-Nu'mān (Nights 277-86*a*). Parts viii-xiv continue and finish this story with many intercalated stories, including those of Tāj al-Mulūk and of Ghānim, with many omissions and misnumberings of Nights. See Zotenberg's detailed description, which should be compared, point by point, with the Rylands MS. It seems plain that a MS. of the Rylands recension lies behind this attempt in B.N. 3612 to form a complete collection of 1,001 Nights. In making such an attempt the numbers of the Nights would necessarily be disregarded to a certain extent; but the order of the stories and the numbering of the parts would survive.

But this MS. is interesting from another point of view. By some accident I omitted in my "Classification" to give its reading of the text passage; I do so now by the kindness of Monsieur Louis Massignon. It occurs in Night 18, fol. 15*a*, ll. 9-17, and runs:—

فحضر عنده فقال له اننى احببت ان اعمل شيئا واطهره
 عليه وقد خطر ببالي ان انفرد بنفسى وابحث عن خبر هذه
 البركة والسّمك فى هذه الليلة ففى غداة الغد اجلس انت
 على باب خيمتى وقل للامراء الملك متشوش وامرني ان
 لا اعطى احدا [اذن added in margin] بالدخول عليه ولا
 تعلم احدا بقصتي فقبل الوزير الامر وما قدر يخالفه ثم ان
 الملك اتحزم واعتقل بسيفه وتطلع قد [من ؟ sic] على احد
 الجبال الذى للبركة حتى صار على ظهرها ومشى بقية يومه
 الى الصباح وتم حتى قوى عليه الحرّ وتوقد عليه البرّ ومشى

يومه وليلته الثانية للصباح فلاح له سواد من بعيد ففرح به
وقال لعلى اجد من يخبرنى بالقضية فقرب منه فوجده قصر
مبنى . . .

The nearest to this is the Wortley-Montague MS. in the Bodleian ("Classification," p. 318) which seems to be abbreviated from it. It is curious, also, that B.N. 3612 and the Wortley-Montague MS. both part from the G recension at the same point, the end of the Porter Cycle, and that both omit the stories of King Sindbād and his falcon, of the Husband and the Parrot, and of the Envier and the Envied. Wortley-Montague omits also the Story of the Prince and the Ogress. That there is connexion, then, between the early parts of these two MSS., hitherto standing each quite separate and alone, seems certain.

V. The Turkish translation of the Nights, which Zotenberg describes in his *Notice* (pp. 21/187-26/192), contains also in its vol. v the Stories of Khālād-jān ibn Māhānī and of منمنم and غوثبان; but there these stand 150 Nights before the Story of 'Umar ibn an-Nu'mān.

VI. In the Library of Christ Church College, Oxford, there is a MS. of the Story of 'Umar ibn an-Nu'mān (C. 21). It is mentioned by Jonathan Scott in his edition of Galland (vol. i, p. x, ed. of 1811), and Mr. R. F. McNeile of Uppingham has been so good as to examine it for me. It is a small quarto of about a hundred leaves and the written portion of the page is about 7" by 4½". It begins with the beginning of part viii (called *faṣl* and not *juz'*, as in the other MSS.) and covers from II Calcutta, vol. i, p. 398 foot to p. 496 foot. That means that the whole story must have begun, in this recension, in the middle of part vii, as the story begins in II Calcutta at the foot of p. 350. The MS. is divided into Nights, but they are

not numbered; the regular rubric is: فلما كانت الليلة

القابلة قالت لها اختها يا اختي ان كنتي غير نايمة فاتمى لنا
حديثك فقالت جبا وكرامة بلغنى ايها الملك . . .

It is evidently an inferior and somewhat abbreviated text, and its value is that it is another witness to this recension.

These MSS. then seem evidences of a distinct recension, and, as there is no trace in G of division into parts, this recension must have been different from that of G. But G is incomplete and leaves off, early in the Story of Qamar az-Zamān, with Night 281. Of the 160 pp. which that story occupies in II Calcutta, G gives the equivalent of about 20 pp. Therefore, to complete the story as it stands in II Calcutta would have added to G about 70 of its pages, or nearly another volume, and would have brought the Nights to about 344. But G was in its present mutilated condition before V was copied from it in 1592/3. So we are left in conjecture. I therefore venture to hazard as follows:—Suppose that in our fifteenth century G came from Egypt to Syria in its present incomplete state, i.e. ending in Night 281, and that it left behind in Egypt more complete sister MSS. from which our ZER is descended, can then (i) the Tübingen MS., or an ancestor of it, beginning the Story of 'Umar ibn an-Nu'mān with Night 283 and part vii, (ii) an ancestor of the Rylands MS., beginning the same story in Night 281, and (iii) an ancestor of B.N. 3612, beginning the same story in part vii and Night 277—can all these go back to an attempt to carry G on without completing the Story of Qamar az-Zamān? This is only a guess and other guesses are possible, but it meets the facts as we at present know them. Further progress will almost certainly depend on close examination of the Rylands and the Tübingen MSS.

May, 1923.

NOTE.—I have now been so fortunate as to pick up a copy of Wallenbourg's *Notice sur le Schāhnāmè*, and find that he says nothing about Ḥomāi, but that he does give a translation of a preface to the *Shāh-nāma* different from that quoted and used by Macan in his edition. This preface was evidently that which Mohl quotes as "préface No. 2" and which occurred in his MS. No. 5, a MS. dated A.H. 841 (vol. i, pp. xv ff. of the separate edition of his translation); and it is also in a MS. which will soon, I trust, be accessible on this side of the Atlantic. That this Rāsti, or Kārāstī, had dealings with the *Hazār Afsāna* at the court of Maḥmūd of Ghazna seems certain, although the *Fihrist* makes plain that it existed long before his time.

For برکوت as a proper name, Professor Popper refers me to Ibn Iyās, ii, p. 166, where, under date A.H. 881, it seems to be the name of a Ḥabashī merchant of Kānem. My conjecture above, therefore, falls to the ground, but the name was evidently quite late. Did it have suggestions (social, political, racial ?) for the original readers of G ?

D. B. MACDONALD.

March, 1924.



Three Mathura Inscriptions and their bearing on the Kushana Dynasty

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THIS is the title of an article which I have just submitted for publication in the *Epigraphia Indica*. As the controversy about the various problems connected with the Kushana period of the Indian History has been carried on chiefly in the pages of this *Journal*, I venture to present a brief note on the new details furnished by the three inscriptions concerned. All the three records were discovered by Rai Bahadur Pandit Radha Krishna, Honorary Curator of the Museum of Archæology at Mathurā (*vulgo* Muttra). Inscriptions Nos. 1 and 2 were brought to light in the year 1918-19 and 1920-1 respectively, and have been briefly noticed in the Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Northern Circle, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments for those years. The contents of the third inscription were summarized by Dr. Vogel in the Annual Report of the Director-General of Archæology in India, part ii, for 1911-12, p. 125. In this note I propose to publish a complete transliteration of the existing portion of the record and to draw attention to one or two points which escaped Dr. Vogel's notice.

INSCRIPTION NO. 1

This is a brief dedicatory inscription consisting of three lines engraved on a fragmentary stone pedestal (height 1 ft. 2½ in., width 1 ft. 9 in.), on which the right leg and left foot of a seated Bodhisattva have survived. The inscription is incised on the upper and lower rims of the base, but as the proper left half of the pedestal is missing, the first half only of each of the three lines has come down to us. It is, therefore, fortunate that all the points of interest of the document have been made out in the existing portion of the epigraph.

Text

- L. 1. [Ma]harājasya Kāṇiṣṣasya savachare 20 hemata māśa
4 divaśe . . .
L. 2. devachaye bodhisat[v]o patithapito goṭhi . . .
L. 3. mātapiṭi[h]i saha napi . . .

Translation

“On . . . day of the fourth month of the Hemanta season in the year 20 (in the reign) of the Mahārāja Kāṇiṣṣa . . . (this) Bodhisattva was set up in the *devachaya* . . . with parents.”

The latest date for Kāṇiṣṣa known from his records was the year 18 mentioned in the Mānikīāla inscription, while the earliest certain record of Vāsiṣṣa, the successor of Kāṇiṣṣa, was the inscription engraved on the Īsāpur sacrificial post, now deposited in the Mathurā Museum, which is dated in the year 24. The brief record being discussed is, therefore, interesting because it reduces the interval between Kāṇiṣṣa and Vāsiṣṣa by about two years. We shall see that the next inscription further extends the reign of Kāṇiṣṣa and leaves a gap of only about fifteen months between the two reigns.

INSCRIPTION No. 2

This is also a short epigraph of the same kind as No. 1, and is incised on the base of a stone statuette (height 1 ft. 4 in.) of a Bodhisattva which is said to have been found in a mound at the village of Sonk, Mathurā Tahsil. The head and both arms of the image are broken off, but there are traces to show that the deity was seated in the attitude of granting security.

Text

Mahārā[ja*]sys Kāṇi[ṣṣasya*] 20 3 grī 1 etasya purvayam
vihārisya Massagabhasya (?) dhiti Puśyada[tā*] Bodhisatvaṁ
pratiṣṭa[pa]yati svake vihāre sarva-satvanam . . .

Translation

“In the first month of the summer season of the year 23 in the reign of Mahārāja Kāṇiṣṣa, on this occasion as specified,

Puśyadatā, the daughter of Massagabha or Masyagabha, the master of the *Vihāra*, established this image of the Bodhi-sattva in her own convent (for the welfare, etc.) of all sentient beings."

As hinted above, this inscription further reduces the gap between Kāniṣka and Vāsiṣka by about three years. The earliest date known for the latter from the Īsāpur Yūpa inscription is the 30th day of the 4th month of the summer season of the year 24. It is, therefore, evident that Kāniṣka's reign must have terminated and Vāsiṣka come to the throne of the Kushān dynasty during the fifteen months that separate these two documents. It is, however, possible that Kāniṣka resumed charge of his Indian dominions again about the year 40 (p. 405 below). It is noteworthy that in the epigraph being described the units figure of the year appears to consist of four horizontal bars, the uppermost one being thinner than those below it. If we were aware of any other instance of the numeral *four* being expressed by four bars instead of the symbol usually met with in early inscriptions, the interval between the two reigns might dwindle down to only three months. But I admit I have not so far come across any authentic example of such representation of the numeral *four*, and leave the suggestion for what it is worth.

INSCRIPTION No. 3

This is a larger inscription than the two described above. It was engraved on the stone pedestal of an image, of which only traces of the left foot have survived. The pedestal was found at the ancient site near the village of Māt,¹ situated about 9 miles from the city of Mathurā in the excavations carried out by Rai Bahadur Pt. Radha Krishna in 1911-12 under the instructions of Dr. J. Ph. Vogel. The inscription is incomplete, and the existing portion has come down to us on fourteen pieces of different sizes which were accurately

¹ This site is well known from the statues of Kāniṣka, Vima Takshama, etc., which have been unearthed in it.

pieced together by Dr. Vogel. Thus restored, the pedestal has a height of 9 in. and a width of 1 ft. 9 in. The inscription consists of six lines and the characters are the Brāhmī of the Kushān period. The mechanic entrusted with the sketching and the engraving of the epigraph appears to have been inexperienced and careless, with the result that the lines have been irregularly spaced, while the letters are of varying sizes and indifferently cut. These defects are much to be regretted, as the document appears to have been one of unusual importance in connexion with the history of the Kushān kings. Like the inscription of the reign of Vāsiṣka on the Īsāpur sacrificial post, this inscription is in correct Sanskrit, with the exception of one or two grammatical irregularities.

Dr. Vogel had made out the greater part of the inscription, for he informs us¹ that the inscription "probably belongs to the reign of Huviṣka, whose name and titles are twice mentioned in it, and seems to record the restoration of a temple, perhaps the same the foundation of which is recorded in the inscription on the colossal image" of Vima. I now edit the epigraph from the original stone.

Text

L. 1. . . . *ṇakarasya satya-dharma[s]thitasy = ān[u]nayat-sarvaśchaṇḍa-vīrātisriṣṭa-rājya[sya]* . . .

L. 2. *kulaṁ mahārāja-rājātirāja-devaputrasya Huviṣkas[ya] pitāmaha[sya]*

L. 3. [*taḍā*]gaś = *cha kṛitaḥ tataś = cha devakulaṁ bhagnapatitam viśi(śī)ṇam da(dri)śya*² *mahā* . . .

L. 4. [*Mahā*]rāja *Rājātirāja Devaputrasya Huviṣkasy = āyu-ba[lavriḍḍhya]rtha[m] cha ku (?)* . . .

L. 5. [*Mahāda*]ṇḍanāyaka-Masha . . . [*pu*]te(trēṇa Ba-
[kana]-patina(ā) Śāukre . . . syakas . . .

L. 6. *syate naityikātithibhyaś = cha brāhmaṇebhyaḥ kāriṣh* . . .

¹ Annual Report of the Director-General of Archæology in India, pt. ii, for 1911-12, p. 125.

² Cf. for instance, a similar gerundial form *grihya*, occurring in verse 20 of Bhāsa's *Dūtaghaṭotkacha* (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. xxii), p. 59.

A connected translation of the inscription is not practicable. The general import of the document is, however, easily made out. The first two lines appear to convey that there was a *devakula* of . . . the grandfather of Mahārāja Rājātīrāja Devaputra Huviṣka, who was steadfast in the true law, and who had restored (their) kingdoms to fierce heroes when they entreated mercy. We next learn (l. 3) that a tank was constructed and further that the *devakula* became dilapidated and fell down. Having observed this, for the increase of the life and strength of the Mahārāja Rājātīrāja Devaputra Huviṣka, a certain state official whose name seems to begin with *Śāukra*, who held the title or designation of *bakanapati*, and who was the son of a *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* whose name began with the syllables *Masha*, had this *devakula* repaired or renewed. From the sixth and the last line we gather that something was done for the daily guests and Brāhmaṇas.

The term *devakula* occurs in the inscription on the colossal statue of Vima at Mathurā and has, I believe, been correctly interpreted by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal¹ as meaning "a royal gallery of portrait statues" similar to the one described in the *Pratimā Nāṭaka* of Bhāsa, Act iii. The *devakula* of the grandfather of Huviṣka mentioned in inscription No. 3 must have been a building of the same kind. Whether the *devakula* of this inscription was the same as the one mentioned in the inscription of Vima it is impossible to say. The statue hall (*pratimā-griha*) mentioned in Bhāsa's play contained portraits of four successive kings of the Ikṣvāku race, and it is possible to imagine that the *devakula* at Māt near Mathurā might likewise have been the family *pratimā-griha* of the Kushān rulers.

CONCLUSIONS

During the last ten or fifteen years several important difficulties connected with the Kushān chronology have

¹ *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for March, 1919, pp. 98-9.

been satisfactorily solved. In 1909, the Sanskrit inscription of the year 24 on the Īsāpur sacrificial post furnished definite proof of Vāsiṣka having come between Kāniṣka and Huviṣka. More recently Sir John Marshall's researches at Taxila have shown, probably beyond any doubt, that Kadphises I and II were predecessors of Kāniṣka and not successors of Vāsudeva, the last king of the dynasty, and further that Kāniṣka was the founder of the Śaka era in A.D. 78 and began to rule in that year. There remained, however, fairly large intervals between the rulers of the series beginning with Kāniṣka, e.g., a gap of about six years between Kāniṣka and Vāsiṣka ; one of four years or possibly only two years between Vāsiṣka and Huviṣka,¹ and an interval of fourteen years between Huviṣka and Vāsudeva (i.e. from the year 60 to 74). The year 18 which occurs in the Mānikīāla inscription was believed by M. Senart to belong to the reign of Kāniṣka. Dr. Lüders, however, dissented from this view, so that the latest reliable date for Kāniṣka was the year 11 as given in the Sue Vihār and Zeda inscriptions.

Inscription No. 2 discussed in this note proves once and for all that Kāniṣka was still reigning in the first month of the summer season of the year 23.² The date of the inscription on the sacrificial post at Mathurā is the thirtieth day of the fourth month of the summer season in the year 24, or about fifteen months later than the date now obtained for Kāniṣka. Kāniṣka must, therefore, have been succeeded by Vāsiṣka during these fifteen months.

Inscription No. 3 furnishes a valuable hint regarding the mutual relationship of the Kushān kings, inasmuch as it

¹ The latest certain date for Vāsiṣka is the year 29 and the earliest date for Huviṣka the year 33. The interval between these years is reduced to two years if Dr. Vogel's reading of the date in the one-line inscription on the fragmentary pedestal, No. A. 71, in the Mathurā Museum is really the year 31.

² Such being the case, all of the eight nameless inscriptions beginning with No. 24 of Samvat 15 and ending with No. 31 of the year 22 in Dr. Lüders *List of Brahmi Inscriptions* must have been recorded in the reign of Kāniṣka.

mentions the grandfather of the Mahārāja Rājātīrāja Huviṣka who was steadfast in the true law. His name is unfortunately lost on one of the missing pieces of the slab. Now the question arises, who was this grandfather of Huviṣka? The appellation "steadfast in the true law" occurs in its Prākṛit form *sachadhrama-thitasa* on the coins of Kujula Kadphises, but not on the coins of any other Kushān ruler. It would be tempting to identify the grandfather of Huviṣka with the prince Kujula Kadphises, were it not for the fact that scholars are generally agreed that Kāniṣka belonged to a different branch of Yueh-chi and that a considerable length of time must have intervened between the death of Kadphises II and the enthronement of Kāniṣka. In this connexion it is interesting to recall what Mr. R. D. Banerji wrote in the year 1908¹ about the king Kāniṣka of the Ara inscription of the year 41. Mr. Banerji's theory, which has been approvingly quoted by the late Mr. Smith² with necessary modifications, is to the effect that Kāniṣka, the son of Vājheṣka (not Vāsiṣpa) mentioned in the Ara inscription, was identical with the great Kāniṣka. It was suggested that Kāniṣka continued to rule up to the year 45, but that after the tenth year of his reign, when Kāniṣka was absent on his distant expeditions on the frontier, he left successively his sons, Vāsiṣka and Huviṣka, in charge of his Indian dominions, allowing them to assume full regal titles. The inscriptions dealt with in this note show that if the aforesaid view is at all correct the appointment of Vāsiṣka as his father's colleague could not have taken place before the year 23, especially because no inscriptions of the time of Vāsiṣka prior to the year 24 have yet been found. As to the date of Kāniṣka's resumption of his government, we are simply informed by Mr. Banerji that it must have taken place before the year 41, the date of the Ara inscription. An inscription³ dated in the year 39 in the reign of Huviṣka

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxxvii, p. 59.

² *Oxford History of India*, 1919, pp. 130-1.

³ *Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year 1916-17*, p. 8.

shows that Kāniṣka must still have been absent on the frontier in that year. Mr. Banerji's theory briefly summarized here appears in the present circumstances to be the only adequate explanation of the facts, and I think I should not be wrong in suggesting that the grandfather of Huviṣka mentioned in inscription No. 3 was no other than Vājheṣka, the father of Kāniṣka of the Ara inscription. At present we know nothing more about this Vājheṣka.

November, 1923.

Pictographic Reconnaissances. Part VI

By L. C. HOPKINS

(PLATE I)

IN presenting another instalment of these papers, and after reading the proofs, I am reminded (without being cheered) of the quatrain of an alleged competitor in the Newdigate prize poem on "Nebuchadnezzar":

"Nebuchadnezzar, when put out to grass,
Like stalled oxen, or the patient ass,
Said, as he munched the unaccustomed food,
'It may be eaten, but it is not good.'"

It has a foreboding sound, that last line, and seems indeed a "word of fear, unpleasing to the" pioneer. "Not yours," I hear in its undertone, "to introduce a brighter palæography or to sport with Amaryllis in the shade; but you shall toil on slowly and painfully, alone, among dead tamarisk trees, and a few corroded bronzes, and many decayed and dusty bones, in the epigraphic sand-dunes of Taklamakan."

* * * * *

Ju 如 "like", "if", sometimes in historical works "to go to".

The *Shuo Wen*, which explains it as meaning "to follow", 從 隨 *ts'ung sui*, treats 如 *ju* as a Suggestive Compound, but leaves it to others to say what the suggestion is. The *Liu Shu Ku* does not accept this view, and ranges the character under the determinative 口 *k'ou* "mouth", with 女 *nü* as the phonetic, and this appears the sounder opinion.¹ Accordingly, falling among the Phonetic Compounds, 如 *ju* cannot claim any *Significance of the archaic forms*.

Figs. (Bronze) None earlier than the Han dynasty. But the Stone Drums, probably of Ts'in date, provide an example, Fig. 1. (Bones) Figs. 2 and 3.

¹ Within a few days after writing this I see that Professor Pelliot takes the same view—"mais il me paraît clair que dans 如 *jou*, 女 est phonétique." *T'oung Pao*, Octobre, 1923, p. 319, note 1.

Here ends all that I can say upon the character 如 *ju* itself, but the note that follows, though strictly speaking irrelevant here, is the result of investigating the history of that word, and I hope that its introduction may be justified by its interest, for it concerns the origin of the well-known emblem known in Chinese as the 如意 *ju i*, or "as you like it".

No really convincing or adequate explanation has ever been brought forward of the primitive form or function of this highly auspicious object. It has been variously called a sceptre of longevity, a blunt sword, and a token of good wishes, while, as Laufer points out,¹ "we observe that the first representations of *Ju-i* of the type known to us make their appearance in the hands of Buddhist deities on paintings of the T'ang period, thus, e.g., in the right hand of a Mañjuçrī by Wu Tao-tze."


Amid this hazy uncertainty shrouding the early history and destination of this implement, the following translation of the entry under 如意 *ju i*, in the 辭原 *Tz'ü Yuan Dictionary*, may come as something of a shock in view of the elegant futility of its more recent function. Nevertheless its evolution from an instrument of coarse utility during primitive barbarism to its atrophy in the æsthetic expression of symbolic compliment in the present day, is surely quite in accord with the march of human development.

In brief, the compilers of the *Tz'ü Yuan Dictionary* suggest that the so-called *ju-i* started its Chinese career as a back-scratcher, under the less romantic name of 蚤杖 *tsao-chang*, or "flea-stick", as witness what they write:—

"*Ju-i*. The name of an implement; of Indian origin, having the meaning of the Sanskrit word *Anālū* 阿那律 [= *Aniruddha*, by confusion with *Anuruddha*].² The end of

¹ Jade, pp. 337-8.

² The latter is "explained by 如意 'conformity' and by 無貧 'not poor'. The latter explanation properly belongs to *Aniruddha* (q.v.), with whom *Anuruddha* is identified in Chinese books. The former

the handle is shaped like the fingers of a hand, to indicate that where the hand cannot reach, with this you can scratch where you like, 以手所不至, 搔之可以如意. Some also are made in the shape of the character 心 *hsin* "heart" [probably a  or similar trifoliate form], and in either case constructed of bone, horn, bamboo, wood, jade, stone, copper, or iron, and measure some 3 [Chinese] feet or more. The Teaching Priests (講僧) hold a *ju-i* in their hand, and notes are written on it to serve as memoranda. The statues of Bodhisattvas also hold one in their hands."

The entry then continues:—

"It is known that in our own country in ancient times, there existed 蚤杖 *tsao-chang* for scratching the back where it itched. And, further, written notes were made on the 笏 *hu* or Audience-tablets, for use in introducing a topic of discussion. These objects then [the *ju-i*] combine the functions of both these implements. However, the *ju-i* of modern times are only some one or two feet in length, and their extremities are mostly fashioned into fungus or cloud-scroll forms, and it is simply owing to the auspicious nature of their name that they serve as curios, 作為供玩矣."

Such is the ingenious conjecture of the Chinese author on the origin of this eudemonic but enigmatic emblem. What do the Indianists say to it?

Hsi 奚 "a menial servant"; "how, what, why, whence?"

This is an interesting character, and not really difficult to explain, though partly through a misleading definition in the *Shuo Wen*, and, in modern times, owing to a most ingenious but erroneous conjecture on Wu Ta-ch'êng's part to be described below, it has been thoroughly misunderstood.

The definition or explanation in the *Shuo Wen* of this word is 大腹也 *ta fu yeh* "a big belly", but no such sense is revealed in Chinese literature, nor suggested by the explanation is a translation of the Sanskrit term Anuruddha, which is derived from the root *anu* ('conformity'). Eitel's *Handbook of Buddhism*, p. 11. It would thus appear that the compilers of the *T'z'ü Yuan* should rather have said "the Sanskrit word *anu*".

position of the character itself. There must presumably have been some connexion in Hsü's mind with the character 隸 *hsi*, which he explains as 生三月豚腹奚奚兒也, "a three months pig with a *hsi-hsi*-looking belly," whatever that may have meant.

Now let us consult Lo Chên-yü, who will prove to us what the real analysis is.

Significance of the archaic forms.—A hand grasping a rope which secures a prisoner.

Lo remarks, after citing the *Shuo Wen*'s explanation, "I consider that 罪隸 *tsui li*, or public slavery, is the original sense of 奚 *hsi*. Hence the character is composed with a hand grasping a rope and thus securing an offender." For in ancient China those unhappy persons who were of the family of a condemned man, being by the mere fact of their kinship with the prisoner, implicated in his guilt, were condemned to official slavery in the public service. One of the two examples cited by Lo has 女 *nü* "woman",¹ in place of the more usual 大 (here used as the ideogram of *man*, though not the character for the word *jên* "man"), and Lo says the two forms are analogous, and cites from the *Chou Li* the term 女奚 *nü hsi* "a female slave", which is analogous to the construction of 奴 *nu* "a slave", in being composed with 女 *nü* "woman". Well, *perhaps* so.

The *Shuo Wen*'s analysis of 奚 *hsi* is from 大, and a contraction of the *chou wên* form of 系 *hsi* "to attach" (or, as Tuan Yü-ts'ai emends, to suspend, 縣 *hsien*).

But I suggest a much simpler solution. There is on record² an archaic form of 約 *yueh* "to bind, to restrain", written 𠂔 (hand holding a rope), which when placed above 大, makes up the ideographic character 奚 *hsi*, and suggests a person under physical restraint.

Figs. (Bronze) 4 to 7; (Bones) 8 to 10.

¹ The original, however, is so indistinct that I have thought it best not to cite it among my examples.

² See Wu Ta-ch'êng's *Shuo Wen Ku Chou Pu*, vol. ii, p. 76.

It can hardly be a matter of doubt that the above is the true explanation and analysis of the character. But Wu Ta-ch'êng had previously propounded a different view, which he briefly states in his 說文古籀補 *Shuo Wên Ku Chou Pu*, and at greater length in his 字說 *Tzŭ Shuo*. It is to the following effect, and is so interesting, though erroneous as a solution of this particular character, that I make no excuse for placing it before the reader in a summary form.

In the last-named work, under the character 奚 *hsi*, Wu cites three of the passages in the *Chou Li* where this character occurs, and to one of them (Book 1, Par. 20, 酒人 *Chiu jên*) he appends, as from a commentator,¹ the following note:—

"In old times male and female accessory criminals were submerged in the status of slavery in the administrative prefectures, and those of small capacity or knowledge became *hsi*, equivalent to the modern 侍史 *shih shih*, and 官婢 *kuan pei*, or 'waiting women'.² Sometimes *hsi* were called 'eunuch women'. When the *Shuo Wên* explains 奚 *hsi* as 'a big belly', and under its radical 女 *nü* 'woman' inserts a separate entry 嫗 *hsi*, explained as 女奴也 *nü nu yeh* 'a female slave', these are not the primitive ideas in the construction of the character, 非造字之本意. The most archaic form of the character 奚 *hsi* is [see the first example from Bronzes, No. 4, in the Plate], and depicts a man carrying on his head a support or pad 𡗗 *chü shu*.

"The custom among the modern Koreans when carrying loads along the roads upon their backs or heads is generally for the men to carry on their backs, and the women on their

¹ The same passage is cited (s.v. *hsi*) by the *Liu Shu Ku*, as from the pen of 鄭氏, presumably Chêng K'ang-ch'êng, but it is not among the commentaries annexed to the text in the Imperial edition of the classic known as the *Chou Kuan I Su*, 周官義疏.

² 古者從坐男女沒入縣官爲奴其少才知以爲奚今之侍史官婢或曰奚官女.

heads. Slave-boys 童僕 *t'ung p'u* also carry upon the head. The practice would seem to be a survival from the age of the Three Dynasties [Hsia, Shang, and Chou] 猶有三代之遺風.¹ That is why women slaves are called *hsi*, and why slave-boys are also so termed."

A little farther on Wu quotes a note by 顏師古 *Yen Shih-ku*, on a sentence in the biography of 東方朔 *Tung-fang So* in the *Han Shu*, in which Yen explains 窰數 *chü shu* as a contrivance for carrying things on the head, and adds that when full vessels are so carried they are supported on a *chü shu*, which he says resembles the object used in "modern times" [Yen lived in the sixth and seventh centuries] by vendors of 白團餅 *pai t'uan ping*, or "white dough cakes".

Into Wu's further speculations regarding the character 婁 *lou*, and the etymological or semasiological connexions of the syllables written with that character plus various determinatives, we need not here follow him.

Fu 孚 (for which 俘 *fu* is now used) "to capture"; "a prisoner of war"; "booty".




The simple character was borrowed later to write what is probably a different but homophonous word, meaning to be loyal, keep faith, have confidence in, the original sense of capture or captive being relegated to the augmented form 俘.

Significance of the archaic forms.—A controlling or dominating hand placed upon an immature person, perhaps to suggest those captives who were not themselves combatants. In the only example from the Honan relics, the character includes the determinative 辵 *ch'ih* "to move".

Lo Chên-yü has the following note under this single example, which he enters under the modern 俘 *fu*, not under 孚:—

"The *Shuo Wen* explains 俘 as '軍所獲也 a prisoner taken by troops; composed with 人 *jên* man, and 孚 *fu* for the sound.' Here on the Bone relics, the composition is from 行 *hsing* 'contracted', and not from 人 *jên*.

¹ Presumably this still remains the custom in Corea, though I am not personally in a position to say

The archaic Bronzes have  and , omitting 𠂖. Wu Ta-ch'êng considers the first of these forms to be 'composed with 爪 *chao* "claw" and 手 *yu* "right hand", the central element , depicting 貝 *pei* "a shell", the whole character being thus a figure of two hands seizing a shell, and the Lesser Seal's composition with 子 *tzü* "son" being erroneous'.

"Now that we can adduce the evidence of the oracular sentences," concludes Lo, "it is clear that the construction with 子 *tzü* is right. The element 𠂖 in the Bronze forms is also 子 *tzü* 'son'. Wu's explanation is incorrect."

The character does, in fact, illustrate in a striking manner the facility with which an insignificant change of outline, or breach of continuity, may disguise the primitive picture and mislead the modern investigator, as it has misled so sound a scholar as Wu Ta-ch'êng in this case. The slight inaccuracy of the graving-knife or the pen which severed a human head from the body has transmuted the former in Wu Ta-ch'êng's eyes to a shell, and its body to a hand.

Figs. (Bronzes) 11 to 16; (Bones) 17.

Fu 𠂔 (in this form obsolete and now replaced by 服 *fu*, which, however, is itself also found in Shang dynasty writing) "to control, tame, dominate."

Significance of the archaic forms.—A crouching human figure held and controlled by the hand of another man.

It should be noticed how the Lesser Seal form, followed by the modern, has partly nullified the significance of the original design by placing the hand at the lower instead of the upper part of the compound. For the hand attached to the upper part of the remainder of a character always connotes the significance of control or applied force. However, it is right to admit that most of the examples from the oldest Bronzes, whether standing alone, or in combination, do support the Lesser Seal 𠂔 in placing the controlling hand below.

The *Shuo Wen* is rather brief on this character, thus

explaining it, 治也從又從卩卩事之節也 “‘to control’; composed with 又 *yu* ‘the right hand’ and 卩 *tsieh*, the latter being [equivalent to] 節 *tsieh* in the phrase *shih chih tsieh*, the stages or divisions of a matter.”

This analysis would be excellent if it were not fundamentally wrong. For what Hsü Shên took to be the ancient way of writing 節 *tsieh* “a token of authority” is really the outline of a kneeling or crouching human figure.¹

After citing the above passage from the *Shuo Wen*, Lo, without further comment, adds: “This figure depicts someone with his right hand pressing down a kneeling man, 以又接跪人, and is analogous with 印 *yin* ‘seal’, which is composed with 爪 [viz. 爪 *chao*] and 卩.” And Lo ends his note by citing from the 孟鼎 *Yü Ting* and another Bronze, two variants of 服 *fu*, 𠂔 and 𠂕, which, as he says, include forms identical with that under discussion, and let me add an even more convincing one from Mr. Eumorfopoulos’ newly acquired Bronze, the Duke of Chou’s *tui*, 𠂔.

It therefore follows from this that the archaic characters for *fu* “to control” (now written 𠂔), and *yin* “a seal” (now written 印),² were so nearly identical that the sole distinction was that the *hand* in *fu* was represented by the element 爪 *chao* “claw”, while in *yin* the corresponding element was 又 *yu* “right hand”, a distinction without a difference.

Figs. (Bronze) 18, 19; (Bones) 20.

Shih 氏, family name.

In the treatment of the origin of this character, I submit, as holding the field at present, the solution put forward by Wang Yün, 王筠, the editor of the 說文句讀 *Shuo Wen Chü Tu*, and the 說文釋例 *Shuo Wen Shih Li*.

¹ See the passage from Lo Chên-yü’s *Yin Hsü Shu Ch’i K’ao Shih*, p. 51, translated in “Pict. Recon.,” Pt. I, *JRAS.* 1917, p. 804, concluding with the statement that in consequence of the above misunderstanding by Hsü Shên, “all the analyses of characters under 卩 are erroneous.”

² See this character discussed in “Pict. Recon.,” Pt. II, *JRAS.* July and October, 1918, pp. 409 et seq.

Significance of the archaic forms.—A plant just appearing above the ground with two cotyledons and its radicle.

As introduction to Wang Yün's main note, I summarize closely what he had previously written regarding two related characters. The original is on pp. 29-30 of *chüan* 19 of the last-named work:—

“The characters 𣎵 *chüeh* and 𣎵 *ti*, which are composed with 氏 *shih*, are so composed because they follow the significance of that character [and not for phonetic reasons]. But the sense of *chüeh* is, according to the *Shuo Wen*, 本末 *pên mê* ‘root and tip’, and that of *ti* is also said to be 本 *pên* ‘root’. But the meaning of 氏 *shih* in the same work is described as a land-slip, 隴氏¹ [otherwise found written 隴 𣎵 or 隴 𣎵, see Tuan Yü-ts'ai's long note, s.v. 氏 *shih*]. The sense has nothing comparable to the other two characters.”

This is true, and it leaves the presence of 氏 *shih* in those characters quite unaccounted for.

“I suspect,” continues Wang Yün, whom I now translate literally, “that what in the dialect of my own part of the country [Shantung Province] is called 氏葉 *Shih yeh*, is the ancient meaning of the word 氏 *shih*. To the line in the *Odes*, 維周之氏 *wei chou chih ti* ‘Is the foundation of Chou’, Mao's comment is 氏本也 *ti pên yeh*, ‘*ti* is *pên*, foundation or root.’ The word *ti* is a term equally applicable to 根 *kên* and 本 *pên*, and is not applied only to one single thing.”

“Now it is only with things that have 氏葉 *shih yeh* that the root of the first sprouting is always termed the *chüeh*, 其初生之根必名 𣎵. Peas and beans 菽 *shu*, with peaches, plums, melons, and gourds, all being plants whose seeds have two seed-lobes, on the seeds receiving the vapour of the soil, they are re-embodied, 受土氣

¹ But this is Wang Yün's gloss, the actual word in the *Shuo Wen* being 氏 *shih* only.

² Here follows a footnote relating to the character 邸 *ti*, which does not concern us now.

則翻身, after which they 定 𣎵 *ting chüeh*, fasten the radicle. This expression *ting chüeh* is the term for the root, 根 *kên*, penetrating the soil. The radicle is fat and white to look at, closely resembling a peg 槩 *chüeh*, and unlike the first thread-like roots, 根 *kên*, of other plants. Hence the characters 𣎵 and 槩 are interchanged.

"After fastening the radicle, the plant appears, bent under the weight of the soil, 負土而出. When visible above the surface the two cotyledons are evenly divided, 兩 𣎵 平分 *liang pan p'ing fên*. It is these we call *shih yeh*, stock-leaves or cotyledons, the same that the *I King* speaks of as 甲 坼 *chia ts'ê*. In the centre of the stock-leaves again is produced a bud 萌芽, *mêng ya* [the plumule]. In due course the stock-leaves drop off."

Wang Yün then devotes some three columns to the significance of the construction of the two characters *chüeh* and *ti*, and the obvious reference to plant-stems and roots, points which we need not pursue here. Then he continues:—

"Applying these facts to the *shih* of the expression 姓氏 *hsing shih*, clan-name and family-name,¹ we are able to grasp the truth that 氏 *shih* has an essentially vegetal connotation, 以 姓 氏 推 之 亦 可 知 氏 本 謂 木. We read in the *Odes* the lines 本 支 百 世 *pên chih p'ê shih*, 'root and branches for a hundred generations,'² and 昔 在 中 葉 *hsi tsai chung yeh*, 'erstwhile in the middle leafings,'³ where the commentary is 本 根 枝 葉, *pên kên chih yeh*, 'stock root and branch leaves.'

"And in the *Erh ya* and the *Tso Chuan*, a man uses the term 出 *ch'u*, issue, of his sister's children.⁴ And as in all these cases





¹ I adopt the terms employed by Chavannes in his admirable note on p. 4 of vol. i of his *Mémoires historiques*.


² See Legge's *Chinese Classics*, vol. iv, pt. ii, p. 429, where he translates, "In the direct line and the collateral branches for a hundred generations."

³ Ibid., p. 642, "formerly in the middle of the period [before T'ang]."


⁴ Wang Yün adduces this character in support of his argument for a vegetal analogy, but in this instance he is mistaken, for in its archaic forms 出 *ch'u* is composed of a foot emerging from a cavity, not of a shoot of herbage. This is proved by the Honan bone inscriptions.

human life is described under botanical metaphors, 皆以木況人, it is no misrepresentation of the facts to derive 氏 *shih* from a vegetal origin, 則氏取諸木不爲誣也."

This theory of Wang Yün's, based as it is partly on a local term used in his native district, An-ch'iu *hsien* in Shantung Province, and partly on the other analogous expressions in Chinese nomenclature that he brings forward, is so rational and convincing that I find only one difficulty, a difficulty regarding form, that leaves me with a half hesitation. It is this. Accepting Wang's account of the first appearance of the two cotyledons above the ground, when, as he says, they are "evenly divided", we ought, it seems to me, to find an archaic design, either like  or , pointing back to a primitive , or , whereas the archaic examples, as will be seen, have always one side drooping and one rising. Why should that be?

However, Wang Yün's account, as it stands, seems far more worthy of credit than the *Shuo Wen*'s, which must have been founded in complete ignorance of the true archaic forms, and on a belief that the Lesser Seal form  was, in fact, the character 山 *shan*, "mountain," tilted up on one side till the three peaks faced to the right, with a down stroke added. The *Shuo Wen* states that in the great mountain ranges of Western China, 氏 *shih* is the term for an impending landslip, and that the sound of these when falling is heard for several hundred *li*! Tuan Yü-ts'ai's long note on this passage is most valuable, and of much historical and geographical interest.

Figs. (Bronze) 21 to 33; (Bones) 34 and 35.

Ch'êng 丞 (also found written 𠂔). Now only used in official titles as Assistant or Deputy. Explained, however, by the *Shuo Wen* as 翊 (which Tuan Yü-ts'ai says should rather be 翼 *i*), "to protect, aid." The Lesser Seal form is , analysed by Hsü Shên as consisting of 升 *kung*, "to raise the hands," 卩 *chieh*, "a seal," and 山 *shan*, "a mountain."

Very different is the brilliant solution of the old form put forward by Lo Chên-yü, whose convincing note following below discloses the true *Significance of the archaic form*. Having given the example shown in the figure from the Honan bones, he writes :—

“Depicts a man fallen into a pit-fall and someone lifting him out, 象人各阱中有拊之者. The fallen man is beneath, the man lifting him out above. Accordingly the element 𠂔 depicts the hands of the man who lifts. This then is the character 丞 of Hsü's work, but its sense, 誼 *i*, is that of 拊 救 *chêng chiu*, ‘to rescue.’

“Hsü explains 丞 *ch'êng* by the word 翊 *i*, and says, ‘Composed with 𠂔 *kung*, 𠂔 *chieh*, and 山 *shan*, the latter conveying by its height the sense of 奉 承 *fêng ch'êng*, to receive with respect.’ Thus he mistook 𠂔 for 𠂔 *kung*, 𠂔 for 山 *shan*, and 𠂔 for 𠂔 *chieh*. Hence the primitive sense, 初 誼, *ch'u i*, passed altogether out of view, and thereafter a different and later character 拊 *chêng* was substituted for 丞 *ch'êng*, and the latter character was explained by the explanation belonging to 承 *ch'êng*, ‘to receive from above.’”

Figs. (Bronze) none extant ; (Bones) 36.

Fu 𠂔 and 𠂔 (later 𠂔) *pei*, a quiver.

This heading is obviously but unavoidably ambiguous, and before plunging into the detailed history of these characters a few prefatory sentences may help to prepare the way.

The formula of the caption attempts to express the fact that a certain word or unit of the spoken language, meaning a quiver for arrows, has, owing probably to gradual changes of pronunciation, and to concurrent misunderstanding due to formal changes in the writing, transferred its soul, or sense, to one character (𠂔 *fu*), leaving its visible body, or written symbol, in another (𠂔 *pei*). Lo Chên-yü, with a few glossing explanations by myself, will show how this curious result has been brought about.

In the first place it should be stated that in Tuan Yü-ts'ai's rhyme-categories, the words 服 and 筭 (of which 𠄎 and 𠄎 and 𠄎 are respectively merely augmented forms) are included in the entering tone division of the same class, the first, with a rhyme that was perhaps *ek*,¹ while the initial would seem in both cases to have been a labial, so that *beck* or *peck* may very well represent the sound of both in those days.

One piece of evidence showing the identity of sound of 服 and 𠄎 in the period when Hsü Shên was writing his *Shuo Wen*, probably in the first century A.D., is furnished by his entry under the latter character, in which he quotes as from the *I King*, the sentence 𠄎牛乘馬, "to yoke oxen and harness horses," where the modern text of the classic has 服 in place of 𠄎.

So much, then, by way of introduction to Lo's note on the five examples cited by him from the Honan relics, and to my own formula, based, as this was, before ever the Honan find had been made, on the explanations by Wu Ta-ch'êng, of the *Significance of the archaic forms*. An arrow, oftener two arrows, point downwards in a quiver.









Lo's note runs as follows:—





"The *Shuo Wen* under the character 𠄎 *fu*, explains this as 'a quiver for cross-bow arrows; composed, with 竹 *chu*, bamboo, and 服 *fu* for the phonetic'. The *Chou Li* under the title 司弓矢, *ssü kung shih*, Superintendent of Bows and Arrows, has a note by Chêng (K'ang-ch'êng) that 𠄎 *fu* is a receptacle for holding arrows.² The *Odes* have the words 象弭魚服 *hsiang mi yü fu*, 'the bow tipped with ivory and the shagreen quiver,'³ a footnote on which says 服矢服也 *fu shih fu yeh*, 'fu is a quiver for arrows.' Thus it is the ancient arrow-holder, and the character is

¹ See Legge's *Chinese Classics*, vol. iv, pt. i, Prolegomena, p. 108. He writes, "and eh for his 3rd tone," for which I venture to substitute *ek*.

² *Chou Li*, chap. xxxii, par. 13. Biot, vol. ii, p. 240.

³ See Legge's *Chinese Classics*, vol. iv, pt. ii, p. 261, who renders the words by "the bow with its ivory ends and its seal-skin quiver".

written 箭 and 服. In the oracular sentences the different variants representing arrows in a receptacle have sometimes one, sometimes two arrows. On the older Bronzes, the figures have a general resemblance, being written ¹     and . Furthermore, there is one instance, where three arrows are contained, . An inscription on the 番生敦 *Fan shêng tui* Bronze has 簞 弱 魚  *tien pi yü fu*,² 'Fine bamboo brace and shagreen quiver.' The form in the Mao Kung Ting is the same.³

"Thus these two variants are undoubtedly the characters 服 and 箭 of Mao's text of the *Odes*, and of the *Shuo Wen*, and the [archaic] character originally depicted a quiver in which were sometimes one, sometimes two, sometimes three arrows. At a later date, the variants  and , with one arrow, became modified to  and , in which the primary design is already gradually disappearing, and the form markedly approximating to the character 箭 *pei*."⁴

Lo now takes up the phonetic side of the problem, and continues:—

"In ancient times 箭 and 服 were mutually borrowed. While the *I King* writes, 服 牛 乘 馬, to yoke oxen and harness horses, the *Shuo Wen*, under its entry 箭 *pei*, quotes the passage with 箭 in place of 服. The *Tso Chuan* relates that 'The King sent 伯 服 *Pê Fu* into the State of Chêng, to make a request to Hua, 王 使 伯 服 如 鄭 請 滑.' The *Historical Memoirs* (of Ssü-ma Ch'ien) write the name 伯 箭. A note in the Biography of Huang-fu

¹ I omit Lo's references in this and the following examples to the respective Bronzes by name.



² These sounds, however, are the modern ones. The same four characters occur in the Mao Kung Ting.

³ The two variants in question are the first and second just above.

⁴ Lo's words are 於 初 形 已 漸 失 而 與 箭 字 形 頗 相 近. What no doubt he means to imply, and what in any case is the fact, is that the later character *pei* is a merely rather more corrupted form of the type shown in these two variants.

Sung in the *History of the After Han* says, '𢇛 is the old scription of 服.'

"These are proofs that the characters 𢇛 and 服 were mutually borrowed in practice.

"The primitive sign for a quiver 矢 𢇛 *shih fu*, was entirely pictographic, but from  it was modified in the course of writing to , and again from the latter corrupted to 𢇛 and 𢇛 (*pei*). In this last shape, again, it became mutually exchangeable with 服 *fu*, to which, once more, 竹 *chu*, 'bamboo,' having been added [as a determinative], the character became 𢇛 *fu*. When this had been done, the primitive design was completely obscured, and what had been a pictogram was changed into a Phonetic Compound."

In conclusion, it is worth noting that the character 服 *fu* occurs several times in the wooden slips discovered by Sir Aurel Stein, and published by Chavannes in his *Documents Chinois découverts par Aurel Stein*, in the sense of "quiver". See, for instance, Nos. 71 and 187. Both are of Han dynasty date.

Figs. (Bronze) 37 to 44; (Bone) 45 to 51.

Chi 己, "self"; the sixth of the Ten Stems.

Significance of the archaic forms.—A kneeling human figure viewed in profile.

For a long time I had supposed that chance had allowed me to be the first to decipher the real origin of this simple but baffling character. But though my conclusion was reached independently, I have since found it announced by a certain Hsü Chou-chuang, 徐 籀 莊, in the course of a note by him, cited on p. 3 of vol. iii of Wu Shih-fên's *Chün Ku Lu Chün Wên*. Hsü's statement is to the effect that 忌 通 𢇛 𢇛 又 通 己 己 象 人 𢇛, "The character 忌 *chi* is interchanged with 𢇛 *chi*, and the latter again is interchanged with 己 *chi*, and 己 *chi* depicts a man kneeling."

In support of this dictum is a passage in the well-known 六 書 通 *Lui Shu T'ung*, where under the character

跪 *chi*, "to kneel," appears the curious form 𠂔, followed by the interesting but rather perplexing note 古文長踞也 暨奇字古文從𠂔. If this text is quite as the author Min Ch'i-chi wrote it, which I rather doubt, it contains at least one error, but as it stands it means "The ancient character for sitting upright. Also, abnormal variants of the ancient character are composed with 𠂔". But of what ancient character? He has just before given that of 跪 *chi*. Had Min written 跪 *kuei* in place of 踞 *chü* in the first half of the sentence that would have harmonized with the *Shuo Wen*'s explanation of 跪 *chi*. Again, had the word 跪 *kuei* been inserted after 暨 *chi* in the second half, that would have agreed with Min's own statement and figure given in his entry under 跪 *kuei*. But having established Min's assertion that these two *ku wên* forms existed, we are not specially called on here to elucidate further the rest of his note.

Perhaps at this point I may be allowed to make a digression which though not strictly necessary will not be quite irrelevant to the discussion of the origin of the character 己 *chi*, inasmuch as it will present the authoritative explanations of a great scholar, Tuan Yü-ts'ai, on the terms used in ancient China for various postures of kneeling, sitting, and squatting.

First let us hear Tuan on the character 𠂔 *chi*, explained in the *Shuo Wen* by 長居也 *ch'ang chü yeh*. This expression is thus explained by Tuan in his edition, "Under the Radical 尸 *shih*, the character 居 *chü* [of which, according to Tuan, 踞 *chü* is a vulgar form] is rendered by 蹲也 *ts'un yeh*, to squat. The expression 長居 *ch'ang chü* means 箕其股而坐 *chi ch'i ku erh tso*, to sit with the thighs stretched out like a winnowing basket (like a fan, as we should say). The characters written 𠂔居 *chi chü* by the *Shuo Wen* are what in other works are written 箕踞 *chi chü*."

But Tuan in another long note under the character 居

chü, goes very fully into the terms used in ancient China for kneeling, sitting, and squatting, and I extract the following passage which sums up his conclusions:—

“But among the ancients there were the attitudes of 坐 *tso*, sitting, 跪 *kuei*, kneeling, 蹲 *ts'un*, squatting, and 箕踞 *chi chü*, sitting with legs stretched out in front. In both kneeling and sitting the knees were in contact with the mat 皆郅著於席, *chieh hsi cho yü hsi*, but in kneeling the body was held erect 聳其體, *sung ch'i t'i*, while in sitting the backside was lowered, 下其腓, *hsia ch'i t'un*.”¹ Thus we see that the term 坐 *tso* was the word used for “sitting on the heels”, as we call it.

A little further on in the same note, Tuan thus describes the attitude known as 蹲 *ts'un*, “When the soles of the feet are in contact with the ground, the backside lowered, and the knees raised, that is squatting 蹲 *ts'un*, also written 竣. ‘Yuan Jang was squatting while he waited,’ means that he awaited (Confucius) in the 蹲踞 *ts'un chü* attitude, and did not come forward to meet him.”² As for the attitude termed 箕踞 *chi chü*, the backside rests on the mat, and the legs are stretched out in front, 腓著席而伸其腳於前是曰箕踞.”

Having gone thus far, we may as well clear up, with Tuan's critical aid, the expressions used in the *Shuo Wen* to denote the above positions of the body. These terms are 長跪 *ch'ang kuei*, 長踞 *ch'ang chü*, and 長跽 *ch'ang chi*. Let it be made clear at once that in all these the word *ch'ang* does not mean “for a long time”, as it seems to suggest. *Ch'ang kuei* is the definition in all the editions of the *Shuo Wen* of the character 跽 *chi*, and means to kneel with the body

¹ The *T'zū Yuan Dictionary* is even more explicit, and says under the word 跪 *kuei*, “the two knees touching the ground, and the backside resting on the heels, is called sitting.”

² Yuan Jang's discourteous attitude was the posture that every visitor to China must perforce notice before he leaves his steamer to step ashore, for wherever a few Chinese are gathered together there assuredly some will be resting, balanced between their two knees, as it were.

erect, to kneel upright, if we accept the text as it stands. Tuan Yü-ts'ai does not do so, but emends it to 長跪 *ch'ang chi*, with the same sense. He goes on to explain more fully:—

“When associated with the term 拜 *pai*, to lower the head to the hands, the attitude was known as 跪 *kuei*, a genuflexion or curtsy, when not so associated it was called 跪 *chi*, kneeling. In the *Biography of Fan Chü*, 范雎, it is repeated four times that ‘the King of Ch'in knelt, 秦王跪,’ *ch'in wang chi*, but afterwards that ‘the king again made obeisance, 秦王再拜,’ *ch'in wang tsai pai*, which agrees with the above. But 長跪 *ch'ang chi* is an expression used in bygone ages, 古語 *ku yü*, and in popular usage 長 *ch'ang* is written 踞.

“A man sitting at his ease, has his figure relaxed, but when minding his manners he makes a slight genuflexion, holding his body upright as if to make the most of his height, 人安坐則形弛敬則小跪聳體若加長焉. Hence the expression, to kneel upright, 長跪 *ch'ang chi*.”

Tuan then proceeds to quote from the *Fang Yen* or “Local Dialects” that in certain localities they spoke of kneeling (*kuei*) as 踞 *ch'ang wu*, and Kuo P'o informs us that “At the present day people in the Eastern regions also use the expression *ch'ang wu* instead of 長跪 *ch'ang chi*, for kneeling upright.”

Lastly there remains 長踞 *ch'ang chü*, explained at the beginning of this article, and meaning, according to Tuan, to sit upright with the legs extended in front.

Whoever will examine the above disquisition will probably be ready to admit that, assuming the correctness of Tuan Yü-ts'ai's statements as to these various attitudes, and the ancient terms for them, the “abnormal” form cited by the author of the *Liu Shu T'ung* would suit either 坐 *tso*, “to sit on the heels” (its ancient sense), 跪 *kuei*, “to make a genuflexion” (also its ancient sense), 蹲 *ts'un*, “to squat,” or 跪 *chi*, “to kneel.” But it would be difficult, merely on its

appearance, to assign it exclusively to any one of these. But within that margin of uncertainty it can be appealed to as an independent support to Hsü Chou-chuang's dictum, and my own conjecture, that the true origin of this character 己 *chi* is a profile of a kneeling human figure. And, further, that 己 *chi* is the most primitive scription first of 忌 *chi*, "to fear or respect," and secondly of 跪 *chi*, "to kneel," which are, in fact, only augmented forms of the first.

Such is the solution of this character now presented to the student. What other explanations have been given? What, for instance, does the *Shuo Wen* say?

The treatment of the characters denominating the Ten Stems in that work is peculiar—if the author Hsü is responsible for all that now appears in the text.

As that text stands, however, we find as usual an explanation immediately after the Lesser Seal character. But following Hsü's own explanation there is added as a quotation from a work now apparently lost, entitled the 大一經, *Ta* (or *T'ai*), *I Ching*, another explanation, different from Hsü Shên's own, irreconcilable with it, and based upon a supposed analogy of each Stem with a particular part of the human body. Thus, under our character 己 *chi*, we have first Hsü's own explanation that the Seal character represents 中宮也象萬物辟藏詘形也, "The Central Palace.¹ Depicts Nature escaping from confinement in sinuous curves." Clearly this treats the character as symbolizing by its form the curves of a young plant.

But then at once follows the seemingly discordant statement from the *T'ai I Ching* that 己 *chi* 象人腹, *hsiang jên fu*, depicts the human belly, or possibly symbolizes it.

The *Shuo Wen* accordingly seems to offer us a choice of two entirely different views of the origin of the character.

But a third account will be found in Wiegner's *Chinese*

¹ That is, the Central of the 五宮 *wu kung* or Five Palaces, viz. the Pole Star and the circumpolar region, as repeatedly explained by M. L. de Saussure in the *T'oung Pao* and elsewhere.

Characters, vol. i, p. 214 (English edition). I always regret that the learned author of this excellent work never specifies the particular Chinese authority from whom he is in the habit of quoting. He merely observes in his short Preface that "the materials of the *Lessons* were gathered from the works of the Chinese philologists". No doubt. But not always from the same, and the only more precise indication given is that sometimes he refers to "the *Glose*". And the trouble is that, as a rule, when he quotes textually, it is from the *Shuo Wen* itself, but there are many exceptions, and the student is left in doubt as to the actual authority for the citation.

Thus in the case of 己 *chi*, the Chinese passage that Wieger quotes is *not* from the *Shuo Wen* itself, but presumably from some commentator unknown to me. Wieger writes, "𠄎. Chi³. The ancient character represented the threads of the weft, on the weaving-loom. On the top, two threads transversal, a thread longitudinal; at the bottom the thread in the shuttle. The character was simplified later on, 古文像別絲之形二橫一縱絲相別也. When 己 was used, on account of its simplicity, as a cyclical character (the sixth of the ten stems), it was replaced by 紀."

Not a word of this comes from the *Shuo Wen*. It is based on an old but corrupt variation of the true archaic forms. And whoever is responsible for it, the explanation seems forced when compared with that which derives the character from a kneeling or crouching figure and regards it as the real primitive script of 𠄎 *chi*, "to kneel." And in passing let me remark that the figure preceding the word "Chi³" in Wieger's passage, intended to represent the *Shuo Wen*'s *ku wên* form, is inexact and rather misleading. The ordinary editions print it 𠄎, with the three horizontal lines of equal length.

In conclusion, it should be added that when used in the sense of *self*, 己 *chi* must be a "borrowed" character, nor was it the only one so employed, for we find on an ancient Bronze Basin the old form of 忌 *chi*, "respect, awe," thus

adopted in the expression 忌鑄盤 *chi chu p'an*, "himself cast the Basin." ¹

Figs. (Bronze) 53 to 56 ; (Bones) 57 to 63.

I would invite particular attention to the last two examples. The first is cited by Wang Hsiang, with the facsimile context, in his *Fu Shih Yin Ch'i Lei Tsung*, part ii 正編, p. 57, s.v. 亡 *wang*, in the close lateral liaison of two characters, 𠄎, = 父己 *fu chi*, = Father Chi. But Wang, as usual, fails to specify the *chuan* and page of Lo Chên-yü's work from which the passage is extracted.

The second example is, I believe, in my own collection, but most unfortunately I have by accident omitted to record the reference. It occurs, however, in the cycle combination 己未 *chi wei*, the fifty-sixth of the Cycle of Sixty.

Now the important point about these two ancient variants of 己 *chi* is that they are identical with the normal archaic script of the *Shuo Wen*'s 338th Radical, which is 𠄎 in the Lesser Seal, and 𠄎 in strict modern writing, and is explained in the *Shuo Wen* as 瑞信也 *jui hsin yeh*, "a symbol of authority," and generally accepted as the older script of the modern 節 *tsieh*, a knot or joint. But as Lo Chên-yü has pointed out on p. 20 of his *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih*, the character 𠄎 of the *Shuo Wen*'s text, "when found on the older Bronzes and on the Bones, is 𠄎, and depicts a man kneeling 象人隱形, *hsiang jên chi hsing*." But whereas on p. 51 of his work Lo repeats this, and adds 即人字也 *chi jên tzŭ yeh*, "it (𠄎) is the character 人 *jên*, man," I maintain that since the above archaic form, as Lo says, depicts a kneeling figure, and is also, as we have just seen, found as a rare variant of 己 *chi*, it appears difficult to contest my conjecture that 己 *chi*, in turn, depicts a man kneeling, and, further, that 𠄎 is the oldest known shape of 己 *chi*, and not, as Lo thinks, a variant of the character 人 *jên*, "man."

¹ See Wu Ta-ch'êng's *Shuo Wen Ku Chou Pu*, vol. ii, p. 60.

Yin 因, "to follow, continue"; "a cause."

This character is thus explained in the *Shuo Wen*, 就也 *chiu yeh*, the sense of *chiu* being here left without further precision; let us call it "to follow up". The analysis is 從 口 大 *ts'ung wei ta*, "composed with *wei*, to surround, and *ta*, great," which is Hsü's mode of expressing, by omitting to mention any sound, that the character is a Suggestive Compound, that is, purely ideographic. But he does not further specify in what the suggestion of the significance consists.

The explanation now proposed is entirely my own conjecture, not based on any hint from any Chinese authority, and is given for what it may be worth.


Significance of the archaic forms.—Probably either (1) a figure of a grass mat, or (2) of a man lying on a mat.














There exists another word of the same sound and tone as 因 *yin*, but having in its written form, as a determinative, sometimes *chu*, bamboo, sometimes *ts'ao*, grass. This word is 茵 *yin*, "a mat or cushion stuffed with straw," and it is this syllable that I believe is really represented by the character 因 *yin*. The oblong outline I suppose to stand for the shapes of this mat or cushion, while the enclosed 大—if such was its original form—is here possibly an ideogram for the human body, and may *perhaps* be meant to exhibit a man extended upon it. But while stating this as a possible solution of the contained element 大, especially in view of the examples appearing in the Honan relics, it is in another direction that I believe the clue is to be found.

In an earlier paper of this same series ¹ I discussed *inter alia* the *Shuo Wen*'s alleged "ancient form" of 席 *hsi*, "a mat," which it gives as 𦰩. In a most interesting note on certain archaic characters which Lo equates with 謝 *hsieh*, "to decline with thanks," ² the latter describes this element 𦰩 as "depicting a mat", 象席形, *hsiang hsi hsing*—he does


¹ *JRAS.* July and October, 1918, p. 398.

² See his *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih*, pp. 53-4.


not explicitly say, I may remark, that the element by itself is the archaic scription of *hsi*, "a mat," though he seems to imply it by the context. But in the above-quoted p. 398 I wrote, "I suspect strongly it [viz. ] is that of a different character, but I must reserve the proof for another occasion." The present will serve as this occasion.


I believe then that this element, whether written with fewer, or more chevrons, is the primitive form of  *yin*, a mat, and that the form  which appears in some of the oldest examples, is probably a mere junction of two , of the typologically older design. What reinforces this supposition is the evidence supplied by certain variants of  *yin* in composition which are to be found in the 六書通 *Liu Shu T'ung*, thus:  under  *yin*;  and  under  *yin*;  under  *ên*; and  under  *yin*.

And though this work dates back to 1661, and its modern reprints cannot carry the same weight of authority as do the recent and very faithful facsimiles in the 說文古籀補 *Shuo Wen Ku Chou Pu*, of Wu Ta-ch'êng, and the Japanese collection named *Choyokaku Ji Kan* of Mr. Takada, yet neither is its cumulative evidence to be entirely ignored.

This conjectural derivation of the character  *yin*, meaning "to follow, or a cause", involves the conclusion that in that sense it is a borrowed form, on loan from the homophonous syllable meaning "mat", for which presumably it was originally designed.

Figs. (Bronze) 64, 65; (Bones) 66 to 68.

Chin or *Tsin* , "finished, at an end, exhausted."

The character since the time of the *Shuo Wen* is thus written, but we should note that the form , which Kanghsi, on the authority of the 正字通 *Chêng Tzŭ T'ung*, styles a vulgar form, corresponds to the archaic scription more than do the Lesser Seal and modern writing.

Significance of the archaic forms.—A hand holding a brush within a dish, and representing, as Lo says, the action of

cleansing a vessel. "When the meal is ended, then the vessel is cleansed." (*O, si sic omnia.*) In fact, we see here, as in a glass darkly, the necessary but distasteful process of washing up after a repast.

Lo observes that the *Shuo Wen*'s analysis of 皿 *min*, "dishes," and 灰 *tsin*, "ashes," for the phonetic, appears not to be right, meaning of course that the element 火 *huo*, "fire," is absent in these archaic forms.

Figs. (Bronze); (Bone) 69 to 72.

No undoubted examples from early Bronzes can be found. All the examples from the Honan relics quoted by Lo occur in the disyllabic personal name 盡 戊, *tsin wu*, to whom the Shang Sovereigns offered sacrifice, but of whom beyond that we know nothing. But other instances occur in my own collection, not confined to that name.

I call attention to the ideographic element in these old forms, of the *hand holding a brush*. This is no other than the prototype of the modern character 聿 *yü*, explained by the *Shuo Wen* as 所以書也, *so i shu yeh*, "that with which we write." But here we find it representing a scouring-brush, a handle of wood or bamboo with bristles attached. If, then, the *Shuo Wen* is correct, there must have existed in remote times some sort of writing-brush analogous in construction, though of different and finer material.

Yen, 燕, "a swallow"; "a feast or to feast."

What was probably an independent though homophonous syllable, *yen*, "to feast," is often, and perhaps more correctly, written 宴 *yen*; in fact, were it not for the Honan relics no authentic example of 燕 previous to the Lesser Seal of the *Shuo Wen* would be forthcoming.

Significance of the archaic forms.—A swallow in flight seen from above.

Figs. (Bronze); (Bones) 73 to 80.

In these examples we can observe the singular employment at the same date, and actually on the same bone fragment, of a naturalistic and of a stylized and linear version of the same character.

Lo observes in his note that the Lesser Seal form 𩇑 has gone rather astray, adding also that on the Honan relics the character occurs in its borrowed usage of "feast", as in 燕享 *yen hsiang*, "to hold a sacrificial feast."

Chu 主, "to control, lord, master."

Significance of the archaic forms.—A lighted wick burning in the bowl of a Chinese lamp. But some of the variants on the Honan relics are more rudely conceived and designed, and while they show the flame and the bowl, represent the stem of the lamp by the perfunctory addition of 木 *mu*, "wood," so that such variants are not full pictograms, but rather pictographoids (as I have elsewhere called them), suggesting the object meant rather than expressing it. As is usual in the archaic Chinese drawings, the bowl is seen, as it were, in section, the line of the upper edge being omitted.

Figs. (Bronze) 81 ; (Bone) 82 to 84.

The reason why a figure of a lighted lamp is employed to write a word meaning lord or master, is, as so often, that the two syllables were of the same sound. Hence the word, or perhaps only that sense of the word that was easy to draw, was commandeered for the benefit of the word, or the sense, that was difficult to represent to the eye.

In the case before us, however, the character represents still other homophonous syllables than the two already mentioned. In the Bronze inscription (see the Fig.) the word appears preceded by 𣪠 *tiao*, "carved, sculptured," and is there said to stand for 𣪠 *chu*, "a stone chest or coffer." On the Honan bones, on the other hand, it is sometimes a place-name, and in the last example it occurs in the expression 主鹿 *chu lu*, which in later ages was written 麋鹿, "the *chu* deer." The exact equivalent of 麋 *chu*, "some kind of deer," is not, I think, even yet determined. But Moellendorff, in his *Vertebrata of Chihli*, pp. 34-5, has discussed the point at length, and concluded "that *chu* originally does not designate any particular species of deer, but is the term for a large stag, especially the leader of the herd".

In conclusion, I beg leave to correct two material errors of translation of which I have been guilty in an earlier number of this *Journal*.

The first is the worst, and I do not want to excuse it. I will only say that if you once get it into your head that a particular Chinese passage is difficult, difficult and sometimes disastrous it is likely to prove to you.

The Chinese sentence in question is reproduced on pp. 33 and 34 of the *JRAS.* for January, 1921, and I there rendered it in English thus :—

“The reason why after Ta Ting, Wai Ping, and Chung Jên are not enumerated, is that they were not later generations in the line whence the Yin dynasty Sons of Heaven had sprung.”

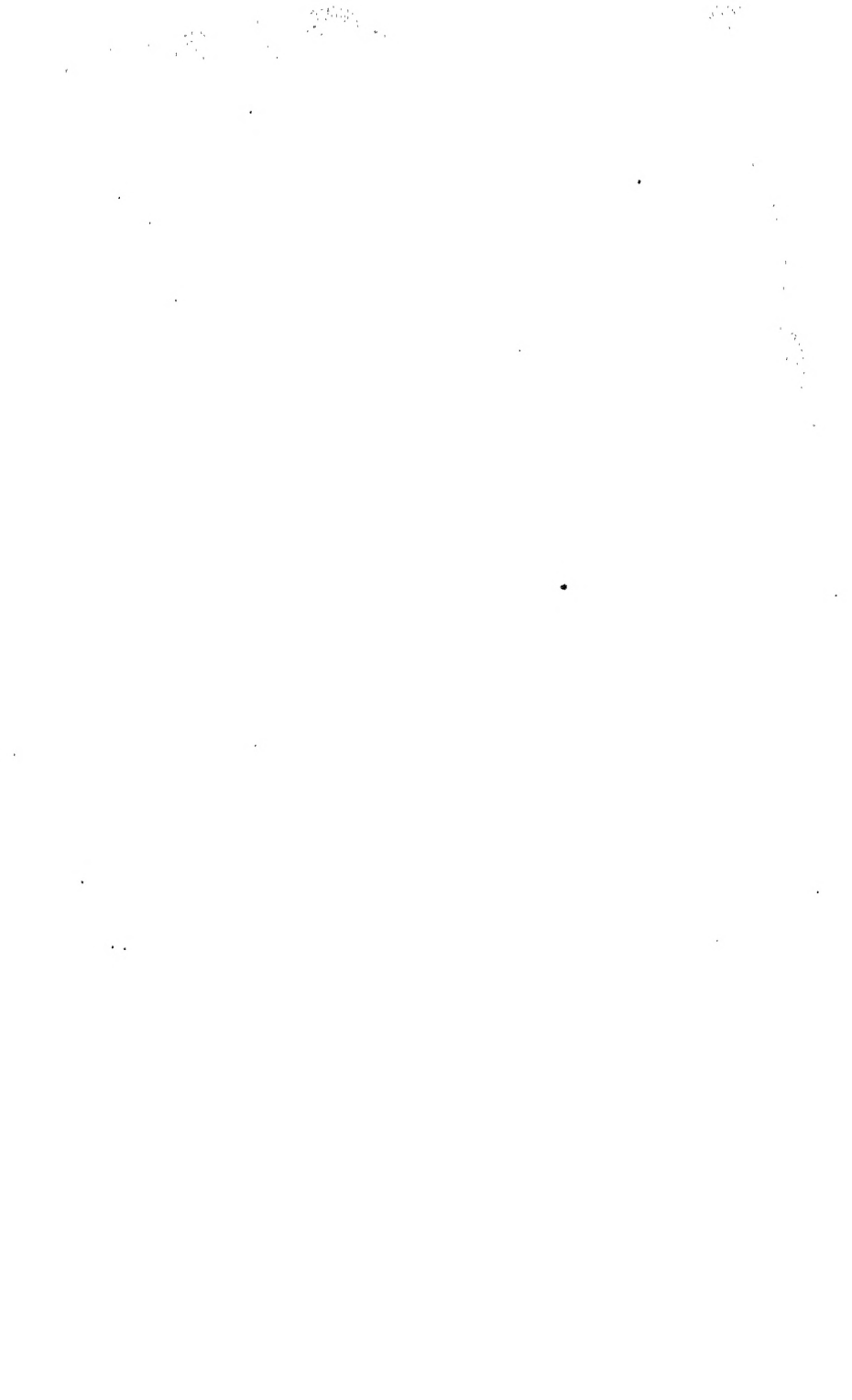
On this Professor Pelliot in the *T'oung Pao* of March, 1922, p. 92, observed, “le texte signifie clairement selon moi : ‘Si après Ta-ting on n'énumère pas Wai-ping et Tchong-jên, c'est que Wai-ping et Tchong-jên ne sont pas [les ancêtres] dont sont sortis les Fils du Ciel ultérieurs des Yin.’ ”

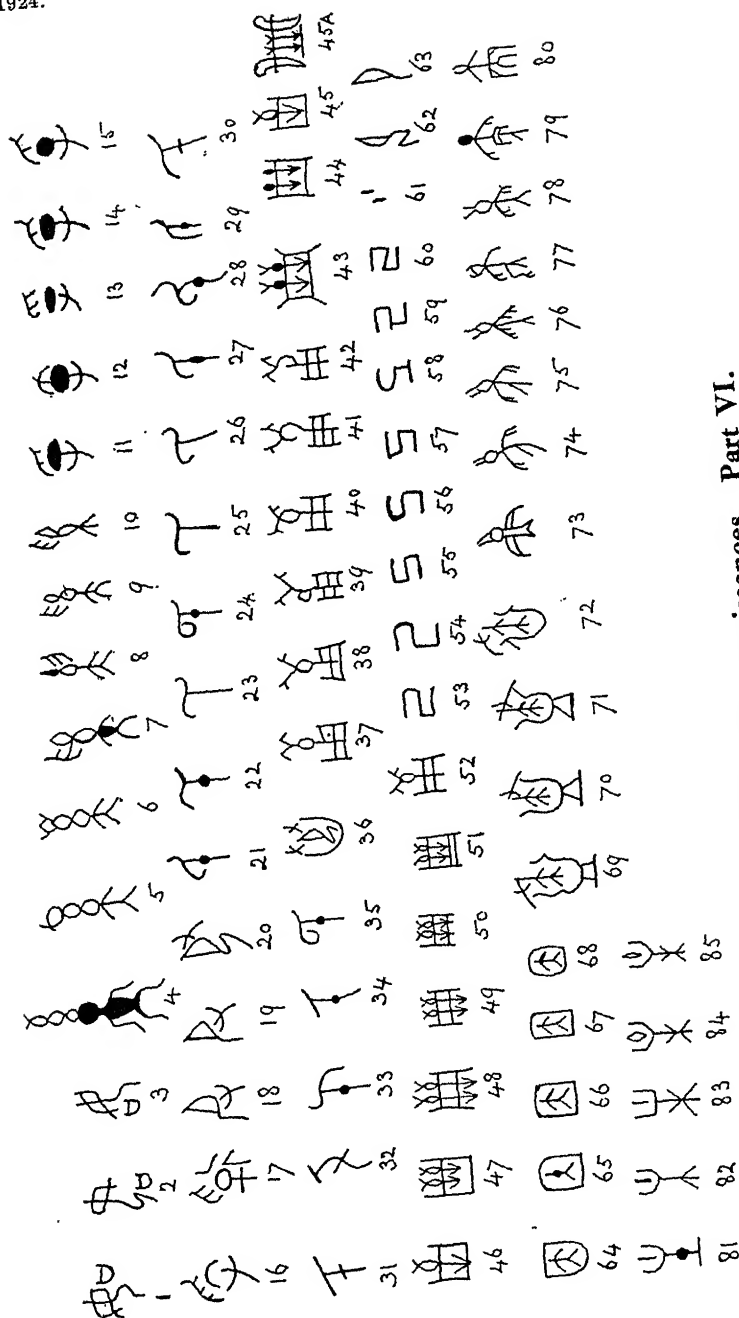
Of these two renderings, mine is quite wrong and M. Pelliot's quite right.

The second is of a different quality. Grammatically and ideomatically it admits of defence. But, nevertheless, it is incorrect, inasmuch as it is due to a misunderstanding of the writer's argument, and incidentally obscures a very interesting statement by Wang Kuo-wei, whether well- or ill-founded. Being on other grounds dissatisfied with my translation of the sentence in question, I consulted Professor Herbert Giles, who ultimately suggested the true meaning of the passage, the Chinese text of which will be found as a footnote on p. 40 of the same number of our *Journal*.

My original rendering was “in the course of development the later form of the sign for childbirth was specialized in the two shapes 毓 and 育 *yü*, while the character for the word *hou*, Prince Successor of the Blood, was specialized in the shape 後, whereupon two characters had been created”.

Here my error consists in taking the first character 後 *hou*







Pictographic Reconnaissances. Part VI.

(the fourth in the sentence) as qualifying the word 字 *tzŭ*, "character," whereas it is really in liaison with 產子 *ch'an tzŭ*, and forms a trinomial phrase balancing the subsequent 繼體君 *chi t'i chün*. The result is that the sentence really means "In the course of development the two forms 毓 and 育 were earmarked as the characters for the later-born (younger) children, while the form 祢 [后 *hou*] was reserved for the Prince Successor of the Blood (the eldest)."

It is a notable assertion, but, whether true or not, it is what Wang Kuo-wei meant to say.

I take this opportunity of supplementing the examples of the character in question, previously given, by two further forms from Wang Hsiang's work, vol. ii, p. 65. They are illuminating and convincing, more particularly as, I believe, from information supplied by Mr. Perceval Yetts, that in North China a crouching position is the usual one for the parturient woman,  , .

LIST OF REFERENCES FOR FIGURES IN PLATE TO PART VI

Abbreviations

C.K.L.C.W. = *Chün Ku Lu Chin Wên* 櫜 古 錄 金 文

H. = Hopkins' Collection

I.S.T.P. = *I Shu Ts'ung Pien* 藝 術 叢 編

S.W.K.C.P. = *Shuo Wên Ku Chou Pu* 說 文 古 籀 補

Tuan Fang = *T'ao Chai Chi Chin Lu* 陶 齋 吉 金 錄

T.Y.T.K. = *T'ieh Yün Tsang Kuei* 鐵 雲 藏 龜

Y.H.S.K. = *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i* 殷 虛 書 契

Y.K.L.T. = *Yin Ch'i Lei Tsuan* 殷 契 類 纂

FIG.

1.—Stone Drums.

2.—Y.H.S.K., v, 30.

3.— " "

4.—S.W.K.C.P., ii, 58.

5.— " "

6.— " "

7.— " "

(Also I.S.T.P., vol. xii, p. 23.)

FIG.

8.—Y.H.S.K., ii, 48.

9.— " ii, 36 (in comp.).

10.— " ii, 37.

11.—C.K.L.C.W., ix, 43.

12.— " ix, 42.

13.—I.S.T.P., vol. xiii, p. 16.

14.— " vol. xvii, p. 95.

15.— " "

- FIG.
- 16.—C.K.L.C.W., vi, 34.
 17.—Y.H.S.K.T.H., p. 6.
 18.—C.K.L.C.W., viii, 56.
 19.—" "
 20.—Y.H.S.K., iv, 8.
 " v, 29.
 " viii, 12.
 21.—C.K.L.C.W., ix, 54.
 22.—" ix, 39.
 23.—" "
 24.—" ix, 11.
 25.—" ix, 12.
 26.—" ix, 16.
 27.—" viii, 24.
 28.—S.W.K.C.P., ii, 72.
 29.—C.K.L.C.W., vii, 67.
 30.—" vii, 44.
 31.—" vii, 45.
 32.—" vi, 40.
 33.—S.W.K.C.P., 2nd ed., xii, 7.
 34.—H., 163.
 35.—" 309.
 36.—T.Y.T.K., 171.
 37.—C.K.L.C.W., ix, 55.
 38.—" ix, 26 (in comp.).
 39.—" " "
 40.—I.S.T.P., vol. xiii, p. 12.
 41.—S.W.K.C.P., ii, 46 (in comp.).
 42.—" " "
 43.—I.S.T.P., vol. viii, p. 9, and
 Tuan Fang, ii, 26.
 44.—I.S.T.P., vol. ii, p. 8.
 45.—Y.H.S.K., v, 9.
 45A.—I.S.T.P., vol. ix, p. 22.
 46.—H., 600.
 47.—Y.H.S.K., v, 9.
 48.—H., 694.
 49.—Y.H.S.K., v, 9.
- FIG.
- 50.—Y.H.S.K., v, 9.
 51.—" v, 10.
 52.—Tuan Fang, vol. ii, p. 16.
 53.—S.W.K.C.P., ii, 88.
 54.—" "
 55.—" "
 56.—" "
 57.—Y.H.S.K., iii, 5.
 58.—" "
 59.—H., 724.
 60.—H., 101.
 61.—Y.H.S.K., Hou Pien, 下, p. 1,
 and H., 547.
 62.—Y.K.L.T., Chêng Pien, p. 57.
 63.—H., ?
 64.—S.W.K.C.P., ii, 34.
 65.—Tuan Fang, vol. iii, p. 42.
 66.—Y.H.S.K., v, 38.
 67.—H., 679.
 68.—Y.H.S.K., Hou Pien, 下, p. 43.
 69.—Y.H.S.K., i, 44.
 70.—" "
 71.—" i, 45.
 72.—" "
 73.—" vi, 44.
 74.—" vi, 43.
 75.—" "
 76.—" v, 28.
 77.—" vi, 44.
 78.—" "
 79.—" "
 80.—" "
 81.—*Choyokaku Ji Kan*, i, 9.
 82.—I.S.T.P., vol. ii p. 15.
 83.—Y.H.S.K., ii, 21.
 84.—" iv, 48.
 85.—" vi, 43.
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MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

NOTE ON COL. LORIMER'S PHONETICS OF GILGIT
SHINA (*JRAS.* Jan., pp. 1-42; Apr., pp. 177-212)

[Since the following Note was sent to the printer, I have received a letter from Col. Lorimer in reply to one of mine touching *inter alia* on the definition of cerebrals. He writes: "On this definition of cerebral the results of my inquiries essentially agree with yours. The case seems to be the same with aspirates."]

Colonel Lorimer's article is a moral tonic. It is impossible to be a pessimist while there is a scholar who can write in this way. In spite of his experience and careful ear-training he writes with a modesty, which in a tyro would be becoming, and in a scholar is charming. If we owed him nothing else, we should be heavily in his debt for this one fact here clearly set down, that, even for a well-trained ear, to distinguish between cerebrals and non-cerebrals or between aspirated and unaspirated sounds is a matter of extreme if not insuperable difficulty (except for one who has made the distinction from childhood). The present note deals with this difference. In our *Journal* for July, 1921, I stated that Ṣiṇā contained a series of cerebral sounds *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ṛ*, *ṇ̣* (*ḷ* in one dialect), *ṣ*, *ẓ*, *ç̣*, and *j̣*, marked off from non-cerebrals, and a series of aspirated surds distinguished from non-aspirates; further that *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ṛ*, *ṇ̣*, *ḷ* and *tḥ*, *tḥ*, *kḥ*, *pḥ*, *cḥ*, are as distinct from *t*, *d*, *r*, *n*, *l* and *t*, *k*, *p*, *c* respectively as they are in North India. I still hold this.

We must leave on one side inquiries into such points as the following: (a) relative frequency; (b) exact place of articulation; (c) causes; (d) etymology; (e) division into primary and secondary; (f) importance, for this is only a matter of the meaning of the word "important";

they are neither more nor less important than in Urdu, Panjabi, Hindi, or Bengali; and we must confine ourselves to the inquiry—do the two series exist or do they not? A superficial reading of Colonel Lorimer's article may give the impression that he denies their existence, but if one reads it carefully one sees that his investigations confirm my statements at almost every point.

First a matter of definition. What is a cerebral? The author, modestly mistrusting his own observations, has based all his remarks upon a definition taken from a book on phonetics. Unfortunately the definition is wholly incorrect. It gives the point of articulation as "the highest part of the roof of the mouth about the junction of the hard and soft palates", and tells us that "the tip of the tongue must be firmly pressed" against this place. If this is correct, probably no cerebral is ever heard between Cape Comorin and the Pamirs, either in *Ṣiṇā* or in any other language. As regards the "firm pressing" it is a sufficient answer to say that the contact of *r* in a word like *ghorā* takes less than one-hundredth part of a second; and as regards the place, the proper point of articulation is *anywhere* on the hard palate behind the teeth ridge. When, therefore, Colonel Lorimer says of certain *Ṣiṇā* sounds that they are not "true cerebrals" or that "they are not rightly described as such", he means merely that they are not cerebrals in the sense of the above definition, and I entirely agree with him. *Ṣiṇā* certainly contains no such cerebrals, nor does Urdu or Panjabi.

Now two questions emerge: (1) Do Colonel Lorimer's observations support the view of the existence of cerebrals and non-cerebrals, and of aspirated and unaspirated sounds? (2) When he sets himself to make these distinctions is he generally correct? The answer in both cases is an unhesitating affirmative. Let us take them in order. The quotations and page-numbers are from his article.

(1) pp. 17, 18, he gives a list of words with forward *t*, and another with back *t* (i.e. dental and cerebral *t*).

p. 18, "*t* slightly further back than normal . . . the difference is recognized by Shina speakers."

p. 20, "a *d* produced slightly further back than normal," "a decided cerebral *ḍ* exists."

p. 25, "it is possible that *n* is sometimes post-alveolar" (i.e. cerebral).

p. 30, "a sound which on first hearing I mistake for *r*, on examination found to be cerebral *ḍ*." This "mistake" is very creditable to Colonel Lorimer's ear, for it is not a mistake at all. The sound in question is cerebral *r*.

p. 38, "there is a distinct cerebral *ḍ*": (in certain circumstances) "*t*, *d*, *r* are cerebralized and *n* is similarly influenced": (in certain other cases) "*t*, *d*, *r* are post-alveolar or pre-cerebral." As we have seen, these terms are other names for "cerebral".

On p. 188 is a list of words containing cerebral *n*, and on pp. 186, 187 a list of words with cerebral *ḍ*.

The author quotes a competent Śin whom he calls S.R. Thus, on p. 210, "S.R.'s *ḍ* sounds to me like English *r*." It is, in fact, *r*, cerebral *r*. Again, "S.R. agrees about (post-alveolar or pre-cerebral) *t*, *r*, *n*": i.e. recognizes cerebral *t*, *r*, *n*. We must again remind ourselves that when Colonel Lorimer says that *t*, *d*, *r*, etc., are post-alveolar or pre-cerebral, he means what we call cerebral. The cerebrals in modern Indian vernaculars are also post-alveolar or pre-cerebral. They are not cerebral in the sense of the definition.

(2) Now we come to aspirates.

p. 196, "the difference between aspirates and non-aspirates is recognized by intelligent Shina speakers, and the difference may constitute the sole difference between similar words."

On pp. 198, 199, is a list of words containing aspirated and unaspirated plosives respectively.

p. 207, "factors important in distinguishing words (otherwise) identical are . . . aspiration."

p. 211, "S.R. is pretty clear in his own mind as to what are and what are not aspirates."

Let us now examine the author's lists of words containing cerebrals, non-cerebrals, aspirates, and non-aspirates. On pp. 17, 18, words with dental or cerebral *t*. The distinction has been made with absolute correctness.

p. 20, a list of post-alveolar (i.e. cerebral) *d*'s—perfectly correct, except that perhaps by a clerical slip, the two words *dam* and *dam* are interchanged. As printed the words are *dam* *be*, all together, and *du dam*, twice. The first should be *dam*, and the second *dam*.

pp. 186, 187, a list of words with cerebral *ḍ*, said to be "much more akin to *r*". As stated above it *is* cerebral *r*. In this Colonel Lorimer's ear guided him aright. All the words in the list do actually contain either *r* or (in two or three cases) *ḍ*.

p. 188, a list of words with cerebral *n*—correct.

pp. 198, 199, long lists of aspirates and non-aspirates. I agree with all but two or three.

We may conclude that in the author's opinion—

(i) *Ṣiṇā* (besides *ḍ*, *t*, *n*, *r*) contains cerebral *ḍ*, *t*, *n* (what he calls post-alveolar or pre-cerebral), and in addition another cerebral *ḍ*, "much more akin to *r*," i.e. cerebral *r*.

(ii) The distinction between aspirates and non-aspirates is recognized by S.R. and other *Ṣiṇā* speakers; and further that—

(iii) when Colonel Lorimer prepares special lists of words to indicate the distinctions nearly all his words are correctly chosen. I think I could hardly have asked for a fuller endorsement of my judgment in the matter.

On p. 191 the author suggests that on "so simple a phonetic matter" as cerebrals I would claim that I was "not likely to be mistaken". This is an important point of principle. I should reply: No, on the contrary I should like every language scholar to keep before him on his desk the following words printed in large and clear letters: "Sounds to which you have not been accustomed all your life you will probably never be able to recognize clearly or produce correctly. If

there is an exception it will only be the result of prolonged phonetic study and almost superhuman effort." Now it is quite true that I have no difficulty in recognizing these cerebrals and in distinguishing aspirates, but it is not because they are *per se* "easy phonetic matters"; the reason is that I was born among them and have used them all my life. I cannot recall a time when they were not perfectly familiar to me.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

BEKANATA AND BIKANER

In the *Cambridge History of India*, vol. i, p. 87 (in chap. iv, "The Age of the Rigveda," by Professor A. B. Keith), occurs this sentence: "The term Bekaṇāta, which occurs along with Paṇi in one passage, has been thought to be a reference to some Babylonian word: though the Indian Bikaner is much more plausible as its origin." The suggested survival of the intervocalic *k* from Vedic times would be remarkable, and, looking at the equation from the phonetic point of view, one naturally asks for some evidence in support of it.

The references will be found under Bekaṇāta in the Vedic Index (Macdonell and Keith).

Hopkins (*JAOS.*, vol. xvii, p. 44) suggested some connexion with a word *baqatum* in an Assyrian inscription. The meaning of this word was not exactly known, but appeared to relate to debt. Hillebrandt (*Ved. Myth.*, vol. iii, p. 268, n. 1) instances as one of the few points in which he thinks Brunnhofer was correct his identification of Bekaṇāta with Bikaner. The Vedic Index notes that the word might just as well be aboriginal as Babylonian. Now the state and town of Bikaner were founded in the fifteenth century A.D. by Rāo Bika (1465-1504), a Rathor Rājput, the son of Rāo Jodha, who founded Jodhpur. (*Imperial Gazetteer* under "Bikaner"; *Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*; Crooke's ed., vol. ii, p. 1123.)

The name is explained as *Bika* plus *ner*, sometimes written *nair*, from Apabhramśa *naijaru* (Skt. *naḡaram*), which is seen also in Bhatner (i.e. the town of the Bhattis, whom Bika defeated, and who settled in Bhattiāna), Gajner, Amalner, and Sanganer, all in the same region.

There appears to be no evidence for the use of the name Bikaner in Rajputana before the days of Rāo Bika. The name Bika recalls the Hindi *bik*, *bīk*, "a wolf," a *semi-tatsama* of Sanskrit *vrka*. It seems then that Bikaner helps us no more than the dubious Babylonian word in explaining Bekaṇāṭa.

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A NOTE FROM THE MEMOIRS OF JAHANGIR

There is, amongst the Mogul paintings preserved at the Bodleian Library, a picture which is, or at any rate ought to be, a very famous one, and which has aptly been called "The Dying Man". A drawing for it (now in Boston) has been reproduced by Dr. F. R. Martin in his great work *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India, and Turkey from the Eighth to the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1912), pl. 200; and a reproduction in colours is to be seen in Mr. Binyon's excellent book *Court Painters of the Grand Moguls* (1921), pl. xxiv.

Dr. Martin suggested that the picture represented the dying Jahāngīr, a supposition which is in itself rather incredible and obtains no support from available sources. Mr. Binyon offers no suggestion concerning the original of the painting, but only says that "one would like to know the story of this little picture, whom it represents, and why he chose to be painted in this manner" (loc. cit., p. 56).

The picture apparently dates from the time of Jahāngīr, who was, if we may give credit to his own opinion,¹ one of the greatest connoisseurs of art that ever lived. Now we

¹ Cf. his *Memoirs*, translated by Rogers and Beveridge, vol. ii, p. 20 sq.

find, in his own *Memoirs*, vol. ii, p. 43 sq., a passage that ought to shed some light on the origin of the picture representing "the dying man". This passage, with the exclusion of certain sentences which are of no importance in this connexion, runs as follows :—¹

"On this day news came of the death of 'Ināyat Khān.² He was one of my intimate attendants. As he was addicted to opium, and when he had the chance, to drinking as well, by degrees he became maddened with wine. As he was weakly built, he took more than he could digest, and was attacked by the disease of diarrhœa, and in this weak state he two or three times fainted. By my order Ḥakīm Ruknā³ applied remedies, but whatever methods were resorted to gave no profit. At the same time a strange hunger came over him, and although the doctor exerted himself in order that he should not eat more than once in twenty-four hours, he could not restrain himself. He also would throw himself like a madman on water and fire until he fell into a bad state of body. At last he became dropsical, and exceedingly low and weak. Some days before this he had petitioned that he might go to Agra. I ordered him to come into my presence and obtain leave. They put him into a palanquin and brought him. He appeared so low and weak that I was astonished.

'He was skin drawn over bones.'

Or rather his bones, too, had dissolved. Though painters have striven much in drawing an emaciated face, yet I have never seen anything like this, nor even approaching to it. Good God, can a son of man come to such a shape and fashion ? . . . *As it was a very extraordinary case I directed painters to take his portrait.*⁴ In fact, I found him wonderfully changed. . . . Next day he travelled the road of non-existence."

¹ The passage dates from the thirteenth regnal year (1618-19).

² This worthy had been made Bakhshī of the Aḥadīs on the thirteenth Naurōz (*Memoirs*, ii, p. 4). On his former promotions cf. *ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 158, 160, 199.

³ He was later on dismissed "on account of his bad temper and want of knowledge" (*Memoirs*, vol. ii, p. 211).

⁴ Italics put in by the present writer.

I venture to think that this quotation should perhaps prove who was the model of "The Dying Man". Poor 'Ināyat Khān was apparently just as bad in handling drink and opium as many other Mogul grandees to whom their sovereign set a very bad example indeed, in spite of all his prohibitions against drinking and counterblasts to tobacco. But his health was of a weaker sort than that of many others. Mr. Binyon is quite right in wondering "why he chose to be painted in this manner", as men do not generally wish to have their likeness taken when being *in articulo mortis*. If, however, my suggestion be a correct one it was not his own desire but the almost morbid curiosity of his master that caused this wonderful and ghastly little picture to come into existence. Unfortunately, nothing more concerning its story can be obtained from the *Memoirs* of Jahāngīr.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

AMITY AND THE MAN

A treatise on the *Milindapañha* (questions of king Milinda) by a competent historian of early Indian philosophy does not, I believe, yet exist. In some ways it were a work worthy of his pen. That the book is by several hands and of different dates makes it not a whit less interesting or historically revealing. Many of the "dilemmas" (*menḍaka-pañhā*) raise points appealing to a culture beyond its place and its time.

In one of these (pp. 198-200) Milinda alludes to an Indian belief to which the Jātakas testified, the power, namely, of amity willed and projected (*mettābhāvanā*) with such intensity that the willer is for the time immune from bodily injury and even invisible to foes. Thus the very deer of the forest would follow prince Sāma when he thus willed. And yet he was wounded in that forest by a hostile archer. How could this be?

The sage, in replying, makes, characteristically, no modern

criticism of the value of the evidence, albeit the power is affirmed in the Suttas, while the forest episodes are only part of a Commentarial story. His reply is twofold. Possibly he judged the king (or the reader) might not accept the first reply. His second reply was, that by the story itself the prince, when hit by the arrow, had lapsed from his love-ecstasy. This, as we say, is a question of historical fact. The narrative hardly bears him out (Jāt. trs. vi, 43).

The first reply is of philosophical interest. The immunity and other virtue conferred by *mettābhāvanā* are of the state itself, not of the man (*n'ete guṇā puggalassa*). It is to him as armour to the warrior, as a tarn-root in the hand, as a safe cave to the hider.

Regrettably, the king, who could sometimes corner the sage, gives in. Had he asked: then is *mettābhāvanā* one thing, *puggalo* another? we should have had an interesting passage of current metaphysic. We are left pondering on Nāgasena's orthodoxy.

He might have said, according to that: a man is not an ultimate reality. He is a derivative, temporary compound of four ultimate physical real existents (*viññamānāni*), and of four ultimate incorporeal real existents (*arūpino khandhā*), one of which comprises fifty such ultimates (*sankhārā*). Now one of the fifty is *adosa*, and that was held tantamount to the positive word *mettā*. Thus *mettā* is an ultimate irreducible "real" which may, at a given moment, be a factor in the compound "man".

How far Nāgasena would have reckoned *bhāvanā* under the factor *mettā*, or under the self-exerting "compound", man, I am not sure. *Bhāvanā* is a notable word: "making-become," "willing," "developing." And it is hard to conceive this as a separable factor. It is the very life, the very being of the man. And Buddhists, with these pregnant, mighty terms *bhava*, *bhāvanā* on their tongues, went somewhat astray in not seeing to what these committed them; in seeing in the concept something more real than man the conceiver.

Nāgasena's further reply might, it is true, have been otherwise. He leaves us thinking of our Platonic tradition, in which we have ideas or ideals of perfect goodness and efficiency almost deified, of a Vedāntist tradition which sought after the Highest and the Ineffable by attributes, of a Buddhist tradition which refrained from any unifying speculation save that of a will-less cosmic order, and wherein we do not find any parallel with Plato's ideas. Will any reader throw light on the matter?

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

NOTE ON INDRA IN MAHAYANIST BUDDHISM

From the painstaking researches of Mr. F. E. Pargiter in Indian legendary history, the figure of Indra emerges as that of a real personage.

There are reasons for believing that there may have been more than one Indra; possibly several chiefs, of a powerful ancestor-worshipping family, have been merged in this heroic figure, in whom may be seen affinities with the (probably) solar heroes of Greek and Norse legend.

If we grant, with Dr. de Groot, that Amidist Buddhism is but a thinly disguised worship of a Central Asian solar deity, we will be not surprised to find that Indra reappears in Chinese Buddhism. Mr. Pargiter has shown that a constant flux and reflux of racial and religious influences took place, between Northern India and Central Asia, in pre-Buddhist days; and it will be noticed that history repeated itself in the modifications of Buddhism within the same area, and in the still later sects and schisms among the Mohammedans of various nationalities between Anatolia and Kansu.

According to Mr. Bimala C. Law (*Kṣātrīya Clans in Buddhist India*) Indra was a very popular deity with the solar clans—the Licchavi, the Sākya, etc.—who inhabited the regions in which Buddha lived and taught. Later on, Buddhaghosa's

Visuddhi-Magga (fourth century A.D.) describes the sun as being inhabited by its appropriate "god", in the Buddhist sense of the word.

Subject, then, to the interpolations and inconsistencies characteristic of Mahâyânist doctrine, Indra may be expected to play an honourable, but decidedly subordinate, part in Chinese Buddhism.

In a curious *Life of the Sâkya Buddha*, the Shih Chia Ju Lai Ying Hwa Lu 釋迦如來應化錄, compiled by the monk Pao Ch'êng 寶成 of the Ming Period, Indra appears as a powerful and willing auxiliary of the Buddha. He is lord of one of the inferior heavens, and an active protector of the Law; but he does not disdain, on occasions, to take human form and render more or less menial service to Buddha, possibly as an example to less exalted beings.

Indra's service began, according to our Chinese monk, with the incident of a young recluse of very ancient times, who was murdered by robbers. Indra raised from the spilt blood of this youth a man and a maiden, who married and founded the Sâkya Clan. The hermit had been a noble, descended from King Okkāku (Sanskrit, Ikshvāku), since P'ing Têng 平等.

The Viṣṇupurāṇa traces the bold and daring race of the Sâkyas, at considerable length, to an eponymous ancestor Sâkya. The Dīgha Nikāya derives them from Okkāku of the same dynasty, the Ikṣāku or Ikshvāku.

Fantastic adventures occurred from time to time in their history.

Pao Ch'êng next brings in the agency of Indra in connexion with the birth of Buddha. Attended by the four Dêva kings, Indra receives the child, wraps him in a mysterious costly covering, and presents him to his mother.

When Buddha was a grown man, immersed in pleasure, his father King Suddhodana had a dream, in which appeared the Banner of Indra coming from the Eastern gate of the palace. This was interpreted to mean the going-forth of

Buddha to embrace the ascetic life. Then, when the young prince took flight, Brahma and Indra guided the Dêva kings as they bore the horse of Buddha through the air, and conducted it to the forest. When Buddha cut off his hair, vowing to have done with the past, Indra collected it in a piece of precious fabric, a "heavenly garment", 天衣, and carried it off to the *dêva*-heaven to be venerated and cherished.

Six years later, when the Buddha's robes were falling to pieces, he went to a burning-*ghât* and collected some cast-off rags from the corpses. Indra washed them for him, and it then occurred to Buddha that, in future, he would order all ascetics who followed him to wash their own clothes.

When Buddha dropped into a river a cast-off milk-bowl, the *nâga* of the river wanted to keep it as a relic. Indra, however, in the form of a *garuda*, swooped down and seized the coveted bowl, took it to his heaven, and erected a *stupa* over it.

The indefatigable Indra then took the form of a grass-cutter, magically transforming the grass into a silky substance upon which Buddha might sit in meditation, awaiting the enlightenment.

After the celebrated defeat of the tempter Mâra and his fiendish hordes, Buddha converted Srethsha, son of Mâra; Indra, coming in solemn procession with Brahma and the *dêvas*, prostrated himself before Buddha and congratulated him.

The decision of Buddha to preach to mankind is stated by Pao Ch'êng to have been due, to some extent, to the persuasion of Brahma; Indra, with his following of *dêvas*, joining earnestly in the petition.

On a certain occasion when Buddha was at the monastery (if one may so describe it) of Jetavana, he was asked by the Bodhisattva Lou Chi 樓至 to set up three altars for the ceremony of initiating the numerous aspirants to the religious life gathered together at that place. Indra erected a small

cupola on top of each altar, and Brahma crowned each cupola with a huge pearl.

(Dr. Lionel Giles tells me that Lou Chi was probably a Chinese devotee of much later date, perhaps an entirely mythical personage. The whole incident may have been interpolated.)

Revisiting his native place, Buddha was escorted by Indra and his train, and thus met his father, Suddhodana.

Later on Indra milked a vicious cow for Ananda, the disciple, lest the latter be gored by the animal; he turned away an importunate beggar, but was overruled by Ananda, under Buddha's instructions; he helped to prepare a feast for Buddha and his monks; and, in fact, made himself generally useful as a kind of familiar spirit.

A very curious incident—and a glaring anachronism in any case—is related by our monkish chronicler. Buddha is described as *instructing* Brahma and Indra in the merits of the Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha, who, as Ti Ts'ang 地藏, became a favourite object of devotion among Chinese Buddhists of much later date. Buddha is made to explain the magical efficacy of saying *dharānis* in honour of Ti Ts'ang, and to lay down the law to these exalted personages as though they were so many mere novices.

The strong family sentiment of the Chinese appears in the account of Buddha's visit to the heaven of Indra, where his mother Mâyâ enjoyed the rank of a *dévi*. She welcomed him joyfully and recognized the relationship between them; thereby showing a clinging to personal identity and conscious sentiment which an orthodox early Buddhist might have been expected to regret. Like a dutiful Chinese son, however, Buddha disposes, in a short homily, of a few false doctrines to which Mâyâ had adhered, and leaves her happy; then, escorted as usual by Indra, he returns to earth to view the first statue of himself, set up by King Udayana during his heavenly visit, and to bless the maker of that and all future statues.

Time went by, and Buddha, realizing that his end was near, went to the heaven of Indra, and asked the latter to protect the Law, as the Buddha was soon to enter repose. Indra, weeping with surprise and disappointment, promised to protect the Law and to make it endure.

To the Buddhists, we must remember, the gods were only gods until the expiry of a certain period or status. To attain the supreme enlightenment, they had to be reborn as men, sooner or later. Therefore, for Indra, a "divine" personage enjoying a lengthy period of godhead, to do the bidding of a mortal whom he had recognized during life as his superior, is not so inconsistent as it appears at first sight; even though that mortal evidently expected, on entering *nirvāṇa*, to have no power to aid, much less superintend, the system he had established. On the same principle, Buddha is described as condescending to invoke the aid of a Nāga king 龍王 (probably Mucalinda) and his followers for a similar purpose.

When Vajrapani grieved immoderately at Buddha's decease, Indra gravely rebuked him in a homily on the instability of all things. This does not prevent Indra from humbly begging for relics of Buddha, or from venerating the aged Kasyāpa when he, in turn, prepares to die.

Finally, Indra is catalogued as the second of a series of twelve Dêva Kings, Protectors of the Law, 護法.

Pao Ch'êng's narrative—with all its inconsistencies—does not conflict with the personification of the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas as they were originally defined; that is, as *male* personages, of noble or at least respectable caste.

But Indra's metamorphosis had yet another stage to go.

While Ernest Fenollosa was studying Buddhist art in Japan, two fine clay statues of Bodhisattvas at Sangetsudo were described to him as being representations of Brahma and Indra (Bonten 梵天和 Taishaku Ten 帝釋天); an attribution from which he dissented. In a Japanese work, which

I have not read, Indra appears as a woman with three eyes, holding a *vajra* and a cup.

The case of Avalokiteshvara, who became the female Kuan Yin, is easily understood, if we accept the tradition that a native Chinese goddess was confused with the Bodhisattva. One could understand the kind-hearted Ti Ts'ang becoming feminized, especially in Japanese mythology; but Indra, no.

In Pao Ch'êng's story, Indra is still himself, even when he descends to menial tasks. The Vedic ruler of gods, the favourite patron of turbulent military clans, is tamed and subdued by the Law of Buddha; but, even as late as Ming times, he has not lost his manhood.

Whatever the reasons may be underlying the Japanese misconception of Indra as a female, the fact is significant of the changes to which an actually living mythology can be subject. It will also be remembered that the Japanese national solar deity, Amaterasu, 天照皇太神 is a *female*. Was the Japanese Indra confused with this sun-goddess, or with some Tantric personage?

G. WILLOUGHBY-MEADE.

SANSKRIT MASCULINES PLURAL IN -ANI

In a note on p. 293 *supra* Dr. Barnett remarks as follows:—

“Among the features of the language of the work [*Bṛhaspati-sūtra*] noted by Dr. Thomas is substitution of neuters for masculines, e.g. *āsavāni*, *upāyāni*, *devālayāni*, *mantrāṇi*. As he has elsewhere (*JRAS.* 1922, p. 82) maintained that a few precisely similar forms found in the dramas of ‘Bhāsa’ are archaic Prakrit accusative masculines, this variety of view is interesting.”

The four plurals are Dr. Barnett's selection from a number of peculiarities (not confined to neuter plural forms) exhibited by a Sanskrit text of the twelfth century A.D. or later. What have these to do with the accusatives plural masculine in -āni occurring in the Asoka dialects (third century B.C.) and,

as pointed out by Dr. Printz, in the Prakrit (not the Sanskrit) of "Bhāsa" ?

In the passage cited above it was also remarked by me that "Sanskrit dramas usually (and the old ones known to us invariably) have distinct titles, even when they deal with similar subjects", titles of works exhibited in public not being very easy to appropriate. It is, therefore, to be hoped that Dr. Barnett is not replying to this small point, when he cites (*JRAS.* 1923, p. 422; *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, iii, i, p. 35) the familiar fact that cases are known of homonymous Sanskrit works (*not* Sanskrit plays).

F. W. THOMAS.

NOTE ON A PRAKRIT DICTIONARY

During recent years several scholars in India have tried to bring out a Prākṛit Dictionary. However, no one seems to have succeeded in publishing more than a small specimen. Only recently, towards the end of 1923, there has appeared a new start, which is no longer a simple specimen, but an elaborate first part, comprising no less than 260 large size pages. In this volume all words beginning with vowels are included. And, if the following parts, which are to embrace the words beginning with consonants, carries on the Dictionary in the same lines, it will be finished in about seven such parts, and will contain nearly 2,000 pages. On its completion Indian philology will certainly be congratulated from all sides, and Prākṛit literature, which is so immensely rich, may then be studied, as it ought to be, in intimate connexion with Sanskrit lore, which has long possessed Lexicographic aids of all kinds.

The title of the forthcoming dictionary is Pāṇi-saddama haṇṇa vo, "the great ocean of Prākṛit words." Its compiler is Pandit Hargovind Das T. Sheth, Lecturer in Prākṛit in the Calcutta University.

The meanings of the words are given both in Hindi and

in Sanskrit, and each entry is furnished with references to test passages. Sometimes also the test passages are fully quoted (forming generally a verse called *Gāthā* or *Āryā*).

Comprehensiveness and accuracy are the qualities most desired in a dictionary. As to the first quality, I may mention that the texts worked up in the dictionary seem to number about 200 or more. Even in the first ten pages a full hundred titles are quoted (*Accu*, *Aji*, *Aṇu* = *Anuyoga-dvāra-sūtra*, *Anta* = *Antakṛd-daśā*, *Abhi*, *Ācā* = *Ācārāṅga*, *Ācū* = *Ācāra-cūlikā*, *Āva* = *Āvaśyaka*, and others). And, as to the second quality, it may be stated that in the references mistakes are scarcely detectable. Also errors in the quoted editions are corrected; so early as the second entry of the first page we are, for Pkt. *a* = Skt. *ca*, rightly referred to *Paūma-cariya* 113, 14, where the edition has by mistake *Avirāhio* instead of *a Virāhio*.

Consequently I may be allowed to recommend Pandit Sheth's *Prākṛit Dictionary* to all Sanskrit scholars as well as to Sanskrit libraries—and, what will probably do more to secure the final success of the undertaking, to the Government authorities.

Postscript.—Printing is proceeding rapidly. By the middle of May, 1924, already the *second* part of the Dictionary described has reached Europe. This second part contains the letters *k* to *n*, comprising pages 261–606. Also a list of the texts quoted is furnished.

ERNST LEUMANN.

[We must not, however, overlook the *Abhidhāna-Rājendra* of Vijaya-Rājendra Sūri, published at Rutlam (1913–) by Munidīpa-Vijaya and Yatīndra-Vijaya. Of this *Prākṛit Dictionary* (in Sanskrit with extensive quotations in *Prākṛit*) six folio volumes, containing more than 8,000 pages, have now appeared, carrying the work to the end of the letter *v*.—F. W. T.]

A BABYLONIAN EXPLANATORY TEXT

I have to thank Professor Clay for most agreeably assenting to my request that I should edit a translation of the tablet of which he has published the text in his *Babylonian Records of J. Pierpont Morgan* (iv, pl. 37).¹

(1) SI DARA.MAŠ : *kar-nu a-a-lu* (hart's horn) : SI : *kar-nu* : DARA.MAŠ : *a-a-lu*. DIŠ : *šum-mu* (if). AN.TA.ŠUB.BA : *mar-ša uḥ-tan-naḥ u ru'ut-su innadā(a)* (the patient chokes and spits) = AN.TA.ŠUB.BA. (2) DINGIR.LUGAL.NIR.RA² : *ēnā^{II} imitti-šu u šumeli-šu i-ḫap-pi-iš³* (his eyes, left and right, squint) = DINGIR.LUGAL.NIR.RA. ŠU DINGIR.RA : *ilāni^{IV} i-nam-šar sīl-lat i-ḫab-bi ša im-mar i-maḥ-ḫaš* (he blasphemes the gods, speaks wantonly, strikes everything he sees) = the hand of god. ŠU DINGIR.INNINA(NA) : (3) *ḫu-uš-ši kiš libbi irašši (ši) ši-nun (?)⁴ pī^{VI}-šu im-ta-na-aš-ši* (he has mania, he forgets the meaning (?) of his words) = the hand of Ishtar. ŠU EDIM.MA *uznā^{II VI}-šu išagguma^{VI} rabiš it-te-ni-pi šin-na-šu ana ma-ka-li-e* (4) *la u-ḫar-ra-ba-ma* (his ears sing; he is greatly . . . (?), he cannot make his teeth come nigh to food) = the hand of a ghost. DU.DU.BI : *e-pu-uš-ta-šu* (its ritual). *Nap-šir (?) -šu : u-ru-di-su. Ta-a : a-tu : ḫu-ub-ši : šup-lu-ši : šup-lu : a-tu ša kaḫḫadi* (5) *u aḥ kišadi⁵*. NI.HUL : *nap-tu* (naphtha⁶). NI.ḪA : *šam-ni-nu-u-nu* (fish oil). A.RI.A NAM.MULU.GIŠGAL.LU : *"maš-ta-kal* (semen of man = *maštakal*-plant⁷) : *aš-šu "A.RI.A : "maš-ta-kal ša-niš A.RI.A : ri-ḫu-tu*

¹ Abbreviations (omitting those well known) : *AF.* = Zimmern, *Akkad. Fremd.* *AH.* = my *Assyrian Herbal*. *AM.* = my *Assyrian Medical Texts*. *HWB.* = Delitzsch, *Handwörterb.* *NH.* = *Natural History*. *PC.* = *Penny Cyclopaedia*. *PRSM.* = *Proc. Royal Soc. Medicine*. *RA.* = *Revue Assyriologique*. *SM.* = Budge, *Syriac Book of Medicine*.

² *AM.* 96, 3, 2.

³ 𐎶𐎶𐎶 "contract" (Ball, *PSBA.* xii, 53).

⁴ Hardly *u me-šil* "and half his words".

⁵ *Tā 17* and *atu 12* "mark" (?). *Ḫubbu, šuplu*, *HWB.* 266.

⁶ *AF.* s.v.

⁷ *AH.* 199, 269; perhaps = tragacanth, exuding spontaneously (or from insect-punctures), from astragalus (philologically *maštakal* (?)), esp. *A. verus*, being found thus encrusted (*PC.* xxv, 113); yellowish or whitish; and hence (?) "semen-plant" in Assyrian. *IN.NU.UŠ* = *suplu* (**man*) and *maštakal*, again evidence for tragacanth.

(because the A. RI. A-plant = *maštakal*, and, further, A. RI. A = semen). (6) KU.NIK.IB : *u-la-pi* : ŠU.LAL : *lu-ub-bu-ut-tum* : KU.NIK.IB ŠU.LAL : *šer šelabi*¹. "*Tar-muš* : *ki-ma išid* "*si-il-ka* (lupin, like beetroot²). "*Imhur-pani ki-ma* GIR.PAD.DU NAM.MULU.GIŠGAL.LU (**calendula*, like human bone³). (7) "*Imhur-ašrā ki-ma ša-ru-ru* "*Ištar ša-niš* "*imhur-ašrā ki-ma* "*Šamaš zir-šu ki-ma ši-gu-uš-ti* (the *imhur-ašrā*-plant is like the "brilliance of Ishtar", otherwise like the **anacyclus pyrethrum*, D.C., its seed like *šigušti*⁴). *Dāmu ka-mi-i* : *dāmi* ^m*ga-ar-ba-nu aš-šu ka-mu-u* (to stay the blood of a man affected by itch⁵). (8) ^m*ga-ar-ba-nu ša-niš dāmi ka-du-uš* (*garbanu*, otherwise owl's blood). *Ešteniš(niš)* : *ki-ma* : *iš-tin it-ti a-ḥa-miš* ŠAR.ŠAR : ŠAR.ŠAR : *ba-la-lu* (like one, with each other mix). KU.ŠE.ŠIŠ : *ši-gu-šu ki-me ub-bu-lu*.⁶ SU AN.KU.ŠI : (9) SU *alpu šal-mu ša ina abulli āli ša aḥarri ina muḥ-ḥi* ^u*bīni ana* AN.KU.ŠI *in-ni-ip-pu-uš* (hide of a black ox made at the western gate of the city on tamarisk into AN.KU.ŠI) : *ti-l-lat* : AN.KU.ŠI :

¹ *Ulapī* in *tiš ulapī* "mortar" (Thureau-Dangin, RA. 1914, 87) :

ŠU.LAL, from LAL "bind" : *ulap lubbutim* = *ḫarnu* (قرن "bind" :

HWB. 597) = *ṭenu* (طين "clay", rather than 122 "glue")

(VR. 28, 55-6, g-h). *Lubbutrum* must be لبد "to glue", and *ulapī*

lubbutrum the glue made from tanyard-refuse = in AM. used in plasters (adhesive, cf. SM. ii, 470, 472) and fumigations (for ammonia (?)) (PRSM. 1924, 14). For "fox-flesh", Smith, CT. xxxvii, 26, 17.

² Meissner, ZA. vi, 295. The comparison is sufficiently apt.

³ The "human-bone plant" is the safflower (AH. 261) as well as the umbelliferous *asa (dulcis)*, and *imhur-pani* is some kind of heliotrope. The yellow *calendula* has a remote resemblance to safflower.

⁴ The daisy-like Ishtar-emblem (AH. 69) and the yellow *Anacyclus* (AH. 71) confirm AH. 93 "probably some similar flower" (to *imhur-pani*, **calendula*), "probably yellow." *Imhur-ašrā* may well be *Chrysanthemum segetum*, L. (see AH. 92). *Šigušu*, *šaššugu* is a bitter seed (like lupin or bitter vetch), cultivated round Seruj (Johns, Domesday, 29).

⁵ 

⁶ Cf. *še-um ub-bu-lu* (HWB. 7).


til-lat ša ¹*u*^u*bîni ša* *SU alpu šal-mu ana AN.KU.ŠI* (10) *ina eli šak-na* (young shoot of tamarisk whereon the black ox-hide is placed for AN.KU.ŠI).¹ **BIR.ZU:ki-iz-zu*²:**BIR:u-ri-ša:ZU:e-du-u*. ³*MA.KIL*³:*tu-na-as-su-ma:ki-ma ba-aš-ša* (like sand, mud). *Urtu ki-ma* ⁴*u*^u*bîni u sâmu* (*urtu*-plant⁴ like tamarisk, and red) (11) *Amel* (?)⁵ (?) *A-nu*⁶:*ki-ma ḫal-la e-ri-bi* (like the vent⁶ of a raven). *Aš*⁷:*ki-ma ḫal-la turti*⁸ (like the vent of a dove). *ŠIM.AN.BAR UŠ ki-ma ḫu-lip-tu* ⁹*u*^u*bîni ka-šar u sâmu* (male *nikibtu*⁹ like tamarisk-bark, massed and red). *Ni-kib-tu ŠAL ki-ma ḫu-lip-tu* ¹⁰*u*^u*bîni* (12) *rak-ka-ḫu u a-ru-ḫu* (female *n.* like tamarisk-bark, fine and yellow). *KI.A AN.ID*⁹ *Uḫ AN.ID:kiḫrit*¹⁰ *nâri a-ru-uk-tum* (yellow bank of the river = sulphur). *KI.A AN.ID A.GAR.GAR AN.ID*¹¹:*kiḫrit nâri ša-li-in-du* (black bank of the river):

¹ For tanning (?), cf. Thureau-Dangin, *RA*. 1920, 27. *Tillatu*, *HWB*. 707.

² *AM*. 4, 6, 8 (*PRSM*. 1924, 15), where it has a horn. *Kizzu*, a garment, *Torezyner*, *DKAW*. 1913, 118.

³ (?) *u*^u*š.ḡIL:ḡIŠ.ḡIL* = Gall, Thureau-Dangin, *ib.*, 28.

⁴ For lice, *AH*. 192.

⁵ (?) mistake for *šiš-a-nu*, cyperus (*AH*. 32), perhaps *sis-a-nu*  panicle.

⁶ *Ḫallu*, Thureau-Dangin, *Une Relation*, 6.

⁷ *AH*. 265.

⁸ **Liquidambar*, *styrax praeparatus* (*AH*. 141): *ḫuliptu* : *kašar* "bound": *rakḫaḫu* .

⁹ *PRSM*. 1924, 2.

¹⁰ Read feminine with the adjective.

¹¹ *KI.A AN.ID* should properly be separate from these: (e.g. *Uḫ AN.ID*, separate *AM*. 14, 4, 4: 32, 1, 6: 96, 4, 6: with *KI.A AN.ID* but apart, 93, 1, 3: *A.GAR.GAR AN.ID* (preceded by [*Uḫ AN.ID*], 78, 10, 4: *BA.BA.ZA* (*papasi*) *AN.ID*, 52, 3, 7: 58, 4, 8: 70, 3, 1). Consider (a) *MUN.EME.ŠAL.LIM* with them, which is a salt, probably efflorescent in the soil, perhaps potash, as I suggested, *PRSM*. 1924, 26: its use in *AM*. (eyes, ears, cleaning teeth, gargle, fumigation) makes nitrate of potash, nitre, certain (like nitrum, Pliny, *NH*. xxxi, 46, eyes, dentifrice, vermin in head, singing in ears: cf. *SM*. ii, 116, ears, and 193, teeth: *P*. 957, gargle, inhalation). Efflorescence of nitrate of potash occurs in alluvial districts, Mesopotamia (Ainsworth, *Assyria*, 118): potash in solution in floods (Admiralty, *Geology of Mesopotamia*, 14-15). (b) *Uḫ AN.ID* "spittle of the river" (25 *u*. in *AM*.) = "bank of Euphrates" (opposed to "bank of Tigris", sulphur, *CT*. xxxvii, ii, 34-5: *AH*. 257): in *AM*. chiefly external, but internally 32, 1, 6 (?): lungs, 53, 4, 17: cf. 54, 1 r. 12: epigastrium, 48, 2, 8: alone,

(13) KI.A AN.ID BA.BA.ZA AN.ID¹: *kābrīt nāri pi-ši-tum* (white bank of the river): MUN.EME.ŠAL.LIM: *tābat lib-bi nāri* (salt from the river). A.DAN ŠIM.ĤAL *hi-i-lu ša a-na^a a-su-tum in-ni-ip-pu-uš* (*galbanum,² a gum for medicine): *Ĥil LI.TUR* (14): *ki-ma e-pi-ri a-šur-ri-e* (abukatu-gum³ like the dust of a wall). ŠIM.KIL: *tu-ri*⁴: *in-ša-ru-u: hi-bi-š-ti* ŠIM.GAM.GAM *ša kap-pi-e lib-bu-u* (gum of the fir-tree wherein are "hands"⁵). ŠIM.BULUG⁶ ŠIM.MEŠ.LA ŠIM.LU.LU: ŠIM.MUK ŠIM.ŠAL (15) *hi-bi-š-ti ša ina šipti UD.E.u.* ŠIM.ZUN: *u-ru-u*⁷: *la-ba-na-tum*⁸: ^uERIN.BAD: *šu-pu-uh-ri*⁹: ^uERIN.BAD *ša-niš bal-ti-it-tum ša lib^u erini* (otherwise, a wood-worm of the cedar). MUN *a-ma-nu U.MU.UN: a-ma-nu* (16) [U.M]U.UN *da-mu aš-šu tābtu sa-mat ša mātu* *Ma-da-a-a* (Amanu-salt, "salt of blood," because it is red salt of Media).¹⁰ IM.DIR: *šer-šer-ri* (vermilion). "*Kur-ka-*

eyes, KAR 202, 14; with sulphur alone (incense), Zimmern, *Rit.*, 112, 9. Borax, as antiseptic, found in dried lakes near recent volcanoes, or boric acid (deposit of hot springs) (Rutley, *Elements of Mineralogy*, 126) satisfy the claims: I doubt my "magnesite" (PRSM. 1924, 14). Hit has its hot springs, and a trade in salt by evaporation (Ainsworth, *ib.*, 85): borax is part of mineral wealth of Mesopotamia (*Geology of Mesopotamia*, 66). (c) A.GAR.GAR AN.ID "dung of the river", a black product. A.GAR.GAR, usually of gazelle, but also of sheep (*AM.* 69, 8, 8): "green" (74, 1, 12). It is some small spherical black substance of the river, probably asphalt.

¹ (d) BA.BA.ZA AN.ID, a white substance from the river. See Hrozný, *Getreide*, 105.

² AH. 140.

³ AH. 33.

⁴ Gum of *Pinus Halepensis*, AH. 158. *Inšarú*, אִנְשָׁרָא "sap".

⁵ The simile will be obvious from several species of *Pinus* which in spring put forth half a dozen light-coloured shoots at the end of each branch, giving exactly the impression of the cupped hand and fingers.

⁶ = ŠIM.MUK further on: just as ŠIM.MEŠ.LA = ŠIM.ŠAL.

⁷ Or *šamrú*, שָׁמְרָא "made to flow" (but distinct from *šimru* "fennel").

⁸ = לְבֹנָה "frankincense".

⁹ Possibly *ku(zid) bu-uh-ri* "grains of incense" (بُخُور).

¹⁰ Salt of Amanus, possibly *sal ammoniac* (Jastrow, PRSM. 1914, 25). But its "red" makes it uncertain: Ibn Beithar (No. 381) speaks of a red nitre.

*nu-u ki-ma su-ha-tum*¹ (turmeric, like excrement) : *gul-lu-ub*²
"kur-ka-nu-u ša ša-di-i (shavings of turmeric of the mountains).
 (17) . . . [PI (?) RI (?)] ZA (?) . AH : *"kur-ka-nu-u ša ma-a-tu*
 (turmeric of the country) = *"sa-pal-gi-na*.³ NI.GIŠ BUR :
 NI.GIŠ BAR : *bi-'-il-ti* : BUR : *bi-'-il-ti ša-niš* NI-NUN.NA *šal-šiš*
 NI *hal-ša ri-bi-iš* . . . (i.e. BUR = evil-smelling, or curd, or
 thirdly, refined oil, or fourthly . . .) (18) . . . BA : *nap-har*
har-(?) : *"LAL : ki-ma "uḥašḥuri ina ni-rib tam-tim a-šar*
šam-mu u GIŠ.GI la ba-šu-u ina pān mēpi ušū ina muḥ-ḥi-šu
 (19) . . . ⁴. *al-la-an šer-ri* (infant's enema). *"A.ZAL.LA :*
ki-ma "ka-na-šu-u u sammu (cannabis, like opium, and red) :
*"A.ZAL.LA : šam ni-is-sat ba-še-e*⁵ (cannabis, for when there
 is sorrow). *"KUR.KUR (*hyoscyamus) :* (20) . . . ZI *e-ri-bi :*
 . . . KU : *sa (?) -pan-du*.⁶ *Gul-gul* NAM.MULU.GIŠGAL.LU :
"uḥīnu.⁷ *Šer* NAM.MULU.GIŠGAL.LU (21) . . . *ša-ap-pa-ri*.
Šik-kat : pa-'-a-nu ša "mriḫki šim-di ša ŠE.BAR u kašī šAR
*ešteniš(niš) šAR. šAR-ma*⁸ (a *bonne-bouche* of the confectioner,
 a preparation of corn and roses mixed). (22) . . . *išid "uḥīni*
UD.DU-u ša-niš ka-mun "uḥīni (tamarisk-root dried (?), or
 tamarisk-lichen). *ṭakGab-u : ṭakgab-u* (alum). (23) . . . *pa-gu-u :*
u-ku-pi ša ap-pi-ta-šu ana pani-šu ka-pa-at (the *pagū* is
 a *ukupu* whose snout is curved back on its face⁹) : *ka-pu :*
 (24) . . . *Šu-ba-ri. "Har-lum-ba-šir*¹⁰ *šam-mu ḥi-niḫ-tum-*

¹ = אֶתְרֵן, an adequate simile.

² Powdering of the root ?

³ AH. 111.

⁴ The "LAL is unknown : Tiglath-Pileser brought it from S. Babylonia. See AH. 99. "Like an apple, near the sea, where neither plant nor reed grows, coming out by the water, whereon . . ."

⁵ AH. 100.

⁶ Holma, *Kleine Beitr.*, 78, اسفند, but ?

⁷ "Human Skull." I was wrong in PRSM. 1914, 7.

⁸ *Šikkat* must be a sweetmeat. *Pa'ānu*, from *pū*, i.e. something to go in the mouth. On *kašī* = roses, AH. 83. Cassia is impossible.

⁹ Doubtless referring to the simian nose, the animals being apes.

¹⁰ AH. 79.

(drug against retention). *"Eli-gul-la*.¹ (25) . . . : *"ar-za-ni-ik-ka-tu* ² : *"ku-uk-ka-ni-tum* ³ (26) . . . *lu-lu-u*. *"HA* ⁴ : *šam-mu nu-u-nu ka-a-a-an* (fish-drug, continually . . .) (27) . . . *šAR* : *"šu-up-pa-tum*. *"ur-ba-nu*.⁵ (28) . . . : *ar-ra-bi : u-la-ku ša* *matu* *SU.EDIN.KI*. (29) . . . *šUL* : ⁶

R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON.

¹ *AH*. 210.

² "From Arzania" (?).

³ Meissner, *𒌦𒌦𒌦*, *ZA*. vi, 296, but (?).

⁴ Fennel, *AH*. 50.

⁵ Cyperus, *AH*. 31.

⁶ The rev. contains a mention of the tops of *GI.KA.LUM.MA* (nettle) and *bušin šadī* (verbascum, Meissner, *MVAG*. 1913, 2, 42).

NOTICES OF BOOKS

CHU HSI AND HIS MASTERS By J. PERCY BRUCE, M.A.,
D.Lit. Thesis approved* for the Degree of Doctor of
Literature in the University of London, 1923. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$,
xvi + 336 pp. London: Probsthain, 1923.

Dr. Bruce's object in producing what has extended to the above volume was to provide an Introduction to his previous volume on "The Philosophy of Human Nature, by Chu Hsi"; and, secondly, to demonstrate the identity of Chu Hsi's teachings in this sense with those of Christ and His disciples. Thus, we read in a peroration (pp. 318, 319) that "in Love, as the principle of altruism, Chu Hsi finds the true union of subject and object, of the ego and the universe, of the One and the Many. . . . He finds that Love is the fundamental element in human nature. . . . Finally, that he recognizes certain principles as attributes of the human mind, which are also attributes of the Divine mind. And for Chu Hsi the greatest of these is Love".

These last five words are an echo from the Revised Version of the Bible (1881), I Corinthians, xiii, 13, by which the Revisers meant to improve St. Paul's statement in the Authorized Version (1611), where he says "the greatest of these is charity (of heart)". Now the Greek word *ἀγάπη* has two shades of meaning, *love* and *charity*; and there is little doubt but that in 1611 the right shade was taken. The Revisers were not infallible; they corrected some blunders (see *post*) but made others; e.g. "Deliver us from the Evil One". The following list shows what becomes of *ἀγάπη* in some other languages (I Cor. xiii, 13):—

The Vulgate—	.	.	<i>caritas.</i>
French version	.	.	<i>la charité.</i>
Italian	„	.	<i>la carità.</i>
German	„	.	<i>Liebe.</i>

Amour and *amor* are reserved in French and Italian, respectively, for passages which deal with the love of God

or of Christ. There are a few cases in which the French and Italian versions disagree, as when in I Cor. xvi, 24, St. Paul sends his love to the Corinthians, in French as "mon amour", but in Italian as "la mia carità".

Dr. Bruce, in his translation of Chu Hsi, has taken the very important character 仁 *jên*² to mean "love"; and if this is allowed to stand it may be difficult to upset his conclusions. It might be asked, "What kind of love—for there are many—is here indicated?" Certainly neither paternal, nor filial, nor sexual love; least of all the love of God, a feeling unknown to the Chinese people, and one hardly to be recognized by Chu Hsi, who declared that "God is a Principle".

Dr. Legge, in his splendid work on "The Chinese Classics", translated *jên*² by "benevolence", a term only found once in the Bible (1 Cor. vii, 3), and then as a serious mistranslation, corrected by the Revisers. There is little to be said against this rendering of *jên*² if understood in the sense of "a charitable feeling or disposition towards mankind at large"; but this is hardly synonymous with "love". Personally, I prefer the word "charity" (of heart), for which the Revisers hoped, in vain as I think, to substitute "love".

Let us now turn to the highest authority on the subject of *jên*², which leaves little left to be said. In the great lexicon of the Chinese language published under the auspices of the Emperor K'ang Hsi (1697), we find one single synonym given of *jên*². This is 忍 *jên*³, which means "forbearance", and is a word around which has gathered for many centuries a number of household words of application in the senses of charity of heart, toleration, etc., but never in that of such a vague concept as "love". In the sense of "forbearance", it may be said to be one of the corner-stones in the ethics of Confucianism; and more than one passage in Mencius makes it clear that what is meant is "an inability to bear even the sight of the sufferings of others".

Dr. Bruce, who is by no means free in his book from

professional bias, apparently follows the Revisers and Unionists in their change of St. Paul's *charity* into *love*; but that change, even if justifiable, does not justify his translation of Chu Hsi's *jên*² by *love*. An examination of various translations of the New Testament into Chinese will yield perhaps interesting results. For instance:

American version, 1864, translates charity by 愛 *ai* love.

Delegates' version, 1868, translates charity by *jên*².

American version, 1881, translates charity by *jên*².

Chalmers and Schaub's version, 1897, translates charity by *jên*².

Union version (after Revisers), 1912 and 1917, translates love by *ai*.

Thus there is now a reversion to the rendering of 1864. But we must remember that Chinese scholarship was at a fairly low level in 1864, and that the translation of 1897 was guaranteed by the name of Dr. Chalmers, a great Chinese scholar, second in his day at Hong-kong only to Dr. Legge at Oxford, in agreement with another Chinese scholar of the first-class, Dr. Eitel. That these translators in their use of *jên*² were dealing with the 1611 version, and consequently with *charity* and not with *love*, is clear from comparison with other passages; e.g. they keep to "Deliver us from evil", whereas the makers of the Union version accept "the Evil One".

In conclusion, the point at issue here, although there are others (e.g. 亨 beauty), is the rendering of Chu Hsi's *jên*² by "love". Dr. Bruce banks on the correctness of this rendering, and draws therefrom an elaborate conclusion, already quoted. If he is wrong,

Lo! Fancy's fairy frost-work melts away.

H. A. GILES.

MÉLANGES D'HISTOIRE ET DE GÉOGRAPHIE ORIENTALES.

Tome IV. Par HENRI CORDIER, Membre de l'Institut, Professeur à l'école des langues orientales. 10 × 6½. 272 pp. Paris: Librairie Orientale et Américaine. Jean Maisonneuve & Fils, Editeurs.

This is the fourth and last volume of Professor Cordier's important series of essays on topics of Oriental history and geography, and comprises seven such papers. If, on the whole, it yields in interest to the earlier volumes, as I think it does, it is probably because there is in it less from the pen of M. Cordier himself than its predecessors contained. Nor is the reason far to seek, for in six out of the seven essays of the present collection M. Cordier's rôle is editorial and not that of an original author, and one may surmise that he has left over to this last instalment several of the papers, which though they are well worth a place in such a work as he set himself to accomplish, have less obvious attraction for the average reader.

The fourth of the collection is entitled "Un Orientaliste Allemand Jules Klapproth". It is short, but reproduces letters that passed between de Sacy in Paris and Count Oubarov in St. Petersburg, on the point of Klapproth's reputation and actions, that are damning. He was in fact, among other things, one of those persons who cannot be safely left alone in a library.

The longest, and apart from the authoritative and masterly account of the literary career and work of Edouard Chavannes, which forms a fitting conclusion to the four volumes, the most entertaining relation of the present collection is "La Mission Dubois de Jancigny dans l'Extrême Orient (1841-1846)". I began this rather wishing it were not so long. I ended with regrets that it was not longer. I do not know how Professor Cordier regards the story he puts before his readers, for he does not smile in public, but to me it proved an excellent comedy, and deserved for its sub-title whatever in French corresponds to "How Not to Do It". All the actors,

including two principal Ministries in Paris, started with such faultless intentions, but some freakish sprite that derides the solemnities of Public Departments and the dignity of official functionaries, brought all to nought and confusion.

L. C. HOPKINS.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE ORIENTAL CERAMIC SOCIETY. Two vols., each $11 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$. 1921-2; 32 pp., 7 plates. 1922-3; 32 pp., 8 plates. London: For private circulation. Published for the Society by Benn, 1923.

In the first month of 1921 at the London house of Mr. Stephen Winkworth a group of twelve connoisseurs, collectors, and scholars met and formed themselves into the Oriental Ceramic Society. They elected as president Mr. George Eumorfopoulos, whose services in furthering the study of Chinese art and craftsmanship, especially in the realm of ceramics, are so well known. Later in the year the membership was increased to fifteen, and it remains at that figure.

It would, perhaps, be rash to suppose that while so limiting their number the members had in mind that famous Sung coterie of the Western Garden, immortalized by the brush of Li Lung-mien and portrayed by many later artists. Nevertheless, the parallel is a fair one, though the preoccupations of the two differ somewhat. The ranks of the Society may lack a poet, yet they include a painter of rare distinction. And one is further encouraged to see a prototype in the Hsi-yüan coterie after reading the Society's *Transactions*. A paper by Mr. Vernon Wethered, entitled "Some Reflections on Artistic Value" is conceived in the true spirit of oriental virtuosoship. Valuable technical information is given by Professor Collie and Sir Herbert Jackson in a "Monograph on the Copper-red Glazes". The archæological side is represented by Mr. R. L. Hobson's paper on the ninth-century Chinese wares excavated in the ruins of Samarra on the Tigris, which prove the existence of T'ang porcelain. The literary appeal of ceramic decoration is recognized in a note on the legendary significance of a

certain K'ang Hsi dish offering a veritable treasure-trove of Chinese fairy-lore. Records of objects examined at the Society's meetings, brief though they are, suggest an interchange of expert appreciations and criticisms; and excellent illustrations afford suitable mementos of these friendly symposia.

The parallel I have ventured to draw is moreover strengthened by a hint that the life of the Society is not lacking in that graceful conviviality which distinguished its Chinese prototype. We are told that the meetings "were held at the houses of members residing in London, who acted as hosts". Long may the Oriental Ceramic Society flourish and continue to publish its admirable *Transactions*!

THE ART OF THE CHINESE POTTER. By R. L. HOBSON and A. L. HETHERINGTON. 11 x 8 $\frac{3}{4}$, xx + 20 pp. 153 plates. London: Benn, 1923.

The names of the authors of this work are in themselves sufficient guarantee of its excellence. It is primarily an album containing reproduced photographs, some coloured, of 192 examples of Chinese ceramics made during the eighteen centuries from the rise of the Han dynasty to the fall of the Ming. In choosing the examples, care has been taken to exclude those already represented in accessible publications, and the authors do a public service by providing means of knowing the treasures of many private collections in this country. An admirable Introduction of 18 pages sketches the growth of the Chinese potter's art up to the early part of the seventeenth century. Mention is made of recent excavations at Samarra, on the Tigris, which prove true porcelain with high-fired felspathic glazes to have been made under the T'ang; and among other problems of moment is discussed the identification of the classical *Ju yao*. Mr. Eumorfopoulos' opinion (*Trans. Or. Ceramic Soc.*, 1923) is followed in considering that *y'ing-ch'ing* ware is allied to the famed products of the Ju Chou kilns so highly praised by native writers.

About the origin of the Japanese term *temmoku* M. Pelliot has made some comments (*T'oung Pao*, 1923, pp. 35-7). This word or the Chinese *t'ien-mu*, from which it is derived, has such wide currency in ceramic nomenclature that it seems worth while to mention a point that has escaped notice. It should not be rendered "Eye of Heaven" as it is here and generally has been. The correct English equivalent of *T'ien-mu Shan* is "Eyes-in-the-sky Mountains". The reason for the name is that there are two peaks, and on the summit of each is a pool; the pools being likened to a pair of eyes.

A valuable feature of this volume are the concise and authoritative descriptions accompanying the excellent illustrations, and they are specially welcome because of the lack of such in some previous publications of the kind. Here and there iconographic identifications might be challenged. For instance, pl. civ, fig. 2, does not represent Han Shan and Shih Tê. It is true that Chinese artists and craftsmen have often confused to some extent the "Twin Genii of Union and Harmony" with the semi-Buddhistic pair; but here the group has nothing to do with the latter. This lack of discrimination is to be remembered when looking at pl. cxviii. One of the figures is rightly said to be that of Liu Hai (printed in error Liu Han). It seems probable, however, that the two figures do not form a complete pair, but are part of a trio often shown in combination, Liu Hai and the Twin Genii. Though the besom is properly an attribute of Shih Tê, it is often given to one of the merry Twin.

W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

FRIENDLY BOOKS ON FAR CATHAY. By FLORENCE AYS COUGH.

7½ × 5, 58 pp. Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1921.

Written by an enthusiast, this little book welcomes prospective students of things Chinese, introduces them to a chosen and classified library, and finally pilots them through nearly 5,000 years of history. When it is remembered that more than 17,000 works written in European languages have

appeared on subjects connected with China and a large proportion of them are rubbish, Mrs. Ayscough's kindly aid can be appreciated at its full value. No two persons are likely to agree about the choice of the few hundred best books; but, if one could take the opinion of a number of qualified judges, probably every one of them would pick out at least half of those recommended by the authoress. Such a statement sufficiently indicates the wideness of her reading and the catholicity of her sympathies.

A few slips here and there have escaped correction. For instance, Gordon is stated to have commanded the T'ai-p'ing rebels, instead of imperial troops.

W. P. Y.

EARLY CHINESE JADES. By UNA POPE-HENNESSY. 11×8½, xx+149 pp., 64 plates. London: Ernest Benn, Ltd., 1923.

The subject of early carvings in jade is one that has not yet received its fair share of attention. Like porcelain, jade is essentially a product of the Middle Kingdom, and requires for its proper study a considerable knowledge of the Chinese language, as well as familiarity with the ancient religious ideas and observances of the Chinese people. Dr. Laufer, the chief pioneer in this field of research, was fortunately well equipped for his task in both these respects, and his work on jade contains a mass of valuable information collected from various Chinese sources. Dame Una Pope-Hennessy has not neglected to avail herself of this material, and expresses her gratitude in handsome terms. But Dr. Laufer's book was published in 1912, and though a good deal has been written about jade since then, it amounts to little more than empty theorizing and rather wild conjecture. It is in attempting to find her way through this uncharted sea without a trustworthy pilot that the present author shows her limitations all too clearly. Herself an enthusiastic collector, she certainly has the gift of making her subject attractive, and it is all the more

to be regretted that she has been obliged to get her information at second hand, with the inevitable crop of mistakes that this process involves.

Our knowledge of the different types of ritual jade is derived from an important passage in the *Chou Li*, which is so precise in its terms that one is surprised to find our author complaining of its obscurity: "In the *Chou Li*," she says, "the description of insignia of power and the symbols of religion are grouped under a generic title Tablet. It does not seem to matter whether the object in question was polygonal, cylindrical, disc-like, or shaped as an animal—they are all Tablets for the authors of the *Chou Li*. To our mind the word tablet conveys the idea of some thin flat object, but in the *Chou Li* the word has a wider connotation." It is quite evident from these remarks that she cannot have read the passage in the original, which runs as follows: "The Grand Master of Sacrificial Worship fashions out of jade the six auspicious tokens (*jui*) which serve to classify the different states and principalities. The sovereign holds a 'protective' *kuei*; the duke holds a 'pillar' *kuei*; the marquess holds a *kuei* in the shape of an upright human figure; the earl holds a *kuei* in the shape of a bending human figure; the viscount holds a *pi* with grain pattern; the baron holds a *pi* with rush pattern. . . . The Grand Master fashions out of jade six ceremonial objects (*ch'i*) wherewith to worship Heaven, Earth, and the four quarters of space. With a sky-blue *pi* worship is paid to Heaven; with a yellow *ts'ung*, worship is paid to Earth; with a green *kuei*, to the East; with a red *chang*, to the South; with a white *hu*, to the West; with a black *huang*, to the North." It will be observed that there is no generic word for tablet here. The insignia of power are called *jui*, and subdivided into varieties of *kuei* and *pi*. The symbols of worship are called *ch'i*, and comprise six different sorts of tablet.

Again, a French writer has propounded a theory that the cylindrical *ts'ung* represents the *chung liu* (not *liao*, as it is written here) or central opening in a Chinese house, basing it

on the meagre evidence of this sentence in the *Li chi*: "The head of the family offered sacrifices in the *chung-liu*, and the head of the State on the altar of the spirits of the Soil." This, through a misunderstanding of the French translation ("*Le chef de famille sacrifiait au tchong-lieou*," etc.), is perverted into: "the head of the family sacrifices to the *chung liao* as the head of the state sacrifices to the spirit of Earth." An instructive instance of the way in which texts can become garbled in transmission.

A somewhat similar mistake occurs in the chapter on Astronomical Instruments: "Shun observed the mechanism and the evolution of the balance of jade in order to verify the accord between the seven governments." This is frankly unintelligible. The plain sense of the Chinese is: "Shun examined the revolving instrument with its jade cross-piece, in order to harmonize the movements of the Seven Regulators" (i.e. the sun, moon, and five planets). The instrument in question appears to have been some kind of armillary sphere. Chavannes has not improved on Legge here, and Dame Una Pope-Hennessy has misrendered Chavannes, so that we are left at least two degrees from the truth. On the same page it is stated that "Yao fixed the year at 360 days", which is incorrect. According to both the *Shu ching* and the *Shih chi*, he fixed it at 366 days—a remarkably close approximation to its actual length.

Inaccuracies like these abound from cover to cover. They may not be very serious, taken singly, but in the mass they are enough to render the book utterly unreliable, especially as they are usually delivered with an air of authority. It is amusing to learn that "the long article on jade in the great Kang Shi [*sic*] encyclopædia . . . is of very little use to the student of archaic jades", considering that it contains practically all that is known on the subject. Dr. Laufer himself speaks of it as "the completest possible collection of notes on jade", and, of course, the present work is heavily—though indirectly—indebted to it. Perhaps our author

meant that it would be of little use to anyone unacquainted with Chinese ; if so, no one will quarrel with the statement.

It is a relief to turn to the magnificent plates, some coloured and some in half-tone, with which the book is copiously illustrated, though even here irritation arises from the repeated use of the word "stylised" instead of "stylized". The jade objects shown are numerous and varied, having been reproduced from a large number of private collections in this country as well as one or two foreign museums.

LIONEL GILES.

Brief Notices of Recent Books relating to the Far East

THE KAN YING PIEN. The Chinese Text, with introduction, translation, and notes. By JAMES WEBSTER. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, 30 pp. Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1918.

China is the land of reverence for the written character, and tracts of infinite variety are immensely popular. Among them none is more famous than the *Kan Ying Pien*, commonly called "Book of Rewards and Punishments". The title used by Professor Giles is, however, a closer rendering: "Evoke Response Tract". It has been translated by many scholars since the early days of sinological studies; but for one reason or another these translations are not easily to be obtained. Students of Chinese may, therefore, be grateful to Mr. Webster for publishing so complete an edition of this important Taoist document.

It is evident that the author has studied his subject in the most painstaking manner, and the various sections dealing with "Tracts in Chinese Literature", "Popular Taoism", "Authorship and Date of the *Kan Ying Pien*", and so on, are excellent. The appendices and the concise vocabulary are also most helpful. The translation itself is, however, not so satisfactory. On the one hand Mr. Webster is much too diffuse; on the other, by omitting to translate certain striking characters his rendering loses force. He, moreover, constantly

uses English colloquialisms which ruin the Chinese flavour. For instance, the terse statement describing the fate of the wrong-doer on page 15 is most impressive in its simplicity and requires no amplification. The text reads: "There are Spirits presiding over transgressions. They deduct from man's allotted period-of-life according as his trespasses are trivial or weighty. The period is diminished; poverty is consuming; many sorrows and misfortunes are encountered. All men hate him; evil stars send calamity upon him. The allotted period-of-life exhausted—death ensues."

Mr. Webster's rendering reads: "Appoint spirits as Ministers of Justice, who according to the lightness or gravity of men's crimes shorten their lives by an adjudged number of years. The penalty pronounced, poverty comes upon the culprit, sorrows assail him; he is hated of all men: punishment and calamity dog his footsteps, happiness and joy shun him, the stars in their courses fight against him, and when the retribution is complete death claims him for its own."

KYŌTO TEIKOKU DAIGAKU BUNGAKU-BU EIIN Tō-SHŌHUN
DAI-ICHI-SHŪ. 14 × 10, 83 pp. Kyoto: Imperial
University, 1922.

Enclosed in their beautiful dark blue cover, four slim volumes from the Department of Literature, Kyoto Imperial University, are most attractive. They contain collotype reproductions of ancient Chinese texts as follows:

- I. Mao's edition of the *Odes*, Book x, "The Odes of T'ang," fragmentary chapters.
 - II. Mao's edition of the *Odes*, Book xi, Paraphrases of "the Odes of Ts'in", fragmentary chapter.
 - III. The *Han Yüan*, Chapter xxx.
 - IV. Collected works of Wang Po, Chapters xxix and xxx.
- Mao Ch'ang, it will be remembered, was the scholar who lived during the second century B.C. He prepared an edition of the *Odes* with a commentary of his own, now known as "Mao's Odes". They are supposed to contain the original text as delivered by Confucius.

Wang Po was a scholar of much later date, a notice of whom is given by Professor Giles in the *Bibliographical Dictionary*. His learning was vast and he ranked as one of the "Four Heroes" of the T'ang dynasty.

The volumes under review were prepared by the Chinese scholar, Lo Chên-yü, during his residence in Japan. The Introduction, which is largely a tribute to Mr. Lo's learning, is written by Professor Kanō Naoki.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS HISTORY OF THE CHINESE IN SINGAPORE. By SONG ONG SIANG, M.A., LL.M. (Cantab.). $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6$, xxii + 602 pp., 160 plates. London: Murray, 1923.

Mr. Song Ong Siang writes with great and pardonable enthusiasm; for what the Chinese have accomplished in Malaya is nothing short of extraordinary.

He traces their history from the earliest days, and then describes in detail present-day conditions and activities, such as the remarkable contribution made by the Chinese communities of Malaya to various War Funds. He tells us about the Chinese Volunteer Company, of the Y.M.C.A. Huts, of the Chinese Ladies' Association, "which has many activities"; of innumerable societies, literary, musical, theatrical, etc., giving a vivid picture of an Oriental community thoroughly impregnated with Occidental ideas, and very loyal to the Empire of which it is a part. He speaks of Mr. Eu Tong Sen, "the first person in Malaya to present a battleplane, and also the first to present a tank." This tank had eyes painted on either side of its bow in traditional Chinese form. A curious point is that Mr. Song Ong Siang—so thoroughly westernized has he become—gives as an explanation for this, the old legend told by Europeans, that such eyes are placed to assist the vehicle in its progression. Regarding this legend, Meadows in his authoritative work *Desultory Notes on the Government and People of China* as long ago as 1847 wrote as follows:—"The Chinese who speak no English seem to be all quite ignorant of the idea that the eyes painted on junks

are given the latter on account of some (improbable) notion regarding its seeing—an idea that prevails in England in consequence of the old story ‘no got eye, how can see wakee?’ All the junks I have seen with eyes had also noses and mouths with large tusks painted on them, and the Chinese say that the object in thus giving the heads of vessels the appearance of belonging to a large animal, is to frighten away the large fish and sea-demons. This may seem at first sight a very trivial subject to notice, but as the error prevalent in Europe regarding it tends in some degree to give a false notion of the Chinese mind, it will hardly be considered trivial by those who would wish to see the largest nation in the world properly understood.”

THROUGH FORMOSA. An Account of Japan's Island Colony.

By OWEN RUTTER, F.R.G.S., F.R.A.I. 9 × 5½, 288 pp., 29 plates, 1 map. London: Fisher Unwin, 1923.

Mr. Rutter describes his book as “the work of a passer-by through a beautiful, fascinating, but little known island, to which foreigners are not usually encouraged to go. An introduction to its romantic history, to its rich natural resources, and to the unhappy story of the fortunes of the brown people who live on its jungle hills”.

Principally interested in the success of present-day Japanese colonization, he received the greatest courtesy and assistance from those in authority during the course of his investigations. He considers that the Japanese have succeeded marvellously in developing economically that which thirty years ago was little more than a wilderness. Of their failures with the aboriginal tribes he writes plainly but sympathetically.

A full bibliography accompanies the book, and not the least valuable item in the work is a list of words given to show the affinities between the Malay, Murut (North Borneo), and Formosan languages.

THE ARHATS IN CHINA AND JAPAN. By Dr. M. W. DE VISSER.

11 × 8½, 215 pp., 16 plates. Berlin: Oesterheld & Co., 1923.

Dr. De Visser's valuable work is a reprint from *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*. It is fully illustrated with examples from the *Kokkwa*, and from collections in museums, temples, and in private hands. The headings to the six chapters give a succinct view of the comprehensive nature of its contents. 1. The Name and Qualities of an Arhat. 2. The Five Hundred Arhats in India; the Five Hundred Lohans in China; and the Five Hundred Rakans in Japan. 3. Discusses the Sixteen and Eighteen Arhats, Lohans, and Rakans in the respective countries. 4. Legends about the Arhats from various Chinese books. 5. The ceremony performed by the Sodo branch of the Zen sect in honour of the Sixteen Arhats. 6. Conclusions.

The book is indeed a summing up of conclusions reached by the various students of Buddhism, whose works are quoted and referred to freely.

SHIN-TÔ. The Way of the Gods in Japan. According to the printed and unprinted Reports of the Japanese Jesuit Missionaries in the 16th and 17th centuries. By GEORGE SCHURHAMMER, S.J. $11\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$, 210 pp. + 114 illustrations. Bonn and Leipzig: Schroeder, 1923.

The illustrations in this book are very fine indeed, and the colour plates, especially No. ix, "the Eagle Chamber, Nikko," and No. xii, "Shinto priests," are of unusual beauty. The descriptions of the illustrations are, however, most inadequate, and give no explanation whatever of the symbolism used. The book will add but little to Western knowledge of Shintoism itself, or of Japanese mythology in general, as it is unfortunately steeped in religious prejudice. The English translation, which is printed in columns parallel with the German text, leaves much to be desired in the way of language.

JAPAN UND DIE JAPANER. By DR. KARL HAUSHOFER. 9×6 , vi + 166 pp., 12 maps. Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1923.

In the introduction to this compact handbook, which is filled with information, Professor Haushofer stresses the

importance to Germany, "who has not too many friends in the world," of knowledge of this Far Eastern State. He calls this a political and commercial necessity. "Germany must not let friends slip through lack of understanding." That being his creed, the author proceeds to present facts relating to Japan in five chapters. He discusses the physical formation, the population of Japan, the status of the individual in the family and in the State, and so on. He also refers to geology, botany, the fauna and flora, the social character and the power of the "fathers". The text is illustrated with a series of excellent maps.

THE MAKING OF MODERN JAPAN. By J. H. GUBBINS, C.M.G., Hon. M.A. (Oxon). $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, 316 pp., 11 plates. London: Seeley Service & Co., Ltd., 1922.

As author of various works on Japan, Mr. Gubbins is fully qualified to describe the making of the modern state. After touching lightly on the early history of the nation, he treats in more detail the establishment of feudalism and duarchy, the Shogunate and the Throne, and early foreign relations with Japan. To the Tokugawa Shogunate he devotes particular attention, as he considers this period the most important in Japanese history. He states:—"The Japanese people as we see them to-day are more the product of that period than any other."

THE FOUNDATIONS OF JAPAN. By J. W. ROBERTSON SCOTT. $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xxv + 446 pp., 85 plates. London: Murray, 1922.

An alternative title written in Japanese characters on the cover of this book means "The Marrow, or Core of Japan". Before writing it the author spent four and a half years in the country districts of Japan, travelling from village to village, studying the agricultural conditions, and the educational facilities; talking earnestly with Shinto and Buddhist priests, and listening sympathetically to the plans of land-

lords who desired to turn their tenants into peasant proprietors ; investigating the modern industrial problems, and striving to understand the prejudices and principles, both social and moral, of the Japanese people. The volume is written from the perspective of hamlet and village "in the hope that its readers may be enabled to see a little deeper into that problem of the relation of the West with Asia, which the historian of the future will unquestionably regard as the greatest of our time . . . The basic fact about Japan is that it is an agricultural country. Japanese aestheticism, the victorious Japanese army and navy, the smoking chimneys of Osaka, the pushing mercantile marine, the parliamentary and administrative developments of Tokyo, and a costly world-wide diplomacy, are all borne on the bent backs of the Japanese farmer and his wife ".

Mr. Robertson Scott lays down very few dogmatic opinions ; he is content to describe conditions as he found them, and to pour out the invaluable contents of his detailed note-book for our benefit. It is a most suggestive method, and many of the questions which occur to the reader are answered by implications in the body of the book.

The excellent illustrations are from photographs by the author, and from clever sketches by Miss Elizabeth Keith.

FLORENCE AYS COUGH.

Indica

1. A BUDDHIST MANUAL OF PSYCHOLOGICAL ETHICS. Being a translation of the first book in the Abhidhamma Piṭaka entitled DHAMMA-SANGAṆI (Compendium of States or Phenomena). With introductory essay and notes by CAROLINE A. F. RHYS DAVIDS, D.Litt., M.A. Second edition. Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, vol. xii. 8vo ; pp. cxiii, 364. London, 1923.
2. TRAVANCORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SERIES. Published under the orders of the Government of Travancore. By K. V.

- SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR, B.A. Vol. III, Parts I, II. $11 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, ii, i, i, i, 232, 2, xxvi pp. Trivandrum, 1922-3.
3. ACTA ORIENTALIA. Ediderunt Societates Orientales Batava Danica Norvegica curantibus F. Buhl, Havniæ, C. Snouck Hurgronje, Lugd. Bat., Sten Konow, Christianiæ, Ph. S. van Ronkel, Lugd. Bat. Redigenda curavit STEN KONOW. Vol. I. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, 324 pp. Lugduni Batavorum, 1923.
 4. THE JOURNAL OF THE K.R. CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE. No. 1. Edited by Dr. JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A. $9 \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, 117 pp. Bombay: British India Press, 1922.
 5. THE VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY. Vol. I, No. 1. Editor, RABINDRANATH TAGORE. Vol. I, No. 2. Editor, SURENDRANATH TAGORE. $10 \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, 82 pp. Calcutta, 1923.
 6. PURĀTATTVA. Edited and published by RASIKLĀL CHŌṬĀLĀL PARĪKH. Vol. I, Nos. 1-3. Gujarāt Purātattva-mandira. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. Ahmadabad, 1922-3.
 7. ĀRYA-VIDYĀ-VYĀKHYĀNA-MĀLĀ. Edited and published by RASIKLĀL CHŌṬĀLĀL PARĪKH. (Gujarāt Purātattva-mandira-granthāvalī, No. 3.) $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, ii, 244 pp. Ahmadabad, 1922.
 8. BUDDHA-LĪLĀ-SĀRA-SAMGRAHA. By DHARMĀNANDA KŌSAMBĪ. (Gujarāt Purātattva-mandira-granthāvalī, No. 7.) $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, xxiii, 396 pp. Ahmadabad, 1923.
 9. RĀJA-NĪTI-ŚĀSTRA. By PRĀṆANĀTHA VIDYĀLĀNKĀRA. (Jñāna-maṇḍala-grantha-mālā, No. 17.) $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, vi, 434 pp. Benares, 1922.
 10. RĀṢṬRĪYA-ĀYA-VYĀYA-ŚĀSTRA. By the same. (Jñāna-maṇḍala-grantha-mālā, No. 18.) $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. iii, iii, xii, 526, xi. Benares, 1923.
 11. ĀNGREZ-JĀTI-KĀ ITIHĀS. By GAṄGĀ-PRASĀD, M.A. (Jñāna-maṇḍala-grantha-mālā, No. 19.) $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, iv, iv, 421 pp. Benares, 1923.
 12. BHĀRAT-VARṢ-KĀ ITIHĀS. (Jñāna-maṇḍala-grantha-mālā, No. 20.) $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, iii, ii, 332 pp., 10 plates. Benares, 1923.

13. LES THÉORIES DIPLOMATIQUES DE L'INDE ANCIENNE ET L'ARTHAÇÂSTRA. Par KÂLIDÂS NÂG, Docteur en Lettres. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, 143, i, i, i pp. Paris, 1923.
14. DAS EDICT VON BHABRA. Zur Kritik und Geschichte, von MAX WALLESER. (Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus, Heft I.) $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, 20 pp. Leipzig, 1923.
15. THE DRAVIDIAN ELEMENT IN INDIAN CULTURE. By GILBERT SLATER, M.A., D.Sc. $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, 192 pp., 7 plates. London, 1924.
16. SAGAR-SAROJ, or SAUGOR DISTRICT GAZETTEER (in Hindi). By RAI BAHADUR HIRA LAL, B.A. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, vi, iv, iii, i, iii, 155 pp., 4 plates. Narsinghpur, 1922.
17. POEMS BY INDIAN WOMEN. Selected and rendered by various translators, and edited by MARGARET MACNICOL. (The Heritage of India Series.) $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$, 99 pp., 1 plate. Calcutta and London: H. Milford. Mysore printed, 1923.
18. A HISTORY OF KANARESE LITERATURE. Second edition revised and enlarged. By EDWARD P. RICE, B.A. (The Heritage of India Series.) $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$, 128 pp., 1 plate, 1 map. Calcutta and London: H. Milford. Mysore printed, 1921.
19. TWEE OUDE FRANSCHÉ VERHANDELINGEN OVER HET HINDOEÏSME, uitgegeven en toegelicht door W. Caland. (Verhandelingen d. Kon. Akad. v. Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afd. Letterkunde, N.R., Dl. XXIII, No. 3.) $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7$, xii, 195 pp. Amsterdam, 1923.
20. AMOURISM, OR PREMÂMRITA. By R. S. TAKI, B.A. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, iii, 254 pp., 1 plate. Bombay, 1922.
21. DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF ALL MANUSCRIPTS IN THE FIRST DASTUR MEHERJI RANA LIBRARY, NAVSARI. Prepared by BAMANJI NASARVANJI DHABHAR, M.A. 20×7 , ii, 170 pp. Bombay, 1923.
22. INDEX TO VOLUMES I-L (1872-1921) INDIAN ANTIQUARY. Compiled by LAVINIA MARY ANSTAY. Part I, Authors' Index. $10\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, pp. i, 50. Bombay, n. d.

The appearance of this second and revised edition of Mrs. Rhys Davids' translation of the Dhamma-saṅgaṇi is a welcome evidence that *habent sua fata libelli*: her book has found many readers, as it deserved, and will find many more. For her work is fundamental in nature and brilliant in form. The Dhamma-saṅgaṇi in itself is but a small book; but its translation with the necessary footnotes occupies 333 pages, and it goes to the very heart of the psychology of the Theravāda. Hardly less important than the translation is the thoughtful "Introductory Essay", which handles the questions of the Dhamma-saṅgaṇi's place in the history of psychology, its date, its relation to the Commentaries, its method and argument, the conceptions of *dhamma* and *rūpa*, the Buddhist theories of sense, mind, and intellection, and the notions of "good, bad, and indeterminate" with singular skill, learning, and literary vigour. In the preface to this edition Mrs. Rhys Davids plaintively laments the futility of the speculations of those σκινδαλαμοφρόδουται αἰπυυτάτης σοφίης, the Ābhidhammikas, to whom she has devoted such intense and penetrating study: "nothing of it all matters very much," Abhidhamma "is a valley of dry bones". It may be so; but it is a notable feat to have correlated these bones of dead effete theories with the living organism of early Buddhist thought whence they originally sprang. Buddhism matters much; and even Abhidhamma still has millions of believers.

While all readers will gladly acknowledge the brilliant success with which the work in general has been carried out, some may perhaps venture to dissent on a few points of detail. The title-page at once invites controversy: is the term *dhamma* most adequately rendered by "state" or "phenomenon"? The subject has recently been discussed with great ability by Professor and Mrs. Geiger on the one side, and by Professor Stcherbatsky on the other, and Mrs. Rhys Davids herself has dedicated to it an instructive section in her Introductory Essay (p. xxxviii ff.). It seems to us that both

“state” and “phenomenon” lay a little too much stress upon the implied ideas of synthesis and subjectivity. The Sanskrit *dharma* originally denoted (a) fixed rule in general, from which were evolved the mere specific conceptions of (b) “Law” as a system of religious rules, with a subdivision (bb) “law” as a system of moral guidance, and (c) the “Law of Nature”, which Mrs. Rhys Davids and the late Professor Rhys Davids have elsewhere called the “Norm”. From (c) again has branched off (cc) a sense of ultimate element, factor, or principle of nature (= *tattva*, στοιχείον), which the Buddhists have tended to regard more and more from a subjective point of view, scil. as an element of phenomenal experience; and from this again has arisen the logical denotation of (ccc) special quality. The earliest use of the term in a philosophical sense is in the Kāṭha Upaniṣad, iv, 14, *evaṃ dharmān prthak paśyaṃs tān evānuvidhāvati*, “thus he who regards *dharma*s in their severalty vanishes away with them,” i.e. one who regards the elements of phenomenal experience as severally and independently real and is blind to the higher Unity, the Self, in which they form a synthesis, loses his self and perishes as phenomena perish.¹ Thus *dhamma* in the singular denotes an ultimum of experience, a presentation-element, and in the plural a group of them; hence the plural in Buddhist writings may not incorrectly be paraphrased by “state”, as “state” usually suggests a synthesis of many elements of experience. But it is only a paraphrase, and a more exact term is to be desired.

Another possible *kathā-vatthu* is the translation of the term *saṃkhāra*, the Sanskrit *saṃskāra*, which Mrs. Rhys Davids renders by “synergy”. This, we fear, is not permissible. Our venerable friends Liddell and Scott explain *συνεργία* by “joint working, co-operation”, *σύν* having the sense of associa-

¹ This passage does not imply a Buddhist standpoint in the Upaniṣad: it might apply equally to e.g. the scheme of *tattvas* in Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava-theology, in which all the *tattvas* have at least a provisional reality. But the use of *dharma* is singular, and very like that of Buddhist doctrine.

tion. But in *samskāra* and *samkhāra* the prefix *sam* denotes not association, but completeness; the compound signifies primarily completed action, then such forms of complete action as cooking raw food, polishing rough materials, etc.; in short, "working up" of stuff. There is no essential "complex-import" in the word; a single cook *annam samskarōti*. Thus Professor Rhys Davids' rendering "confection" was literally correct, but unfortunately failed to convey the right idea. If a single word is required, perhaps the best translation as a *pis aller* would be "conformation", which more or less covers the different applications of the word;¹ but the most accurate rendering would probably be "plastic forces". Again, the rendering of *lōkuttara-vipāka* by "Result in the Higher Ideal" and of *lōkuttaram cittam* by "thought engaged upon the Higher Ideal" is so free that it is hardly to be justified by the rather apologetic special pleading on p. xcvi. There seems to be no valid objection to translating *jōkuttara* as "transcendent". Finally it may be suggested that some at any rate provisional word might have been found to translate *āsava*, which has been left untranslated in this edition. The double meaning is clearly shown in the note on pp. 268 f.: *āsava* may be derived either from *ā-su*, with the meaning of "brewing, decoction, spirituous liquor", or from *ā-sru*, with the sense of "influx, afflux". The Jains regularly understood it in the latter sense, and Buddhaghosa knows both meanings. But its frequent use in the Nikāyas in connexion with *khaya*, *khāṇa*, *uppajjati*, etc., suggests that early Buddhism thought of it rather as meaning "brew (of evil)", a kind of canker of the spirit.² When, however, the reader turns from these minor details to survey the work as a whole, criticism is hushed, and gives place to sheer admiration for

¹ Cf. La Vallée Poussin, *Théorie des Douze Causes*, p. 9 ff.

² In *Dialogues of the Buddha*, ii, p. 209, the words *tayo āsavā, kāmāsavo bhavāsavo avijjāsavo* are translated "Three intoxicants, to wit, the poisons of sensuality, future life and ignorance"; this expands the idea a little too much.

the wide learning and keen insight that inform its every page. And with this tribute of respect we must take farewell of it.

Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar may be congratulated on the satisfactory progress that he is making in the publication of the ancient Tamil, Malayalam, and Sanskrit records on stone and copper-plates existing in Travancore. By far the most important of these in the present volume is the Kanyākumāri inscription in 419 lines of Sanskrit verse followed by 25 lines of Tamil, recording a gift of land to the local temple by King Vira-rājendra Cōla, and furnishing a considerable amount of historical information concerning the Cōla dynasty, with some new data. The other records, though comparatively of minor importance, add a good deal to our knowledge of local history and administration and of the development of the Tamil and Malayalam languages; three of them, we may add, concern the local Christian community (pp. 81, 221, 214). The work is unfortunately disfigured by numerous misprints: we read, for example, on p. 103, that Hiuen Tsiang "was prevented from proceeding . . . owing to the outbreak of a draught".

Acta Orientalia is a new miscellany of Oriental studies published in annual volumes of four parts each, which owes its birth to the enlightened enterprise of three societies, the Oostersch. Genootschap in Nederland (Leyden), the Orientalisk Samfund (Copenhagen), and the Norsk Orientalisk Selskap (Christiania), which through their representatives collaborate in its publication. The first volume, which now lies before us, contains a most attractive *eranos* of scholarly papers, comprising contributions by W. Caland (on the Vādhūla-sūtra and the absolutive *samplōmnāya*), S. Konow (on the Khāravela Inscription, the Prussian expeditions to Turfan, and the late Vijayadharma Sūri), A. Christensen (on fools in Persian popular tradition, with notes on Iranic philology), F. M. T. Böhl (on the earliest cuneiform references to Jerusalem), S. Mowinckel (on Deut. xxiii, 2-9), B. Faddegon (on ch. iii, 3, in the Vēdānta-sūtra), O. Strauss (on the problem of causality

in Indian philosophy), V. F. Büchner (on Minūchihri), P. A. A. Boeser (on an ethical demotic papyrus), A. J. Wensinck (on the Semitic New Year and the origin of eschatology), J. Six (on a motive of Asiatic decoration), W. E. van Wijk (on Hindu chronology), H. L. H. Shuttleworth (on an inscribed metal mask from Nirmaṇḍ), J. P. Vogel (on the inscription on this mask), and J. L. L. Duyvendak (on the literary renaissance of China). The *Acta* stand on the highest level of modern scholarship, and we may confidently augur for them, under the able editorship of Professor Konow, a prosperous and beneficent career.

The *Journal of the Cama Oriental Institute* cannot and ought not to be compared to publications such as the *Acta*. The Institute, Dr. Modi tells us, was founded "to perpetuate the memory of the late Mr. Kharshedji Rustamji Cama, who . . . introduced among the Parsees of Bombay, what may be called the modern Western method of the study of Iranian languages". To judge from the present number, the Parsi community does not seem to have been greatly stimulated by this effort. We have in it translations of two papers by Mr. K. A. Inostrantsev on the emigration of the Parsis to India and on the Parsi funeral ceremony as illustrated in the Gujarati versions of the Book of Ardā Virāf, together with some literary and historical notes by Dr. Modi (the only Parsi contributor) and papers by the late Dr. P. D. Gune on "The Indo-Iranian Migrations in the light of the Mitani Records" and by Dr. Shamasastri on "India under the Iranians". Neither of the last has much scientific value.

The Visva-bharati Quarterly is the organ of the "Santiniketan University", founded by Sir Rabindranath Tagore, and naturally the latter figures largely in its pages, both directly and indirectly. We have essays by him entitled "A Vision of India's History"—an appropriate title, for much of it is visionary—and "The Way to Unity", besides some verses and notes. Professor Winternitz discourses well on the ethics of Zoroastrianism, while various writers contribute their

opinions on literature, art, history, and politics, which are mostly in the strain of advanced thought favoured by the school of Bolpur, and not seldom are ἀέρια καὶ σκότι' ἄττα καὶ κυανυγέα, as is notably the case with the effusions of Dr. Stella Kramrisch on the New Art and of Professor Radhakamal Mukherjee on "The Communal Polity of the East".

The spirit of patriotism has moved a number of Gujarati scholars to found an institution, the "Gujarāt Purātattva-mandira", for the promotion of study and research in the ancient history, antiquities, literature, languages, and arts of India in general and Gujarat in particular. The literary organ of this movement, which includes within its scope Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, and even Islam, is "Purātattva", a quarterly miscellany in the Gujarati language, of which three numbers have reached us. They promise well. The subjects treated by the contributors cover a wide area: Hindu and Jain literature, Pali and Prakrit, arts and sciences, history and inscriptions, are all represented, and we even find an essay on Jāmī by a Maulavī. While "Purātattva" seeks its inspiration in the *rāṣṭrīya prāṇ*, it is not by any means blind to the work of Western scholarship, and it reviews with appreciation the Cambridge History of India and Mr. Pargiter's *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*. Despite certain by no means negligible shortcomings, there is good work here. A spirit of genuine scientific investigation is arising in India, especially in history, and it deserves a hearty welcome. The movement in the New India sometimes presents itself in curious forms, creating professorships and lecturerships for utterly immature youths and engendering a plentiful crop of painfully amateurish and often worthless books. But on the whole it is making for good and promises to bear valuable fruit, if only it can purge itself of the poison of nationalistic prejudice; and none of its symptoms is of brighter augury than the work of the Purātattva-mandira.

To the same institution we are indebted for the *Ārya-*

vidyā-vyākhyāna-mālā and *Buddha-līlā-sāra-saṃgraha*, forming Nos. 3 and 7 of a series of books published by it. The former contains eight essays in Gujarati, most of which are also printed in *Purātattva*, while the latter is a Gujarati translation by Nīlakaṇṭha Īśvaradāsa Maśruvālā of Dharmānanda's Marathi work, which gives a lively account of the life and teachings of the Buddha compiled and paraphrased from the Pali scriptures—uncritical, but well written.

The Jñāna-maṇḍala of Benares is also active in the propagation of knowledge, but its affections are mainly engaged by history and political science, as may be seen from the titles of the four Hindi books which stand next on our list. Of these, the first (No. 34) is a manual of political science, describing the nature and rise of states, constitutions, and division of powers, and the like; the second (No. 35) is a handbook of political economy; the third (No. 36) a history of England from earliest times to the present day, and the fourth (No. 37) an equally comprehensive history of India. The last-named work, the author of which veils his identity under the pseudonym of "Ek Itihās-prēmī", "A lover of History," presents a curious mixture of the old and the new orders of thought: its account of the Vedic age is absurd romance, and it dismisses the great Mughal Emperors in six pages, repeats the *vieux jeu* about the vices of the British Government, and gives a very one-sided narrative of recent political developments, breaking off hastily at the unfortunate affair of Jaliyanwala Bagh. The other three books of this series may be more useful.

The object of Dr. Nāg, he tells us (p. 8), is firstly to trace broadly the political evolution of India down to the approximate age of Kauṭilya, then, after examining his contribution to the development of polity, to show the continuity of the tradition in later works, and thus to place him in his proper place in the evolution of ancient Indian history. This programme, however, has been somewhat imperfectly realized in the author's performance: the book contains a

good deal that is unnecessary and lacks much that is essential, confusing diplomacy with general polity and dealing adequately with neither. Towards the Kauṭīliya Dr. Nāg adopts a critical attitude, following the good example of Jolly, Hillebrandt, and Winternitz.

The leading conclusion of Dr. Walleser's careful and scholarly study of the Bhabra Edict, in which he would correct *hamiyāye . . . vinayasamukase aliyavasāni* to *paliyāye . . . vineyasamukase aliyavasāno*, is that in it Aśoka wishes to declare that four texts recommended for study—*anāgata-bhayāni*, *muni-gāthā*, *moneya-sūte*, and *upatīsa-pasine*—though not actually scriptural in the sense of having been uttered by the Buddha, are nevertheless *dhmma-paliyāyas*, paraphrases of the Law, and may therefore be said to belong to the Law without incurring the guilt of conscious falsehood such as is castigated in the Rāhulōvāda. This interpretation, we must confess, seems to us rather forced and improbable; but Dr. Walleser's arguments are well worth study.

In the opinion of Dr. Slater, the dominant element in the Dravidian population of India is derived from the Mediterranean race, or a closely allied race, which entered India long before 1000 B.C., probably through Mesopotamia and Baluchistan, and thence through the Bolan Pass, or else along the sea-coast down to the mouth of the Indus, at a date before Sumerian civilization had arisen and agriculture was practised in Mesopotamia. In India they evolved a superior culture; "in so far as this Dravidian civilization was derived from outside sources its origin is to be traced to Egypt and Mesopotamia, linked up with India by sea commerce" (p. 80). It was dominated, as in those countries, by religious ideas, and was under the supremacy of a priestly caste, the Brahmans; "the bringers of the heliolithic culture from Egypt mingled their blood with the Dravidians, and the result was the Brahman caste" (p. 158). Most of the other castes also arose in pre-Aryan times among the Dravidians, mainly owing to differences of occupation and race. The

Aryans on arriving in India were on a much lower level of civilization than the Dravidians, but were more efficient fighting men ; after conquering the latter and intermarrying with them, they borrowed a great deal of their culture, including the spiritual supremacy of the Brahmans, who in return adopted Sanskrit, which was thus a *lingua franca* that recommended itself by its greater simplicity.

Such are Dr. Slater's leading ideas ; and we must say with regret that most of them have small intrinsic probability and are supported by nugatory speculations and serious errors. It has long been admitted by competent writers that some of the opponents of the Aryans in Vedic times (not necessarily all of them Dravidians) possessed a civilization equal if not superior to that of the Aryans ; that India was connected by trade with the Near East from quite early times ; that the Aryans' language and religion were considerably influenced by those of the Dravidians ; and that Aryan blood is much diluted, and often non-existent, among so-called Aryans. These facts raise a series of problems which can only be resolved by the co-ordinated labours of scholars well versed in the languages, history, religions, and literatures of the Aryan and Dravidians. Dr. Slater has no such qualifications. He claims a knowledge of Tamil, but appears to be unacquainted with the Saṅgam poetry, with the other classical Dravidian tongues, with Sanskrit, and with most of the history, antiquities, and religion of ancient India ; yet he does not hesitate to draw from unsound premises bold inferences that would make angels weep.¹ He is a devout

¹ We may point to a few examples. Dr. Slater trusts to the broken reed of Mr. Oldham's speculations (p. 53), and asserts the Dravidian origin of the Brahman caste, but he ignores the fact that no trace of a native caste of the kind is to be found in the South (Brahmans repeatedly occur in the Saṅgam poems, but there they are always Aryan foreigners). He says that "the distinguishing mark of the Brahman caste is the cord of cotton thread . . . which indicates an original association of the caste with cotton spinning, which certainly was no art of the Vedic Aryans" (p. 57), and again, that this cord "appears to be a very clear indication that Brahman supremacy has one of its roots in the descent of Brahmans from foreigners who earned the gratitude . . . of the population of India by teaching them

believer in the "diffusionist theory" of Messrs. Elliot Smith and Perry, a doctrine to which, we believe, no competent Orientalist has yet subscribed; and this faith, combined with his plentiful ignorance of most essential facts, has seduced him into writing a singularly inaccurate and misleading book. Some of the observations on modern cultural conditions among the Dravidians are of interest and worth reading, but they contribute little if anything to the main thesis of the book, which *mole ruit sua*.

Rai Bahadur Hira Lal's Gazetteer of Sagar District will be very useful to those who can read Hindi and are interested in a corner of India which has seen a great deal of history.

to spin and weave" (p. 160). Unluckily for this pretty theory, the sacred cord was originally not of cotton, and it is *not* peculiar to the Brahmins: it is the property of all the three first castes of Aryans, and is the badge distinguishing the Aryan from the non-Aryan. The argument that "Sanskrit" was much easier to learn than Dravidian tongues (p. 17) is erroneous. The greatest difficulty in colloquial Tamil arises from its assimilation of consonants, which is a secondary development: primitive Dravidian in this respect is more faithfully represented by Kanarese and Telugu. None of these tongues colloquially is of excessive difficulty. The "Sanskrit" which met the ancestors of these tongues was quite as hard; it is represented by the Vedic and the language of the Brāhmaṇas, with copious flexions and elaborate consonantism. Dr. Slater further suggests that Southern architecture is different in origin from that of Northern India (p. 66), which shows that he understands neither. He thinks that the refinement of Tamil indicates "priority of the Dravidians in attaining settled order and regular government" (p. 69); as the earliest Tamil (the Śaṅgam poems) is later than the R̥gveda by at least a thousand years, this argument is futile. He quotes as an instance of Dravidian culture the duodecimal system of numeration used in the island of Minicoy, in the Laccadives (p. 73); but the names of the numbers in this system, as reported by him, are *purely Aryan*, and the duodecimal system is well known among Aryans. On Indian religion some of his views display equal ignorance and perversity. "The discovery of the biological fact of human paternity," he says (p. 103), "created the new gods Śiva and Viṣṇu. Probably these two are only local variants of the same deity"; neither of them is Vedic, he adds (p. 106 f.); and thence he proceeds to build up a perfectly absurd theory about Dravidians and buffaloes *versus* Aryans and oxen *in re* the biology of paternity and the worship of deities. He opines that "we may well see in Brahma the Sun God . . . imported" [from Egypt] "into India" (p. 110); and Sarasvatī "would appear to be a moon goddess" (p. 112). These are specimens of his arguments; further discussion of them would be useless.

Mauryas, Śakas, Guptas, Huns, Harṣavardhana, Kalacuris, Candēllas, Gonds, Bundēlās, Marathas, British, and many others have ruled it in succession, and the inscriptions of Eran still stand as a monument of the great days when Hun invasion here threatened the life of India. This book is not a vernacular translation of the English gazetteers, but an original work written with inside knowledge and illustrated by numerous extracts from the writings of local poets. Its chapters deal successively with the configuration, history, population, land, industries, misfortunes, and administration of the District, concluding with an alphabetically arranged gazetteer of places. Full of reliable and clearly presented information, it will be a real boon ; and it is satisfactory to learn that the series to which it belongs is to include twenty-five volumes, of which almost all are in progress or already completed.

Mrs. Macnicol may be congratulated on having produced an attractive and representative anthology of 110 translations of verses by Indian women, from the Vedic Ghōṣā to the modern English-writing ladies of Bengal. The passages are of differing length, varying from couplets to poems over a page long ; some are rendered into prose, others into verse ; and they are drawn from the literatures of Vedic, Sanskrit, Pali, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Urdu, Kanarese, Kashmiri, Tamil, Malayalam, Marathi, Persian, and—English. Thus they very fairly represent the share of woman in Indian literature generally. Apart from the rather dubious Vedic authoresses, this share was until recent times limited as a rule to minor poems, usually on the standing themes of religion, morals, and love : exceptions like Gaṅgādēvī, who wrote an ambitious and very creditable account of the exploits of her husband, Prince Kampana, the son of Bukka I, are rare. The advent of English literature and Christianity has greatly widened and freshened the interests of Indian poetry, as Mrs. Macnicol well shows in her instructive introduction ; and finally we meet a group of talented Bengali poetesses—here represented by Aru Dutt,

Toru Dutt, Ellen Goreh, and Sarojini Naidu—who are in technique, language, and purview wholly English. Thus this little book is by no means narrow in its themes, and will well repay study. Mistakes in it are few and slight ; the worst is *Nissa* in the names of *Zēb un-Nisā* and *Zīnat un-Nisā*.

Mr. Rice's handy and lucid handbook has been greatly improved in its second edition by the incorporation of much new material from the recently published second volume of Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar's *Karnāṭaka-kavi-charite* and by the expansion of several parts, at the cost of the suppression of the previous appendices and history of the Kanarese kingdoms and dynasties. In the small space of 128 pages it furnishes a good survey of the whole of Kanarese literature, with notes on the chief writers and their works and a few specimen translations, describing successively the language and country, the Jain period to A.D. 1160, Jain literature from 1160 to 1600, the rise of *Līṅgāyatism*, *Līṅgāyat* writers from 1160 to 1600, the rise of *Vaiṣṇava* literature, the literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the nineteenth century, some characteristics of Kanarese literature, Kanarese grammarians, and Sanskrit writers in the Kanarese country. A certain number of slips appear in it, e.g. *Chhandombuddhi* for *Chhandōmbudhi* (p. 33, l. 1 ; p. 102, l. 8), *Kambam* for *Kamban* (p. 36, l. 5), *degree* for *decree* (p. 46, l. 10), *Devīchandhu-rāṇī* for *Devī Chaudhurāṇī* (p. 101, l. 5), *Mūdarai* and *Nalvale* for *Mūdurai* and *Nal-vaḷi* (p. 101, l. 28). The doubt as to the existence of Pāṅkurike Sōmanātha's *Basava-purāṇa* (p. 53, n.) is unjustified, for that work was published at Madras in 1884 ; and the statement that Mādhava-Vidyāranya was the author of the *Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha* (p. 115) is an error, as Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar has proved.

The two French accounts which Dr. Caland has edited and annotated are respectively entitled *Relation des Erreurs qui se trouvent dans la Religion des Gentils Malabars de la Coste de Coromandel dans l'Inde* and *La Gentilité du Bengala*. Their

date and authors are uncertain ; but Dr. Caland advances arguments of considerable weight to show that both of them are in their present form the work of a Frenchman, who derived his materials for the first six chapters of the *Relation* from reports compiled about 1644 by the famous Jesuit Roberto de' Nobili, to which he alludes under the title *Religion des Gentils*. The two treatises give fairly full accounts of religion and social and political conditions in the countries under survey, as they appeared to the Catholic missionaries, and are thus of considerable value, when due deduction is made for *odium theologicum* and imperfect information. The political state of the country was sad : "Le gouvernement des Gentils est le plus tyrannique et le plus barbare qui soit au monde," says the *Relation*, and this sweeping statement is to a great extent justified by the details that follow it. Among other interesting features may be mentioned the stories of Rāma being carried away by the Rākṣasas and saved by Hanumān, and of Sikandar (Alexander the Great) and his wonderful ring ; and the numerous Tamil and Sanskrit words mentioned throw some light on the pronunciation of the period, especially for Bengal, though it must be admitted that some of them present riddles that the editor has failed to solve.¹ Dr. Caland has discharged his task with his usual skill ; he has wisely omitted some sections of merely theological content, and his notes, though brief, are very helpful. Specialists in Indian languages and religions will find here good material on which to operate.

Mr. Taki has been rather unfortunate in choosing the English title of this book, which has the innocent and laudable object of expounding the religious principles of the chief interpreters of Vaiṣṇavism, notably Śāṅkara, Rāmānuja, Madhva, and the great Marathi Bhaktas, whom he interprets as seeking the Divine in Its various aspects by divers paths of love. The work is one that will appeal more to the East than

¹ For example, the prayer on p. 151, ll. 11, 12, seems to us to stand for *śrī-Viṣṇur* . . .

to the West ; but it is interesting as an exposition of the finest spirit of Vaiṣṇava God-love, especially as represented by the Marathi saints, whose hymns are quoted abundantly, as they deserve.

The library which commemorates the name of the first Dastur Meherji Rana possesses a rich collection of MSS., 469 in all, of which, naturally, the greater part consists of works connected with the Zoroastrian religion, both scriptural and post-scriptural, in Avestic, Pahlavi, Pazend, Persian, and Gujarati, with ancillary literature of historical, biographical, and lexical content. But secular Persian literature is also very fairly represented in it ; it contains a good many MSS. of classical and post-classical poetry, works on morals, tales, history, biography, grammar, prosody, *inshā*, divination, etc., and even some standard Ṣūfī poems are found in it. There are also a few MSS. of Gujarati and Urdu secular literature, with some Arabic books, which, however, are negligible in quality and quantity. Though from a technical point of view this catalogue has some shortcomings, it will be really useful to students who seek to exploit the wealth of the collection.

Miss Anstey's *Index to the Indian Antiquary*, when completed, will be very welcome. In the first part, which is now before us, we have the titles of all the articles and notes grouped under their author's names. Some criticism might be offered as to the method on which the Indian names of writers are arranged and the lack of cross-references ; but withal the book will be very helpful.

L. D. BARNETT.

GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE. System of transliteration from Arabic into English for official use. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, 16 pp. Cambridge University Press, 1923.

This nicely printed pamphlet, the work of a committee appointed by the High Commissioner for Palestine, " aims at providing rules whereby Arabic names of persons and places may be spelt in English correctly and uniformly as well as

with ease and simplicity." Three of the four desiderata seem to have been attained. The system is uniform, easy, and simple, and will enable Government Departments and officials to "arrive at that standardization of spelling which the needs of the Administration demand". As regards correctness, the standard has been adapted, perhaps necessarily, to that of the typewriter. ط, > is not distinguished from ت from ض, ز from ظ, س from ص. There is nothing to show whether vowels are long or short, except that *kasra* is represented by *e*, while *i* stands for ی. *Hamza* is invariably omitted, and *tashdīd* is ignored in the case of those Arabic letters which require two English letters to represent them. The Committee claim to have tempered rigidity with common sense, but in practice these rules must often lead to confusion and uncertainty. For example, *ai* may denote any one of the Arabic combinations ائى, ائى, ئى, two of which are dissyllabic. Apart from such ambiguities, the system has the merit of being easy to learn. Those for whom it is intended will appreciate the list of 150 Palestinian names transliterated according to the rules previously laid down. The treatment of exceptions, including some "consecrated spellings", is judicious.

HANDBUCH DER ISLAM-LITERATUR. By Professor D. GUSTAV PFANDMÜLLER. 10×7, viii + 436 pp. Berlin and Leipzig: De Gruyter, 1923.

Some day, no doubt, there will be given to the world a history of Islamic scholarship commencing with the earliest European grammarians, editors, and translators, tracing the gradual progress of knowledge in every branch of the subject, recording the most important contributions made by individuals, describing their character, and estimating their

significance in relation to each other and to the whole. Professor Pfandmüller does not attempt anything so comprehensive, but his book may be viewed as a sketch in which the outlines of the larger picture, though incomplete at many points, are clearly drawn. Notwithstanding its bibliographical foundation, the work is really a selective and critical survey of "Islam-Literatur", i.e. all that has been written about Islam in any European language, arranged under the following heads: (1) General Bibliography; (2) the Lands and Peoples of Islam; (3) the Political History and Civilization of Islam; (4) Religion; (5) Philosophy; (6) Art; (7) the Literature of the Arabs, Persians, and Turks. The author has, of course, recognized that it is impossible to cover the entire ground in a volume of four hundred pages. Philology, belles-lettres, and the secular sciences are almost crowded out, while some of the subjects occupying reserved places are unduly squeezed in order to make room for a more detailed treatment of religion and politics. The central and by far the longest section (pp. 60-347) is that on Religion. It begins with a review of the principal "Gesamtdarstellungen", from Reland, Sale, and D'Ohsson to Goldziher, Snouck Hurgronje, Margoliouth, and Macdonald, which is followed by an account of the literature dealing with the discovery and decipherment of the South Arabic inscriptions, and the religious ideas current in Arabia before Mohammed appeared. Then comes an excellent chronological analysis of what has been written concerning the life, personality, and teaching of the Prophet; and this includes a great deal of polemical literature as well as the weightier judgments based on scientific research. Here, as often throughout his book, the compiler not only states the views put forward, but quotes or indicates the criticism which they received and the arguments used against them. When he expresses opinions of his own, he does it unobtrusively. The Koran and the Ḥadīth have a chapter to themselves, followed by two chapters on Mohammedan Law and Dogmatic Theology. The former of these contains an interesting notice

of the controversy which arose in 1915 over Snouck Hurgronje's article "Heilige Oorlog made in Germany" (p. 253). Many readers will be glad to see that in this *résumé* of the various aspects of Moslem religion Mysticism is treated with the fullness to which its importance entitles it. Ghazālī is ranked amongst the Šúfīs, which is, perhaps, defensible though they themselves would repudiate him; the introduction of Omar Khayyam and Nāṣiri Khusrau in the same company is more surprising. After a short account of the chief books and articles on Magic, the concluding chapters discuss the Sects of Islam and Christian Missions in the East.

It would be strange if a work of this size and complexity were free from errors, but those which I have detected are slight. Sometimes it takes a standpoint too predominantly national, as in the very thin section devoted to the lands and peoples of Islam (to the bibliography of which, by the way, Le Strange's *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* should be added), and it throws into relief the views of leading German Orientalists, in particular Professor C. H. Becker. On the whole, however, as little fault can be found with the author's impartiality as with his industry. The bibliographies show few gaps, and if the difficulty of selection has swelled them with some items that might be spared, he has made amends by calling attention to a great number of articles, dissertations, pamphlets, etc., which are not to be found in the ordinary books of reference. His manual gives ready access to information hitherto unarranged and disconnected, and at once brings the student into touch with the best authorities and with the general results of their researches. There ought to be a considerable demand for it.

STUDIES IN TASAWWUF. By KHAJA KHAN. 7×4 $\frac{3}{4}$,
x + 212 pp., 1 chart. Madras : Hogarth Press, 1923.

These essays discuss the allegorical meaning of Islam, the mystical descent and ascent of the soul, the history of Šúfism and its affinities with Theosophy; and there are three

appendices—"Sufi Orders in the Deccan," "Ghazzali on the Soul," and "Technical Terms in Tasawwuf". The book will be read with mixed feelings. It has far too many errors of print and of fact. The writer speaks of "Abu Ali Ibni Sina of Spain", "the *Intelligentia primus* of Aristotle", and the Dervish Orders founded by the Caliphs Abú Bakr and Ali. A graver fault is the obscurity of his style, partly due to an imperfect command of English, but in large measure to lack of method and expository power. On the other hand, he has thought deeply on the subject and in some ways understands it admirably. Advanced students will find that the volume is worth reading for the sake of the ideas and materials which it contains, though the value of these is diminished by very inadequate references. It may be hoped that the author will do more justice to himself when he writes again.

DIE ABHÄNGIGKEIT DES QORANS VON JUDENTUM UND CHRISTENTUM. By WILHELM RUDOLPH. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, viii+92 pp. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1922.

Dr. Rudolph goes over the old ground and arrives at two conclusions: (1) Judaism and Christianity exerted an extraordinarily far-reaching influence upon Mohammed; (2) Christianity gave the decisive impulse which caused him to come forward as a prophet. While the latter statement is not inconsistent with his view that Mohammed, though he could read and write, picked up all he knew about the life and work of Jesus from conversation with persons who were unable to give him a true notion of Christianity and are responsible for his extremely superficial acquaintance with it, one may doubt whether "the decisive impulse" should be attributed to these ideas exclusively. The writer argues that the gist of Mohammed's early teaching—the doctrines of universal Resurrection and Judgment, everlasting punishment in Hell, the Heavenly Book which is the source of Revelation—is of Christian origin, and attempts to distinguish other specifically Christian elements in the Koran, amongst which

he reckons *ṣalāt*, *ṣawm*, and *zakāt*, as well as the Trinitarian series *Allah*, *amr*, *rūḥ*. In many cases the evidence appears to be insufficient for his purpose, but he has written an interesting book.

EL-BELÂDORÎ'S "KITÂB FUTÛḤ EL-BULDÂN" INS DEUTSCHE ÜBERSETZT. By O. RESCHER. Lieferung 2, 10½ × 7¼, pp. 140-285. Stuttgart: Heppeler, 1923.

The first part of Dr. Rescher's translation of Belâdorî, of which 120 copies were printed, appeared in 1917. During the interval it has become increasingly difficult for German scholars to get their work produced, and though Dr. Rescher obtained a Government grant of 700 marks towards the cost of publication, he soon discovered that "dank der fleissig arbeitenden Notenpresse" it was of no use to him. Of the present instalment, therefore, which carries the translation down to the middle of De Goeje's text, only sixty copies have been published, and the system of transliteration has been modified for the same reason. Dr. Rescher, whose skill and wide experience as a translator of Arabic literature are well known, is to be congratulated on his enterprise, and we hope that the remainder of the work may have a smoother and more speedy passage into print. Pending the appearance of a full index, the references given in the list of "Stichworte" will be found serviceable.

ABU 'L-MAḤÂSIN IBN TAGHRÎ BIRDÎ'S ANNALS ENTITLED AN-NUJÛM AZ-ZÂHIRA FÎ MULÛK MIṢR WAL-KÂHIRA. Vol. vi, pt. ii, No. 2. Edited by W. POPPER. 10½ × 7¼, lxxii + 300 pp. Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1923.

This fascicle, covering the years A.H. 824-841, completes the sixth volume of Professor Popper's edition. It includes indices of personal names, authors, titles of books, and place-names, together with a glossary, in the course of which a good many doubtful passages are discussed. As this portion of the

text depends on a single MS. (Paris, 1788), the difficulties are more numerous than usual. The few verses which occur might have had greater attention bestowed on them. I have noted the following mistakes and misprints :—

755, 1, read قِيلَ تَمْ ; 762, 14, read حَوَافِرْ ; 774, 18, read
 and مَا إِنْ ; 788, 16, read الْحَيْنِ ; 788, 17,
 read بِالْأَنْسِ and مُوَلِّ ; 788, 19, read وَأُسْمَحَ بِهِ ; 802, 13,
 read أَهِيْمُ ; 833, 13, read أَهِيْمُ ; 833, 18,
 read وَلَا تَهْلِكُ أَسَى وَتَجَمَّلِ (cf. Imra'u 'l-Qays, *Mu'all.*,
 ed. Lyall, v. 5) ; 834, 2, read أَلَا أَنْجَلِي (ibid., v. 46).

MATÉRIAUX POUR UN CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM ARABICARUM.

Deuxième partie, Syrie du sud. Tome premier, Jerusalem
 " Ville ". Deuxième fascicule. By MAX VAN BERCHEM.
 14½ × 11, xxxii + 271 pp., 40 plates. Cairo: Imprimerie
 de l'Institut Français, 1923.

Van Berchem's work on the Arabic inscriptions of Jerusalem was completed before his death, and M. G. Wiet, who has been entrusted with the task of supervising its publication, announces that it will appear, according to the author's plan, in three volumes : " I Jérusalem-Ville, II Haram, III Deux fascicules de planches (parus en 1920) ; un fascicule comprenant l'index général." This portion, namely, the second half of the first volume, contains the text and translation of about eighty inscriptions, mostly short, of the Mamlúk and Ottoman periods. The commentary, of course, is masterly.

C. SNOUCK HURGRONJE. *Verspreide Geschriften* (Gesammelte Schriften). Edited by A. J. WENSINCK. Vols. i and ii. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, 430 and 456 pp. Bonn and Leipzig : Schroeder, 1923.

The intimate knowledge of Islam which Professor Snouck Hurgronje acquired during his stay at Mecca and in other parts of the Moslem world is scarcely more remarkable than the penetration and sobriety of judgment which accompanies it. His "Mecca" is one of the classics of Orientalism, and, if we consider the influence of his work as a whole, probably no living scholar has come so near to bringing about an *ijmâ'* with regard to the fundamental questions in dispute, or handled them so wisely. It is, therefore, opportune that his writings, which include many lectures, articles, and reviews, should be collected and arranged. The first volume comprises, under "Islam and its History", nine separate publications. Two of these bear the title "De Islam" and are dated 1886 and 1912 respectively; amongst the rest we find "Het Mekkaansche Feest" (the thesis presented by the author for his doctorate), "Der Mahdi," "Une nouvelle biographie de Mohammed" (criticizing Hubert Grimme), and "L'Islam et le problème des races". In the second volume there are fifteen articles dealing with Mohammedan Law. Perhaps we ought not to wish that Professor Snouck Hurgronje had made less use of his mother-tongue; but few of us can read Dutch half so well and easily as he can write in German, French, or English.

R. A. NICHOLSON.

Recent Books on India

1. HISTOIRE DE NALA. Traduction Nouvelle par P. E. DUMONT. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, 173 pp. Bruxelles : Lamertin, 1923.

This little book, which contains a translation into French of the famous Nala episode from the Mahabharata, appears in a very attractive guise, the paper and the typography

being exceptionally good. The translation itself is accurate and scholarly, an admirable example in fact of the best type of French prose, sparkling and clear, a type which makes those who have ever tried to translate Oriental poetry into English prose feel both envious and despairing. The translator has wisely decided to retain the redundancy and accumulation of epithets, which are so eminently characteristic of the original Sanskrit, but he has with equal discretion elected to omit the constant and rather wearisome exclamatory appeals made by the teller of the story, the Brahman Brihadaśva who relates the episode of Nala to king Yudhishtira, and who continually fills up metrical gaps in his ślokas by interjecting, "O king," "O son of Kunti," "O Bhārata," and many other similar appellatives. There is a useful index at the end of this little book, which explains all the proper names occurring in the course of the episode.

2. THE LAY OF ALHA. A Saga of Rajput chivalry as sung by minstrels of Northern India, partly translated in English Ballad Metre by the late WILLIAM WATERFIELD, of the Bengal Civil Service, with an Introduction and abstracts of the untranslated portions by Sir GEORGE GRIERSON, K.C.I.E. 8 × 5, 278 pp., 1 map. Oxford: University Press, 1923.

To all lovers of Hindi literature this book, though comparatively small, will be of the very greatest interest, and to those who, like the present writer, have lived in Bundelkhand and spent a considerable time at and near Mahoba, the old Chandel capital, by the banks of the beautiful lakes of Southern Hamirpur, where the names of Alha and Udal (or Udan), the old Banaphar heroes, might still be often heard on the lips of the people, it makes a quite unique appeal. The old bardic chronicle, of which it contains a translation, is the most popular poem of its kind in Hindustan. It did not exist in manuscript form, but was handed down from generation to generation by illiterate wandering minstrels scattered

over Northern India from Delhi to Bihar. It was first reduced to writing in the early 'sixties at Farrukhabad under the direction of Sir Charles Elliott, and it was at the suggestion of the latter that Mr. Waterfield, another member of the Indian Civil Service, who had distinguished himself at Haileybury and at the College of Fort William by his zeal and success in studying Oriental languages, undertook the task of translating the whole cycle. A small portion of this translation, which now appears as Cantos 2 and 3, was published by instalments in the *Calcutta Review* in 1875-6, but it was never completed. Mr. Waterfield retired from the Indian Civil Service in 1881 and lived after his retirement in Devonshire until his death, which took place at Dawlish in 1907. Very fortunately the rest of his translation, the whole of Cantos 1, 4, and 13, and portions of Cantos 8 and 15, was preserved by his son and eventually placed at the disposal of Sir George Grierson. That veteran scholar has added to the heavy debt of gratitude, which all students of Hindi literature already owed to him, by publishing the whole of Mr. Waterfield's translation together with prose abstracts of all the parts of the poem, which had been left untranslated, in order to preserve the sequence of the story and present it in an intelligible form. It is quite clear from the story of this poem that its origin is not to be found in the Mahobā-Khāṇḍ of Chand's great Hindi epic, the "Prithirāj Rasau". As Sir George Grierson points out, the poem of Chand deals with the story from the point of view of Delhi, while the Alha-Khāṇḍ treats it from the standpoint of Kanauj and Mahobā, and the tale of the final fall of Mahobā is quite different. It is impossible in a necessarily brief notice of a book of this kind to set forth adequately the details of the long and complicated story of the poem, and it is still more difficult to convey any idea of its fascination and charm. I would like to urge all who have any sympathy with, or interest in, Hindi literature or Rajput chivalry, to read the admirable and succinct introduction, and I feel confident that this will lead

them on to the poem itself. There is, besides this introduction, a list of proper names occurring in the poem, occupying eleven pages, a reference to which will clear away many, if not all, of those difficulties which arise from the frequent allusive use of names of persons and places in the poem. The sole feature in this book which calls for regret is the fact that not even a few samples are given of the original Hindi verses. It can be readily understood that considerations of expense would now prevent a reproduction of the entire Hindi text along with the translation, but a few typical verses in their original form or even in transliteration would have added a good deal to the interest of the book.

3. A STUDY IN HINDU SOCIAL POLITY. By CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$, 293 pp. Calcutta: R. Chandra Chakravarti, 1923.

The author of this book explains that he originally intended to write what he terms a "cultural history" of the Hindus, and that he collected materials for this purpose, but a perusal of the late R. C. Datta's *Civilization in Ancient India* convinced him that there were not sufficient new materials available to justify the publication of another book covering more or less the same ground. He has, however, decided to publish what he himself describes as hastily drawn sketches in the belief that some of them might be useful and interesting to students of ancient Indian history. The book, which is not at all attractive in appearance, being badly printed on paper of inferior quality, contains a good deal of interesting matter thrown together in a disconnected and inconsequent manner. It contains two short chapters at the beginning, dealing with the physical geography of India and with what the writer terms "Hindi" languages, meaning thereby Indian languages, as he includes Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, and Malayalam in his survey, and five long chapters dealing respectively with the ethnic elements in Hindu nationality, Hindu myths, Hindu scripts, caste, and social organization, in addition to which

there is an appendix of twelve pages, giving lists of common words found in Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, and in the Teutonic, Slavonic, and Celtic languages.

The author displays a keen intellectual curiosity and evidences of wide reading and industry, but, in dealing with many matters of history, ethnology, and philology, his information is often not up to date and he seems to have little capacity for weighing evidence. He is, too, so carried away by excess of admiration for everything that is Indian that he condemns other types of mentality with an uncritical violence which would not find ready endorsement anywhere out of India. He says, for instance, of the Semitic race that they "have hardly contributed anything worth having to human knowledge", that their dreaming has been about "the hoarded wealth of other peoples which their covetous hearts longed for, or the enchanting vision of voluptuous houris in paradise, or it was simply the raving madness of a religious hallucinary". "They have never," he declares, "created any synthetic philosophy or made any attempt at the solution of the cosmic problems." He proceeds to condemn both the Bible and the Quran as showing no germ even of any such investigation. There is, however, as has already been indicated, a good deal that is highly interesting in this volume, e.g. it furnishes a translation of the long Hittite tablet found at Boghaz Keui in 1906, but there is unfortunately a complete lack of co-ordination and of the balanced critical judgment which is required in order to deal adequately with the ramifications of the complicated subjects which the writer has attempted to treat.

4. HISTORY OF AURANGZIB. Mainly based on Persian sources. By JADUNATH SARKAR, M.A. Indian Educational Service. Vol. iii. Northern India, 1658-81. $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5$, 394 pp. Calcutta: Sarkar, 1921.

This is the third volume of a history of the reign of Aurangzib which extends over four volumes. It is from

most points of view a most admirable production, the price, too, in view of the excellent typography and the good binding, being comparatively low. The subject-matter reflects very great credit on the learning and industry of the writer, who displays a degree of impartiality and critical acumen which renders him well equipped for his difficult task. It cannot be said that this third volume is characterized by any specially interesting features. It merely carries on the history of Aurangzib's reign in Northern India for twenty-three years in the middle of the period of his sovereignty. It describes the last years of Shāh Jahān and his death, the Afghan war, and the invasion of Rājputāna, followed by the Hindu reaction. Among the most interesting features of the volume are the appendices which give extracts from original Persian authorities about the destruction of temples by Aurangzib, and also contain a translation of Shivaji's letter protesting against the introduction of the *jaziya*. A very full and useful bibliography is supplied at the end of the book. On the whole the transliteration of Oriental names of persons and places has been done with care and consistency, but there are some exceptions, e.g. Acmal for Akmal (p. 244 and *passim*), Dilawwar for Dilāwar (p. 378), Hassan for Hasan (p. 379), and Nissa for Nisā at the end of several feminine names.

R. P. DEWHURST.

OBITUARY NOTICE

Sir Mortimer Durand, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

The death of Sir Mortimer Durand removes from among us the leading figure of the Indian Civil Service of the pre-war period. He held high offices as Ambassador in Spain, and again in America, but the work by which he will be remembered was done in Asia. As a young civilian he was appointed Political Officer to Lord Roberts in the Afghan War, and won a mention for gallantry in heading a dash which resulted in the rescue of a battery of artillery. In his heart he ever yearned to be a soldier, and probably this was the honour he prized the most.

At the early age of 35 he was chosen by Lord Dufferin to be Secretary to the Foreign Department, and well he justified the choice. Among many important measures was the statesmanlike step of raising the Imperial Service troops, which policy Durand induced Lord Dufferin to initiate, and which proved of considerable value in the Great War, from more than one point of view.

But his greatest task was the creation of the Durand Line, which laid down British policy on the North-West Frontier of India, and resulted in the actual delimitation of both the administrative and the political boundaries. This achievement was crowned by a mission to Abdur Rahman, the great Amir of Afghanistan. At first the Amir was suspicious, but Durand's knowledge of Persian helped to impress his strong personality on the Afghan, who finally realized that he was dealing with an English gentleman and ended by trusting him and becoming his friend.

This was the culmination of Durand's career, and his so-called promotion to the Legation at Tehran was almost a waste of his great qualities, more especially as the policy of the London Foreign Office was one of drift at the period. The turning-point of Persian negotiations for a loan was the

refusal by the Foreign Office to support British capitalists, who were ready to find the money, with the result that the Russian Government stepped in and gained the leading place in Persia. After his retirement, Durand devoted himself to literary work, writing the biographies of his two friends, Sir Alfred Lyall and Field-Marshal Sir George White. It was characteristic of his thoroughness that, in connexion with the latter work, he spent six months in South Africa to study the terrain. Both these works are models of what biographies should be. But these were not his only literary achievements, for he wrote a fine historical novel on Nadir Shah, the last great Asiatic conqueror, and other works. Some day, too, his poems, which have much spirit and feeling, may be published. In addition to his literary tasks, Durand was a dignified and courteous Director of the Royal Asiatic Society from 1911 to 1920; he also worked hard during the Great War in charge of the Badge Committee. His character was one of reserve, which concealed qualities and knowledge of the highest order, and made his friendship of great value. By way of conclusion I quote the opinion of that great Viceroy Lord Dufferin, who wrote of Durand, then a young man: "He is certainly the loftiest-minded man I have met in India—brave, cool, proud, absolutely disinterested, very industrious, and with a tremendous sense of the obligations and of the dignity which should attach to an English gentleman."

P. M. SYKES.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

At the Anniversary Meeting on 13th May, with Lord Chalmers in the chair, the report of the Council was read by the Secretary and its adoption formally moved by the President. It was as follows :—

The Society has lost by death an Honorary Member, Professor René Basset, a Vice-President, Sir Henry Howorth, and the following fourteen members :—

Haji A. Mejid Belshah.	Mr. W. Miller.
Rai Bahadur M. M. Chakravarti.	Mr. F. J. Monahan.
Mr. C. C. Clarke.	Pandit M. V. Pandia.
Dr. Witton Davies.	Mr. S. Raffaeli.
Mr. H. C. Fanshawe.	Col. Rivett-Carnac.
Miss L. Kennedy.	Mr. H. Lyon Thomson.
Pandit D. K. Laddu.	Mr. S. S. Thorburn.

One hundred and nine members have resigned or otherwise ceased under the Rules to be members of the Society.

The following nine resident members have been elected :—

Father E. N. B. Burrows, S.J., M.A.	H.Ex. Mirza Eissa Khan.
Mr. G. L. Crimp.	Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham,
Mr. G. Eumorfopoulos.	C.S.I.
The Hon. M. Hachisuka.	Mr. E. E. P. Rose.
Mr. V. R. Karandikar, B.A.	Mr. A. Waley.

One hundred and two non-resident members have been elected :—

Sir F. A. Aglen, K.B.E.	Kaviraj A. C. Bisharad.
Mr. A. S. R. Ayyar.	Miss W. S. Blackman.
Mr. J. V. Apparsundaram, M.A.	Rev. J. P. Bruce.
Mr. S. Barua, M.H.S.	Mr. G. H. Bushnell.
Mr. N. Basu, B.Sc.	Mr. T. F. Carter.
Mr. S. Basu, B.A., I.C.S.	Rev. T. W. Castle.
Mr. S. K. Basu.	Mr. D. N. Chakrabarti, B.L.

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| Mr. S. K. Chakraborti, M.A. | Babu N. M. Lahiri, |
| Mr. N. P. Chakravarty, M.A. | Kavisarbabhouma. |
| Mr. G. H. Chandavarka, B.A. | Mr. R. S. le May. |
| Shri G. Chandra, B.A., LL.B. | Miss E. A. Levin. |
| Mr. B. Charan, Mukhopadhyaya, | Dr. C. S. Mahapatra, L.M.S. |
| B.A., I.C.S. | Mr. O. W. McMillen. |
| Mr. V. E. Charawanamuttu, | Mr. P. N. Misra. |
| A.C.P. | Mr. C. Mital, B.A. |
| Mr. A. K. Chatterjee, B.L. | Mr. S. C. Mitter. |
| Mr. S. K. Chaudhuri. | Mr. J. H. M. Moorhead. |
| Mr. W. W. Dalziel, B.A. | Khan Bahadur A. M. |
| Mr. B. Das, B.A., LL.B. | Muhammad, C.I.E. |
| Mr. N. A. Das, B.Sc. | Mr. H. C. Nasker, M.L.C. |
| Babu S. Dass. | Prof. P. E. Newberry. |
| Babu B. P. Dayal. | Mr. N. L. G. Nidhish. |
| Maulvi Md. Din, B.A. | Dr. N. P. Nigam, L.M.P. |
| Mr. N. B. Divatia, B.A. | Mr. S. G. K. Parukutty- |
| Babu D. C. Dutta, M.A. | Amma, B.A. |
| Mr. W. W. Finlay, M.A., I.C.S. | Pandit K. Parshad, M.A. |
| Mr. M. D. Follin. | Mr. R. Pershad, F.I.A. |
| Mr. E. Forbes. | Mr. K. B. Pillay, B.A., I.C.S. |
| Dr. P. K. Gangali, L.M.S. | Mr. M. G. Raju. |
| Mrs. M. Gull. | Mr. G. Ramadas, B.A. |
| Mr. S. Lal Gupta, B.A. | Mr. S. C. Ray, B.A. |
| Mr. H. R. Hardless. | Kaviraj S. Ray, M.B. |
| Mr. Maung B. A. Hlaing, B.A. | Mr. T. S. N. Ray, M.Sc. |
| Maj. O. Holstein. | Mr. S. G. Rizvi, B.A. |
| Dr. M. H. Hosain, Shams-ul- | Mr. I. Rohman, B.A. |
| Ulama, Ph.D. | Mr. B. V. N. Roy, B.A., LL.B. |
| Mr. M. Md. Ishaq Sahib. | Mr. A. N. Sapru, B.A. |
| Mr. B. N. Kak, B.A. | Raja J. S. Sarangarh. |
| Prof. R. Kanshala, M.A. | Sriyukta M. N. B. Saraswati, |
| Maulvi A. Karim. | M.A., B.L. |
| Mr. C. T. Keller. | Mr. B. Sarkar, B.A. |
| Mr. G. Md. Khan. | Mr. J. G. Sen, B.A., Ph.D. |
| Mr. W. U. Khan. | Col. H. W. R. Senior, C.B., |
| Mr. G. Kitching. | C.I.E., D.S.O. |
| Pandit M. Koul Shastri, M.A., | Mr. S. S. Sharma. |
| M.O.L. | Mr. B. P. Deo Sharman, B.A. |

S. M. P. Singh, Taluqdar of	Mr. S. Taylor.
Khapradih.	Rev. E. J. Thompson, B.A.
Mr. B. R. Sinha, Jagerdar of	Mr. J. S. Trimingham.
Jubbulpore.	Diwan S. L. Tuli.
Prof. O. Sirén.	Mr. V. P. Vaidya, B.A., J.P.
Pandit C. Srotriya.	Mr. L. H. Wah.
Dr. T. Stcherbatsky, Ph.D.	Pandit M. T. Wankhade.
Miss D. J. Stephen.	Dr. J. L. Wyer.
Mr. P. P. Subramanya, Sastri.	Mr. M. Zahid-ul-Qadri.
Khan Bahadur A. M. A. Sufi.	Pandit R. N. Zutshi.
Mr. R. K. Tandan, B.A.	

The total number of new members now stands at 111, but the members lost to the Society by death, resignation, and removal, amount to 109. The total of the Society as a whole is 976. Last year it was 974.

Finance

Letting of Offices.—During the session all the offices on the second floor have been let save one, which was vacant for six months, now occupied, and one which has been reserved as a stock room for the Society.

The Hon. Treasurer's Report shows for 1923 an income of £3,126 1s. and an expenditure of £2,947 3s. 3d. For 1922 the income was £3,136 16s. 9d. and the expenditure £3,124 0s. 7d.

The thanks of the Society are due to the Hon. Solicitor, Mr. A. H. Wilson, the Hon. Auditors, Mr. L. C. Hopkins and Captain Clauson, who kindly acted in the temporary absence of Mrs. Frazer, and the official auditors, Messrs. Price, Waterhouse & Co.

Books Published by the Society

The James Forlong Fund has published during the Session *The Arab Conquests of Central Asia*, by Mr. H. A. R. Gibb.

The Oriental Translation Fund has published a second edition of *Dhamma Sangani*, by Mrs. Rhys Davids.

El-Asatir or the Samaritan Apocalypse of Moses, by Dr. M.

Gaster, and *Tarikh en-Nubah, a history of the Fungs of Sennar*, by Mr. Weld-Blundell, are in the press.

The Monograph Fund has published *Al-Ghazzali's Mishkat Al-Anwar*, a translation with an introduction by Canon W. H. T. Gairdner.

Lectures

The following lectures have been delivered, many of them being illustrated with slides :—

“ British North Borneo,” by Major Owen Rutter.

“ Recent Excavations in Babylonia, and their bearing on History,” by Dr. H. R. Hall.

“ The Pictures of the Society,” by Mr. W. Foster.

“ Manipur past and present,” by Colonel Shakespeare.

“ The Cult of the ‘ Cheng Huang Lao Yeh ’ (Spiritual City Magistrate),” by Mrs. Ayscough.

“ Pictures of Burma,” by Mr. R. Grant Brown.

“ Mythology of the Rivers of Babylonia,” by Father E. N. Burrows.

“ The Art of Islam from the point of view of Palestine,” by Mr. C. R. Ashbee.

Gifts Presented to the Society

The Executors of the late Sir H. Howorth, thirty-six works from his library.

Professor Jadunath Sarkar, five of his works.

Dr. Sten Konow, volume i of *Acta Orientalia*.

Mr. T. Brown, No. 6 of the *Journal of the North China Branch*.

Lady Holmwood, thirteen volumes of the *Gazetteer of the North-West Provinces*, and works by the late Mr. E. T. Atkinson.

Sir E. Denison Ross, five volumes of the *Sacred Books of the East*.

Mrs. Fanshawe, 107 works from the library of the late Mr. H. C. Fanshawe.

The Rev. F. Penny, vol. iii of his work *The Church in Madras*.

Mr. O'Brien-Butler, Atlas of the Chinese Empire.

The Duke of Sermoneta, volumes of the *Annali dell Islam* and *Onomasticon Arabicum*.

Mons. Coedès, *Bull. de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*.

Mr. H. Beveridge, *William Carey*.

Mr. D. Du B. Davidson, several volumes of *Journals and Proceedings of the Ceylon Branch of the R.A.S.*, and some Pali and Sinhalese dictionaries.

Public Schools' Gold Medal

On the 18th of December the Society's Gold Medal for the best essay on "Some Indian or other Oriental subject" was presented by Lord Chalmers to Mr. D. E. F.-C. Binyon of Westminster School, the subject of the essay being "Asoka". Professor Rapson, Dr. F. W. Thomas, and the Headmaster of Westminster spoke on the occasion.

The Journal

It is a matter of great satisfaction to the Council that it has been able to increase the size of the *Journal* from 168 to 176 pages, thus giving space for more contributions and reviews of books.

Special General Meeting

A Special General Meeting was called on 15th January, 1924, to admit the Burma Research Society and the Mythic Society as Associate Societies under Rule 103.

Centenary Volume

The Centenary Volume which, under the editorship of Mr. F. E. Pargiter, had been for two years in preparation, came out in April. It was a record of the activities, publications, and possessions of the Society, and a copy was presented to H.M. the King, to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, and to each delegate who came to the Centenary celebrations.

Centenary Celebrations

The Centenary celebrations commenced on 17th July, some forty Oriental Societies honouring the Society by sending representatives. At the opening ceremony H.R.H.

the Prince of Wales (Vice-Patron of the Society), accompanied by the Prime Minister, was graciously pleased to deliver an inaugural address. This meeting was followed by a lunch at Claridge's, to which the Government had invited the delegates, the officers and Council of the Society, the Chairmen of Sections, and a few others. The Secretary of State for India, Viscount Peel, presided.

The mornings of 18th July to 20th July were devoted to Sectional Meetings, and on 19th July His Majesty the King received the President, the Hon. Secretary, and Hon. Treasurer of the Society, together with M. Senart (*Société Asiatique*), Professor Breasted and Professor Williams-Jackson (*American Oriental Society*), and Professor Sten Konow (*Orientalsselskab of Norway*). Later on at Oxford the degree of D.Litt. was conferred upon Lord Chalmers, Sir Chas. Eliot, and Professor de la Vallée Poussin of Brussels.

On the afternoon of 18th July the Director of the School of Oriental Studies showed the library, and a reception was given at the Mansion House by the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress. The next afternoon Mr. George Eumorfopoulos exhibited his remarkable Chinese collections, and the British and Foreign Bible Society gave a reception, while in the evening the India Society arranged a *conversazione* to meet M. Senart.

The celebrations concluded with a banquet on the 20th, at which some 200 guests were present, speeches being made by the President, H.E. the Japanese Ambassador, Dr. F. W. Thomas, and Sir Thomas Holland, and replied to by M. Senart, Professor Williams-Jackson, Professor Sten Konow, and Professor E. G. Browne.

For the furtherance of Oriental learning among the assembled scholars from the Old and the New Worlds it was decided to organize the work on the following lines:—

A. Far Eastern Section: Chairman, Mr. L. C. Hopkins.

B. Semitic, Sumerian, Hittite, and Egyptian Section: Chairman, Professor S. Langdon.

C. Indian Section : Chairman, Professor A. A. Macdonell.

D. Islamic Section : Chairman, Professor D. S. Margoliouth.

Centenary Supplement

A sum of £99 odd was left at the close of the Centenary celebrations, and it was agreed to use this for the purpose of issuing a Centenary Supplement, which would contain papers read before the different sections. Professor Margoliouth was appointed editor-in-chief of the volume. As so many valuable papers were available, it was felt that the sum first proposed would not be sufficient, and finally it was agreed to devote £150 to this work. Owing to the generosity of various members this sum has been partly subscribed.

It will be issued as a supplement to the *Journal*, and will be presented to every member and to all the delegates who were present at the celebrations. It is hoped that this Supplement will be published in time to be issued with the July *Journal*, with which it will be uniform in size.

Recommendations of Council

Professor Margoliouth was co-opted as Vice-President since the last Anniversary Meeting in the place of the late Sir Henry Howorth. Under Rules 30 and 32 Sir G. A. Grierson retired from the Office of Vice-President and Mr. O. Blagden from the Council. The Council recommend that Dr. A. E. Cowley be made Vice-President in place of Sir G. A. Grierson, who, together with Mr. W. Foster, is recommended for election to Council.

Under Rule 31 Dr. F. W. Thomas, Mr. E. S. M. Perowne, and Mr. A. G. Ellis retire from the offices of Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer, and Hon. Librarian respectively. The Council have pleasure in recommending their re-election.

The Council recommends Mr. L. C. Hopkins and Mrs. Frazer as Hon. Auditors, and Messrs. Price, Waterhouse & Co. as auditors for the ensuing year.

Mr. E. S. M. PEROWNE, the Hon. Treasurer, in presenting

the accounts, said that the outstanding feature of the past year was the Centenary celebrations, but this, owing to the special fund subscribed in connexion with them, was very little reflected in the accounts, except for a slight increase in the cost of the *Journal* and also the outlay of £225 for printing and binding the Centenary Volume. An analysis of the accounts showed a small improvement on balance. Among the features he noticed was the subscription of half a guinea each from two student members. The Society would like to see a far larger number of these subscribers, for they might be considered as valuable recruits for full membership later on. In regard to receipts, the falling off in *Journal* subscriptions was probably due to merely temporary causes, and was expected to recover. On the payment side some reductions had been effected, though the items for gas and electric light were larger than usual, owing to the long continuation of cold weather. The payment made for printing and binding the Centenary Volume was expected to be more than recouped eventually by subscriptions of members thereto and other sales of this interesting volume. Since the last annual meeting some £300 had been invested in respect to compounded payments of members' subscriptions, £239 of this being in hand at the end of last year. He did not propose to discuss the accounts on a percentage basis, because for the last two or three years, for various reasons, the financial affairs of the Society had not been quite normal. He thought they had well held their own during the past year, but they must be looking continually for fresh accessions of membership. He expressed his indebtedness to Miss Phillips, the Assistant Treasurer, for the information and help she was always so ready to give, and for the excellent and painstaking way in which the accounts were kept.

MR. WILLOUGHBY-MEADE said that it was satisfactory to know that the membership had been maintained, and gratifying to learn that the valuable papers read in the Centenary celebrations would be placed at the disposal of the Society

under the editorship of Dr. Margoliouth. That good work had been done by the Society in the republic of letters was shown by the congratulations it had received from learned societies throughout the world on its centenary. For more than a hundred years now they had been trying to promote sympathetic knowledge of the life and thought of the East in this country and especially in London. Though it received grants from some Eastern Governments, the Society had not at its disposal very large amounts for promoting Oriental knowledge by an active propaganda. Such propaganda might well take the form of lectures to larger though less distinguished audiences than assembled to hear the papers read before the Society, so that English-speaking people might know a little more about the countries and peoples of the East than was the case. There were many people quite unable to appreciate the technical work set forth in the Society's *Journal*, but who were none the less anxious to obtain reliable information on the history and antiquities of the Orient, and particularly on those of India and of the countries inhabited by the yellow races. Many members of the Society had done excellent work for Orientalism, but the public knew little and cared less about these achievements. They should be set forth in a popular way that would reach the large British public. The Society needed more money and more publicity : it was a very valuable institution if only the public knew a little more about it. They must steadily adhere to the object of breaking down ignorance and prejudice on Eastern matters, and placing before the general British public opportunities for gaining a sympathetic knowledge of the things of the Orient, first within the British Empire and then of the whole of the East.

Mrs. LONGWORTH DAMES supported the adoption of the report, which was then carried. The recommendations of the Council as to the filling of vacancies and reappointments to honorary office were adopted on the motion of the President, supported by Mr. Blagden, Mr. Greenshields, and Miss Kemp.

Lord CHALMERS, in conformity with annual usage, then addressed the meeting on the proceedings of the year, and also made some observations relative to the history of some branches of Oriental learning in the past century. He expressed his satisfaction that as the Centenary celebrations were prefaced with the Centenary Volume, in which Mr. Pargiter digested the scholarly history of their first century; so they were to have a scholarly sequel in the form of a Centenary Supplement containing learned papers of lasting value contributed by their own and by foreign scholars to the four centenary sections and edited by the four distinguished chairmen of those sections. The Centenary celebration was a marked success, recognized as such not only by their own members, but also, with frank and fraternal generosity, by their foreign guests.

Toward the close of their first century there was a timely and fruitful amalgamation with the Society of Biblical Archæology. This had necessarily focussed their attention more immediately than heretofore not only on Palestine, but also on those ancestral lands from which Palestine drew her earliest civilization and culture. In the past century there had been vast and stupendous progress in our knowledge of those immemorial lands. A century ago, apart from the then still recent discoveries of the Vedas and of some Sanskrit literature by Sir William Jones and his followers, our knowledge of the ancient world, outside Greece and Rome, was limited to the Hebrew Scriptures. The Pentateuch and the history embodied in it stood alone (as had been well said by Sayce), like some solitary peak in a desert land where all else had been reduced to a level plain, the last relic that had survived to us out of the wreckage of the Oriental past. Since then the excavator had unearthed buried cities and forgotten records; the scholar, with patience tempered by genius, had deciphered the records thus brought to light. Leaving aside predynastic and legendary history and pottery, we already had for the Euphrates and the Nile valleys con-

temporary records going back some 3,500 years B.C.—records not of barbarism, but of the historic and literary civilization of mankind. It was not an overdraught of optimism to believe that the years immediately ahead of us might restore with certainty to human knowledge those far earlier ages of civilized mankind in the valleys of the Euphrates and Nile at which scholars were now working with a zeal which was as hopeful as it was undaunted.

The President next drew attention to the illustration his topic afforded of the solidarity of human knowledge and of the parallel growth of knowledge in widely separated and yet cognate spheres. Growth in one sphere more or less synchronized with growth in other spheres; a common spirit and inspiration informed their symmetrical development. He took by way of illustration the science of geology, now linked on to history by archæology. The received opinion a century ago was that “the phenomena of geology could only be explained by assuming violent periodical convulsions and a high intensity of terrestrial energy culminating in repeated catastrophes”. In the course of the past century, notably through the labours of Lyell, it had come to be recognized that the physical forces now in action were powerful enough, if only time enough was given, to produce results quite as stupendous as those of the geological record; and the stratigraphy and palæontology of strata had now been mapped with the certitude and precision of the Post Office Directory. There had been contemporaneous development in geology, as in Asiatic history, of the historic sense; of the reign of law; of the sequence of preceding cause and resulting effect; of the refusal to assume cataclysms to conceal ignorance.

He asked them to recognize with him how very profoundly views currently accepted a hundred years ago had been modified by biblical archæology and historical criticism, reinforced by physical science. It should not be forgotten that to our grandfathers the rediscovery of Babylonia and the historical light it threw on details in Genesis brought a flood of

new light so dazzling as to obscure their vision of essentials, in contra-distinction to details more or less irrelevant. To them the new knowledge appeared to come with a sword to destroy, to destroy, as it seemed to them, the infallibility of scripture, the argument from Design, and the very foundations of all religious belief; they felt themselves exiled from their spiritual Eden. To-day we claim a truer perspective and a saner synthesis. While we welcomed scientific investigation, we were not tempted to mistake processes for origins, or to render to a scientific or historical Cæsar the things that were not his. No thinking man or woman of 1924 would desire either to obliterate the records of new knowledge won in the past century, or stay the hand and brain of scientist and scholar from enriching the human mind with discoveries still to be made in their own spacious domains, for, as Goethe had taught the world, the one fatal thing is to say to the moment: "Stay, thou art fair." Fair as their past century might look to them in retrospect, they looked forward to a still fairer prospect in the new century on which the Society had just entered.

The following were elected at the General Meeting in June :

Mr. S. F. Atkins.	Khan Bahadur T. Malak, B.A.
Mr. S. K. Bose, B.A.	Dr. P. Chandra Sen, M.B.
Mr. H. Chatterjee,	Dr. R. J. Moses, D.C.
Vidyabhusana.	Pandit Pran Nath.
Captain C. C. Davies.	Mr. G. W. Place, B.A., LL.B.
Paymaster Capt. H. A. Gyles.	Mr. D. Talbot Rice.
Mr. W. M. Hardy.	The Hon. Moti Sagar.
Mrs. Latta.	

Gifts

A number of Siamese books and pamphlets have been presented by the Vajisañāna Library, Bangkok; Professor Breasted has given his work, *Oriental Forerunners of Byzantine Painting*; and Mr. Beveridge has paid for the binding of two volumes in the Library. Khan Bahadur Mirza Muhammad has presented a Persian MS., Sir A. T. Wilson

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
SUBSCRIPTIONS—						
Resident Members	245	14	0			
Non-Resident Members	1,028	2	9			
4 Non Resident Compounders	71	8	0			
1 Resident Compounder	25	4	0			
2 Students' Subscriptions	1	1	0			
				1,371	9	9
RENTS RECEIVED				629	0	0
GRANTS—						
Government of India	315	0	0			
„ Hong-Kong	25	0	0			
„ Straits Settlements	20	0	0			
„ Federated Malay States	40	0	0			
				400	0	0
SUNDRY GRANTS				8	8	0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Subscriptions	395	10	0			
Additional Copies sold	68	17	11			
Sales of Duplicates	3	19	9			
„ Indices		9	0			
				468	16	8
DIVIDENDS				33	9	0
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNT	5	12	3			
„ POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK						
ACCOUNT	4	15	0			
				10	7	3
CENTENARY VOLUME SALES				91	10	0
COMMISSION ON SALE OF BOOKS				16	9	8
INCOME TAX RECOVERED				4	7	6
BURTON MEMORIAL FUND—						
Subscriptions	64	10	9			
Less—Purchase of £49 0s. 10d. 3 per cent						
Local Loans	32	0	9			
				32	10	0
CENTENNIAL ENTERTAINMENT FUND—						
Amounts received	347	1	4			
Less—Expenses	287	8	2			
				59	13	2
BALANCE IN HAND 31ST DECEMBER, 1922				279	5	10

£3,405 6 10

FUNDS.

£454 16s. 9d. 3 per cent Local Loans Stock.
£350 5 per cent War Loan, 1929-47.
£125 National War Bonds, 1929 (4th Series).
Burton Memorial Fund—
£49 0s. 10d. 3 per cent Local Loans Stock.

PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1923

PAYMENTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
HOUSE ACCOUNT—						
Rent, Income Tax, House Duty, and Land Tax	458	9	11			
Rates, less contributions by Tenants	12	13	11			
Gas and Electric Light, do.	58	7	1			
Coals and Coke, do.	20	3	0			
Telephone	11	15	8			
Cleaning House and Library	32	8	0			
Insurance	33	12	0			
Purchase of 50 chairs	18	2	6			
Repairs	18	9	7			
Other Expenditure	21	16	1			
				685	17	9
LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND				20	10	6
SALARIES AND WAGES				804	3	0
PRINTING AND STATIONERY				82	3	10
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Printing	887	13	0			
Postage	48	7	5			
				936	0	5
LIBRARY EXPENDITURE	73	9	4			
Less—Receipts for Books Sold	62	10	3			
				10	19	1
CENTENARY VOLUME, PRINTING AND BINDING				225	18	7
AUDITORS' FEES				5	15	0
ENTENTE AND CENTENARY HOSPITALITY FUND				57	15	0
POSTAGES				51	10	3
SUNDRY PAYMENTS—						
Teas	19	2	1			
Parcels and fares	2	12	3			
Lantern Operator	14	14	0			
Reporters' Fees	2	2	0			
Diplomas	20	5	0			
House Agents' Commissions	6	4	6			
Cheque Book	1	0	0			
Sundries	10	0				
				66	9	10
BALANCES IN HAND, 31ST DECEMBER, 1923—						
Lloyds Bank, Ltd., Deposit Account	50	0	0			
Post Office Savings Bank	239	3	9			
	£	s.	d.			
Lloyds Bank, Ltd., Current Account—						
General Fund	136	13	1			
Burton Memorial Fund	32	10	0			
	169	3	1			
Less—Library Fund overspent	3	3				
	168	19	10	458	3	7
				<u>£3,405</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>

E. S. M. PEROWNE, *Hon. Treasurer.*

We have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society, and have verified the investments therein described, and we hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

L. C. HOPKINS,
For the Council.
GERARD L. M. CLAUSON,
For the Society.
N. E. WATERHOUSE,
Professional Auditor.

SPECIAL FUNDS

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND

RECEIPTS.

		PAYMENTS.	
1923.			
Jan. 1.	BALANCE	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
	Less—Cash banked in error,	843 4 9	136 8 3
	1922	4 17 11	30 1 0
	SALES	838 6 10	8 16 3
	INTEREST ON DEPOSIT	116 0 10	4 0 0
		9 5 10	88 12 2
		125 6 8	1 4 9
			5 0
			293 12 6
			2 10 9
			565 10 8

1923.

Dec. 31. BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY

398 2 10

£963 13 6

£963 13 6

MONOGRAPH FUND

Jan. 1.	BALANCE	22 7 9	10 PER CENT TO GENERAL	4 19 1
	Less—Cash banked in error,	12 6	ACCOUNT ON SALES, 1922.	41 8 4
	1922		BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY	
	SALES	21 15 3		
		24 12 2		
		£46 7 5		£46 7 5

SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND	398 2 10	CASH AT BANKERS—	
MONOGRAPH FUND.	41 8 4	On Current Account	: 89 11 2
		„ Deposit Account	: 350 0 0
			439 11 2
	£439 11 2		£439 11 2

LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND

Jan. 1. BALANCE	21 6 6	Dec. 31. BALANCE—	
TRANSFERRED FROM GENERAL FUND	20 10 6	Represented by £42 Os. 6d.	
Dec 31. DIVIDENDS RECEIVED AND RE-INVESTED	2 2 0	5 per cent War Loan, 1929/47	43 19 0
	<u>£43 19 0</u>		<u>£43 19 0</u>

ENTENTE AND CENTENARY HOSPITALITY FUND

Jan. 1. BALANCE FROM DINNER AND HOSPITALITY FUND	40 18 4	Dec 31. BALANCE AT BANKERS ON DEPOSIT.	99 9 6
TRANSFERRED FROM GENERAL FUND	57 15 0		
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT	16 2		
	<u>58 11 2</u>		<u>£99 9 6</u>

TRUST FUNDS

PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND

Jan. 1. BALANCE	200 18 6	10 PER CENT ON SALES, 1922, TO GENERAL ACCOUNT	2 14 4
SALES	49 16 1	PRINTING AND BINDING VOL. VII	136 5 3
DIVIDENDS	18 0 0	Dec. 31. BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY	129 15 0
	<u>67 16 1</u>		<u>£268 14 7</u>

GOLD MEDAL FUND

Jan. 1. BALANCE	42 13 4	BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY	52 8 4
DIVIDENDS	9 15 0		<u>£52 8 4</u>
	<u>£52 8 4</u>		

JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1923

RECEIPTS.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.		PAYMENTS.		£ s. d.	
1923.	BALANCE AT 1ST JANUARY, 1923—					GRANTS FOR RESEARCH—			
Jan. 1.	Cash at Bank on Current Account			240	3	Professor Barthold		100	0
	NEW SOUTH WALES 4 per cent.	30	13	6		Professor Unvala		45	0
	SOUTH AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT 4 per cent	30	19	8					
	BENGAL NAGPUR RAILWAY	30	16	1		BURSARIES.		145	0
	3½ per cent INDIA STOCK	30	10	0		PROPORTION OF FEE FOR RECOVERY OF INCOME TAX		93	9
	EAST INDIA RAILWAY Co.	34	1	7		PUBLICATION OF VOLUME II		4	15
	5 per cent WAR LOAN 1929-47	12	13	10		CASH AT BANKERS—CURRENT ACCOUNT, 31st December, 1923		50	13
	3½ per cent CONVERSION LOAN	18	13	8				204	13
	INCOME TAX RECOVERED		188	8	4				7
	SALE OF BOOKS		54	12	10				
			15	6	4				
			<u>£498 10 7</u>						

£1,010 Bengal Nagpur Railway 4 per cent Debenture Stock.
 £1,015 16s. 3d. South Australian Government 4 per cent Inscribed Stock, 1940-60.
 £45 East India Railway Company Annuity, Class "B".
 £1,005 14s. 7d. New South Wales 4 per cent Stock, 1942-62.
 £1,143 6s. 3d. India 3½ per cent Stock.
 £253 18s. 4d. War Loan, 5 per cent, 1929-47.
 £700 Conversion Loan 3½ per cent.

We have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society and have verified the Investments therein described, and we certify the said abstract to be true and correct.

E. S. M. PEROWNE, Hon. Treasurer.
 L. C. HOPKINS, for the Council.
 GERARD I. M. CLAUSON, for the Society.
 N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

two Arabic MSS., Mr. W. R. Gourlay thirteen books, Sir Wolseley Haig his work *The History of the Nizam Shahi Kings of Ahmadnagar*, and Mr. A. G. Ellis *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch* by Levy.

A conference on "Living Religions within the Empire", 22nd September to 3rd October, is to take place at the British Empire Exhibition, under the auspices of the School of Oriental Studies and the Sociological Society.

On 8th April Mr. C. R. Ashbee, R.I.B.A. (late Civic Adviser to the City of Jerusalem), read a paper entitled "The Art of Islam from the point of view of Palestine". The following are the heads of his paper:—

The impression that Islam makes on the impartial Englishman and the English administrator is that of an older civilization in which there stand out three facts, beauty, power, reality. How this civilization grew up and expressed itself in the arts and the difference in the approach towards the arts of the Arab and the Jew is shown (in a series of slides) in various, especially Palestinian, Arts and Crafts. The Islamic theory of beauty and the early Islamic attempt to find a synthesis of Græco-Roman paganism and the Christian Gospel of love; the value of a study of these things in the mechanical pre-occupations of the West, and the questionable wisdom of Western destructive processes as sometimes seen in social and educational methods, and the need for a people to work out its own salvation on the lines of its own æsthetic expression.

In her lecture on 10th June entitled "Some Social and Religious Customs in Modern Egypt, with special reference to Survivals from Ancient Times", Miss Blackman said that for the last four seasons she had been living among the peasants of Middle and Upper Egypt, studying their social and religious customs, together with their arts, industries, and folklore. In the space of an hour she could only touch on a few social

and religious practices. She began by dealing with the Cult of Local Saints, both Moslim and Coptic, and pointed out several survivals from the ceremonial usages of ancient times. Sick persons visit the tombs of the saints in order to be cured. For this purpose use is made, not only of petitions to these holy beings, but of leaves from the trees attached to their tombs, or of water from their sacred wells.

Miss Blackman pointed out that the ceremonial cutting of the hair of children and dedicating it to one or more saints was, without doubt, an ancient Egyptian practice, in view of certain objects found at El-'Amarnah.

One of the social customs discussed by Miss Blackman was the practice of fashioning a "corn-maiden" out of part of the firstfruits of the corn. These "corn-maidens" are of a peculiar shape and are apparently depicted in certain New Kingdom tombs at Thebes.

The following are needed for the Library :—

Ceylon Branch R.A.S., *Proceedings*, vol. viii, 1883.

China Branch R.A.S., *Transactions*, pts. v-vii, 1855-9.

China Review, vol. i, pts. ii, iii ; vol. iv, pt. iv ; vol. xxiii, pts. i, ii, vi ; vol. xxiv, pt. i.

Hakluyt Society: Rundall, *Collection of Early Documents on Japan*, 1850.

Le Strange, Mesopotamia and Persia in fourteenth century A.D. from the Nuzhat-al-Kulüb of Hamd-Allah Mustawfi: *As. Soc. Monographs*, 1903.

Numismatic Chronicle, vol. ii, Nos. 5, 6 ; vol. iii, Nos. 9, 11, 12 ; New Ser., Nos. 9, 10. *Proceedings* from the beginning.

Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, vol. i, pts. iii, iv ; vol. ii, pt. iv.

Sudan Notes and Records, vol. i, Nos. 2, 3 ; vol. ii, No. 1.

Supplement to the *Geographical Journal*, No. 5.

Temple, *Legends of the Punjab*, vol. iii.

Vienna Oriental Journal, vols. i, ii, and xxix, pts. iii, iv.

Zeitschrift der D. Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. viii.

Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, Bd. xxii, pts. iii, iv.

PRESENTATION OF THE CAMPBELL MEMORIAL GOLD MEDAL

At the General Meeting of 10th June, Lord Chalmers, on behalf of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, presented the Campbell Memorial Gold Medal for 1923 to Sir George Grierson, K.C.I.E.

Mr. R. E. Enthoven, after acknowledging on behalf of the Bombay Branch the courtesy of the President and Council in arranging the presentation, remarked that, on a similar occasion, some eight years ago, an account of which would be found in the Society's *Journal* for 1916, he paid a tribute to the character and achievements of Sir James Campbell.

He feared that, with the lapse of years, the number of those who were personally acquainted with this genial scholar, a man of singularly broad human sympathies, was rapidly diminishing. Campbell was, of course, a contemporary of Kennedy, Fleet, Crooke, Nesfield, Ibbetson, Lyell, and Vincent Smith—scholars of whom the Indian Civil Service had just reason to be proud.

Campbell's great work as compiler of the Bombay Provincial Gazetteer was known to and admired by all students of the Western Presidency. It was a life's work, occupying nearly thirty years from its inception to its completion, and was a veritable mine of useful information. In a lighter mood, James Campbell was a worker in folk-lore and primitive religion. The materials which he collected in *Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom* deserved greater publicity than they had hitherto attained.

When he died in 1903 his friends resolved that his memory should be preserved by the foundation of a medal, to be conferred by the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on scholars who distinguished themselves in the studies in which Campbell had attained pre-eminence.

After describing the qualifications of the previous recipients of the medal, Mr. Enthoven stated that Sir George Grierson, as a Vice-President and member of the Council of the Royal

Asiatic Society, was well known to all in the room. Many were familiar with his large folio volumes, embodying the results of the Survey of the numerous languages and dialects of India. The difficulty of identifying and classifying Indian languages and dialects was almost as formidable as the correct record of Tribe and Caste. To the skill, learning, and perseverance with which these difficulties had been overcome, the records of the Survey bore eloquent testimony. Undertaken during active service in India, the Linguistic Survey had been carried on, in retirement, in the Camberley workshop, for many years. It had now arrived at its final stage, the issue of the last volume.

Many had heard with interest the story of the Prodigal Son told on the gramophone in Bhili, Kanarese, or some other of the numerous Indian languages, from the records of the Survey. It might, indeed, be reckoned among Sir George Grierson's minor achievements that he had conferred on the Prodigal Son a widespread notoriety in remote parts of India which that somewhat unstable character could not otherwise have hoped to attain.

All congratulated the Director of the Linguistic Survey of India on the completion of this great undertaking, which had earned him, among philologists, a world-wide reputation.

The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society had decided that this achievement might be fittingly recognized by conferring on him their gold medal.

He had already described briefly the qualification of the scholars who had been its previous recipients. The Bombay Society were unanimously of the opinion that in awarding the 1923 medal to Sir George Grierson the value of the distinction was being fully maintained. He ventured further to assert that those who aspired to receive a similar honour in future would have before them, in the Linguistic Survey of India, an example of perseverance, skill, and ripe scholarship which they would find difficult to emulate and impossible to surpass.

After the presentation of the medal Sir George Grierson made the following speech :—

It is difficult for me to express in suitable words my sense of the honour that has been conferred upon my fellow-workers and myself by this recognition coming from the Bombay of Bühler, Fleet, Bhandarkar, and Sir James Campbell. The association of Sir James's name with the medal is particularly gratifying to me ; for, though I never had the privilege of personally meeting him, I owe him a heavy debt for what he gave me a quarter of a century ago, when I, a complete stranger, appealed to him for help. I was then corresponding with officials all over India, asking them for specimens of the languages in their respective charges. Among these officials was the Collector of Bombay, then Mr. Campbell, and all that I expected from him was a specimen of the local Marāṭhī. But Bombay is a city of many nationalities, and Sir James, who was at that time busy on his monumental Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, instead of confining himself to this one language, collected for me specimens of every language spoken in Western India from Sindh to Kanara. A more valuable gift, coming from such an authority, could not at the time have been made to me, and it is no exaggeration to say that the account given in the Linguistic Survey of the tongues spoken in the Presidency is almost entirely based on, and owes much of its value to, his generous contribution.

Bombay has long been interested in the history of Indian languages. If we except Carey's memorable letter to the Bible Society, written in 1816, the first attempt, and a very successful one, at making a general survey of the speeches of India was written by Sir Thomas Erskine Perry, Chief Justice of Bombay, and appeared in the *Journal* of the Bombay Branch of our Society for 1853. Fifteen years before this, in 1838, Major Leech, of the Bombay Engineers, contributed to the Asiatic Society of Bengal an astonishing series of articles on the languages of Afghanistan and Northern India from Kābul to Bundēlkhand, some of which are still our only authorities

for forms of speech that have since died out or have, for political or other reasons, become inaccessible. To mention only one other illustrious name, there is that of my old friend Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, whose Wilson Philological Lectures, delivered in 1877, have never been surpassed in broadness of outlook or in knowledge and mastery of detail.

The idea of a Linguistic Survey of India was first publicly discussed when the Oriental Congress held at Vienna in 1886 drew the attention of the Government of India to its desirability. The proposal was favourably received, and a few years later the task was committed to my care. It has taken just thirty years to carry it through; and if, without pretended modesty, I confess that no one is more conscious than myself of its deficiencies, I am still not guilty of a vain boast if I claim that what in this respect has been done for India has been done for no other country in the world.

Time will not permit me to trouble you with details, and I here confine myself to stating its general results. The Survey establishes the fact that there are 179 distinct languages spoken in India, and that these have at least 544 dialects. The list of dialects is not complete, for the net of the Survey did not cover the whole of India, but the number of languages may be taken as approximately correct, and, for most of these, specimens and grammatical sketches will be found in its pages. It shows that, in the matter of languages, India has connexions that encircle nearly the whole world. To the west it has relations with Indo-European languages reaching across Asia and Europe to America; while to the east, the Austric languages form a chain connecting Kanāwar, in the Punjab, through Indonesia and Polynesia, with Easter Island, off the coast of South America.

May I sum the whole up in the words of the Survey itself. India is a land of contrasts, and nowhere is this more evident than when we approach the consideration of its vernaculars. There are languages whose phonetic rules prohibit the existence

of more than a few hundred words, and which cannot express what are to us the most simple of ideas ; and there are others with opulent vocabularies rivalling English in their copiousness and their accuracy of idea-connotation. There are languages, every word of which must be a monosyllable, and there are others in which syllable is piled on syllable till the whole monstrous word is almost a sentence in itself. There are languages which know neither noun nor verb, and whose only grammatical feature is syntax ; and there are others with grammatical systems as completely worked out as those of Greek or Latin. There are the rude languages of the naked savages of East Assam, which had never yet been reduced to writing till they were approached by the Survey, and there are languages with great literatures adorned by illustrious poets and containing some of the most elevated deistic sentiments that have been uttered in the East. There are parts of India that recall the confusion in the Land of Shinar where the Tower of old was built, and in which almost each petty group of mountains has its separate language ; and there are great plains, thousands and tens of thousands of miles in area, over which one language is spoken from end to end.

Light comes from the East, but many years must first be passed in unremitting quest of knowledge before we can inevitably distinguish it from the false dawn that is but a promise and no reality. Hitherto European scholars have mainly busied themselves with the tongues and thoughts of ancient India, and have too often presented them as illustrating the India of modern times. But the true modern India will never be known to us till the light in the West has been reflected back on the hopes, the fears, the beliefs, of the three hundred and twenty millions who inhabit it at the present day. For this an accurate knowledge of the modern vernaculars is necessary, a knowledge not only of the colloquial languages, but also, when they exist, of literatures too often decried as worthless, but which one who has studied them and

loved them can confidently affirm to be no mean possession of no mean land.

Such as they are, I lay the volumes of the Linguistic Survey as an offering before the India that was long my home, and that has itself had a home in my heart for more than half a century. It was to me a memorable day when in 1868 my loved and honoured teacher, Professor Atkinson, introduced me to the Sanskrit alphabet in what soon became to me his familiar rooms in Trinity College, Dublin. Five years later, as, full of hope, I was bidding him farewell before starting for India, he laid this work upon me, and with the enthusiasm of youth I gladly undertook it. Throughout my active life among the people his parting injunction was ever present to my mind, and urged me to devote such times as I could spare from official duties to preparation for its accomplishment. Twenty years later came the opportunity, and the privilege of conducting this Survey became mine. For me, personally, these years of preparation were by no means without profit. I have been granted a vision of a magnificent literature enshrining the thoughts of great men, from generation to generation, through three thousand years. I have been able to stroll through enchanted gardens of poesy, beginning with the happy, care-free, hymns of the Vēdas, continuing through great epics, through the magic of the Indian drama and the consummate word-witchery of Kālidāsa, through the lyric poetry of the Indian reformation, through the heart-melody of Tulsī Dās, down to the jewelled distichs of Bihārī Lāl. Truth have I gathered from many a tree of knowledge—from the ripe Paṇḍit, strong in his monism, acute in thought, crystal clear in his exposition, and from the simple peasant chatting in his rude patois under the village tree, steeped in the deepest superstition, yet quick with a living faith in the fatherhood of God that would put to shame many a professing Christian. Hidden under religiosity have I found religion, hidden under legend history; wisdom have I found in the proverbs of the unlettered herd. Here and here did India help me; how can

I help India ? This is a question that we Westerners who have gone to India in the service of His Majesty have each in his own way done our best to answer. Among us have been great administrators, great soldiers, great scholars, great teachers, masters of the healing art. There have been diversities of gifts, but the same spirit—a spirit of devotion to duty and of sympathy with the millions amid whom our lot was cast. My own share in the endeavour to answer it has been a very small one ; but, if this Survey should help to bring India nearer to the West, I shall feel that my efforts have not been utterly in vain.

Lord Chalmers and Mr. Enthoven, I thank you gratefully for this medal, and would ask you to convey these thanks to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society which has presented it.

The Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws has been conferred by Harvard University on Doctor H. Ballou Morse, a member of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society.

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TRANSLITERATION
OF THE
SANSKRIT, ARABIC
AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given within is based on that approved by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894. A few optional forms have been added so as to adapt it to the requirements of English and Indian scholars. The Council earnestly recommends its general adoption (as far as possible), in this country and in India, by those engaged in Oriental Studies.

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ	.	.	.	<i>a</i>
आ	.	.	.	<i>ā</i>
इ	.	.	.	<i>i</i>
ई	.	.	.	<i>ī</i>
उ	.	.	.	<i>u</i>
ऊ	.	.	.	<i>ū</i>
ऋ	.	.	.	<i>ṛ</i> or <i>ṝ</i>
ॠ	.	.	.	<i>ṝ</i> or <i>ṝ̄</i>
ऌ	.	.	.	<i>ḷ</i> or <i>ḹ</i>
ॡ	.	.	.	<i>ḹ</i> or <i>ḹ̄</i>
ए	.	.	.	<i>e</i> or <i>ē</i>
ऐ	.	.	.	<i>ai</i>
ओ	.	.	.	<i>o</i> or <i>ō</i>
औ	.	.	.	<i>au</i>
क	.	.	.	<i>ka</i>
ख	.	.	.	<i>khu</i>
ग	.	.	.	<i>ga</i>
घ	.	.	.	<i>gha</i>
ङ	.	.	.	<i>ṇa</i>
च	.	.	.	<i>ca</i> or <i>cha</i> ¹
छ	.	.	.	<i>cha</i> or <i>chha</i> ¹
ज	.	.	.	<i>ja</i>
झ	.	.	.	<i>jha</i>
ञ	.	.	.	<i>ña</i>
ट	.	.	.	<i>ṭa</i>
ठ	.	.	.	<i>ṭha</i>
ड	.	.	.	<i>ḍa</i>
ढ	.	.	.	<i>ḍha</i>
ण	.	.	.	<i>ṇa</i>
त	.	.	.	<i>ta</i>
थ	.	.	.	<i>tha</i>
द	.	.	.	<i>da</i>

¹ In modern Indian languages only.

ध	.	.	.	<i>dha</i>
न	.	.	.	<i>na</i>
प	.	.	.	<i>pa</i>
फ	.	.	.	<i>pha</i>
ब	.	.	.	<i>ba</i>
भ	.	.	.	<i>bha</i>
म	.	.	.	<i>ma</i>
य	.	.	.	<i>ya</i>
र	.	.	.	<i>ra</i>
ल	.	.	.	<i>la</i>
व	.	.	.	<i>va</i>
श	.	.	.	<i>śa</i>
ष	.	.	.	<i>ṣa</i>
स	.	.	.	<i>sa</i>
ह	.	.	.	<i>ha</i>
ळ	.	.	.	<i>ḷa</i> or <i>ḷa</i>
• (Anusvāra)	.	.	.	<i>m̐</i>
◌ (Anunāsika)	.	.	.	<i>m̐</i> } or ~
: (visarga)	.	.	.	<i>ḥ</i>
× (jihvāmūlīya)	.	.	.	<i>ḥ</i>
ॡ (upadhīmanīya)	.	.	.	<i>ḥ</i>
₣ (avagraha)	.	.	.	'
Udātta	.	.	.	ˆ
Svarita	.	.	.	ˆ
Anudātta	.	.	.	ˆ

ADDITIONAL FOR MODERN VERNACULARS

ड़	.	.	.	<i>ṛa</i>
ढ़	.	.	.	<i>ṛha</i>

Where, as happens in some modern languages, the inherent *a* of a consonant is not sounded, it need not be written in transliteration. Thus Hindi कर्ता *kartā* (not *karatā*), making; कल *kal* (not *kala*), to-morrow.

The sign ~, a tilde, has long been used by scholars to represent *anunāsika* and *anusvāra* and *nūn-i-ghunna*—when these stand for nasal vowels—in Prakrit and in the modern vernaculars : thus अँ *ā̃*, आँ *ā̃*, and so on. It is therefore permitted as an optional use in these circumstances.

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

ا at beginning of word omit; hamza elsewhere ' or, alternatively, hamza may be represented by - or °

ب	b
ت	t
ث	ṭ or <u>th</u>
ج	j or <u>dj</u> ¹
ح	h
خ	ḥ or <u>kh</u>
د	d
ذ	ḍ or <u>dh</u>
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	ʃ or <u>sh</u>
ص	ṣ
ض	ḍ
ط	ṭ or ṭ ¹
ظ	ẓ or ẓ ¹
ع	'
غ	g or <u>gh</u>
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n

¹ Although allowed by the Geneva system, the use of *dj* for ج in England or India is not recommended; nor for modern Indian languages should ط be transliterated by *ṭ* or ظ by *ẓ*, as these signs are there employed for other purposes.

و *w* or *v*ه *h*ت *t* or *h*ي *y*vowels *a*, *i*, *u*lengthened *ā*, *ī*, *ū**Alif-i-maqṣūra* may be represented by *ā*diphthongs *ay* and *aw* or *ai* and *au*,
respectively*e* and *o* may be used in place of *ī* and *ū*also *ē* and *ō* in Indian dialects, *ü* and *ö* in Turkish.—ل of article *al* to be always *l*

Also in India, in transliterating Indian dialects, and

for Persian, will be recognized *ṣ* for *ṣ*, *ẓ* for*ẓ*, and *ẓ* for *ẓ**waṣla*

A final silent *h* need not be transliterated,—thus *بندہ*
banda (not *bandah*). When pronounced, it should be
written,—thus *گناہ* *gunāh*.

ADDITIONAL LETTERS

Persian, Hindī, Urdū, and Paṣhtō.

پ *p*ق, *c*, or *ch*ز *z* or *zh*گ *g*

Turkish letters.

ع when pronounced as *y*, *ç* is permittedئ *ñ*

Hindī, Urdū, and Paṣhtō.

ت or پ *t*ڈ or ڊ *d*ڙ or ڙ *ʔ*ن (*nūn-i-ghunna*) ~ as in the case of the Nāgarī
anunāsika

Paṣhtō letters.

څ *ts* or *tʰ*ږ *g* or *ʒh* (according to dialect)ښ *n*پښ *ksh*; or *ʃh* or *kʰ* (according to dialect)ځ or ځ *dz* or *dʒ*

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PART IV.—OCTOBER

Cerebralization in Sindhi

By R. L. TURNER

ONE of the striking differences between the phonetic systems of Indo-Aryan and its parent Indo-European is the existence in the former of the cerebral series of sounds as well as the dental. These appear among the stops, the nasals, the sibilants, and later among the liquids also. Thus opposed to Indo-European *t th d dh, n, s z, l r* we find in the various Indo-Aryan languages the two series—

*t th d dh, n, s *z, l r*

*ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh, ṇ, ṣ *ṣ, ḷ ṛ ṛh.*

Of these, **z *ṣ* belong to the prehistoric and *r ṛh* to the modern period.

To solve the problem of the origin of this second series is important not only for the history of the Indian languages, but for linguistic science in general.

It has been assumed by many that the existence of cerebrals in Indo-Aryan is due to the influence of the Dravidian substratum upon whom the invading Aryans imposed their language. This view receives a qualified support from M. Meillet¹; and is enunciated in the *Cambridge History of India*² with a certainty unwarranted by the present state of our knowledge.

¹ *Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes*, p. 12.

² p. 49.

On the other hand, M. Grammont¹ attributes the origin of the cerebrals to a general tendency in Indo-Aryan to relax the pronunciation in favour of articulation in the neighbourhood of the palatal arch, a general tendency which, according to M. Grammont, is responsible for other sound-changes also in Indo-Aryan.

Two classes of cerebralization must be distinguished: firstly that common to all the Indo-Aryan languages, and secondly that which is dialectical, being found in some but not in all.

A. COMMON INDO-ARYAN CEREBRALIZATION

The change of *s z* to *sh*-sounds (*ś ž*) after the sonants *i u r* and the consonant *k* goes back probably to a dialectical variation within Indo-European itself,² and certainly to the period of Indo-Iranian (Aryan) community.

In Sanskrit, between vowels, these sounds appearing as *ś (r)* were distinguished from the descendants of the Indo-European palatal stops, *ś j h*, but before stops both developed in the same way, namely as *ś *ž*. An Indo-European dental immediately following these sounds became in Sanskrit a corresponding cerebral, viz. *ṭ ṭh ḍ* or *ḍh*. With this assimilation may be compared the different articulatory positions of the final *t* in English *bat* and *bashed*. Of the groups thus formed *ṣṭ ṣṭh* remained in Sanskrit, while **žḍ *žḍh* became *ḍ ḍh* with lengthening of a preceding short vowel other than *ṛ*.

Further *n*, if preceded in the same word (or word-group) by *ś* or *r*, whether immediately or at a distance, provided no sound involving articulation with the tongue-tip intervened, became *ṇ*.

Lastly, *ś *ž* preceding stops other than dentals, preceding *s* and probably finally³ became *ṭ ḍ*.

In common Indo-Aryan then there were no cerebral stops,

¹ *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, vol. xix, pp. 254, 267, 277.

² Meillet, *Introduction*, p. 73.

³ Cf. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, i, §§ 149, 150.

except such as developed from ṣ *ṣ or from dentals in contact with these sounds. Notably there were no initial or intervocalic cerebral stops with the exception of intervocalic $-\text{ḍ}-$ $-\text{ḍh}-$ $< \text{*ṣḍ}$ *ṣḍh (R̥gvedic $-\text{ḷ}-$ $-\text{ḷh}-$).

The Primitive Indian cerebrals thus originated have remained cerebrals in all the modern languages but Gypsy with the following exceptions: ṣ has coincided in development with s except in the north-west group (e.g. Kāśmīrī and Gypsy), where it has become ś together with original ś ; n has become n in the middle and eastern groups (Hindī, Nepālī, Bihārī, Bengālī, Assamese); ṛṇ through ṛṇ has everywhere become nn n except in Singhalese, where it remains as n , and in that as yet undefined dialect which produced forms of the type kāṇḍa- beside karnḍa- ; ḷ became l in the dialect, also as yet undefined, which produced forms of the type nala- beside nadā- nālā- , and this l remained when the word was borrowed by the middle and eastern group.

B. DIALECTICAL CEREBRALIZATION

Once established in India, it was inevitable that the language of the Aryan invaders, sensibly one, should diverge into numerous dialects. But there is scarcely any language area in history more favourable for the mixing of dialects than India. And from the R̥gveda onwards we have no linguistic monument in India in which there is not ample evidence of borrowing, in vocabulary or grammatical forms, from kindred Indo-Aryan dialects.

This is obvious in the subsequent history of the common Indo-Aryan dentals. In a few words in Vedic, and in an ever increasing number of words in Middle Indian (Classical Sanskrit, Pāli, and Prākṛit) and in Modern Indian, original dentals appear represented by cerebrals. But the change is not uniform. It may appear in some words and not in others, in some languages and not in others, in some dentals (e.g. ḍ-) and not in others (e.g. t-). These facts clearly point to the dialectical character of the phenomena of cerebralization.

It was the result not of a single change, but of different changes, which formed a number of different isoglosses.

A word which happened to be borrowed from a cerebralizing dialect by a neighbour at an early period would naturally tend to have a wider extension than one borrowed at a later period. Such would more particularly be the case if that neighbour had developed or was about to develop a literary language destined to affect very deeply all the dialects of the group. Thus Vedic *kātukaḥ* and *daṇḍāḥ* may be loan-words from a cerebralizing dialect.¹ The cerebral which appears in Vedic appears also in all modern languages in which they are represented: Sgh. *kuḷu daḍa*, Gy. *ran* (*n* < -ṇ-), K. *dōna*, S. *kaṛo ḍano*, N. *karuvā* (-*r*- < -ṛ-) *dāro*, P. *dannā*, G. *kaḍu dāḍo*, M. *kaḍū dāḍ*, H. *karuā ḍārā*, B. *dārā*, O. *kaḍuā*. Vedic *dāsati* became Pa. *dasati*, and throughout the modern languages has the cerebral, while Vedic *dāsa*, which became Pa. *dasa*, appears in most of the modern languages with a dental (e.g. M. *das*) but in Sindhi with a cerebral, *ḍah*^a.

Vedic and Sanskrit words containing cerebrals in place of dentals are discussed fully by Wackernagel² without the attempt to define the dialectical areas of cerebralization; but definition, if attainable, is most necessary.

M. Bloch³ has summed up what is known of the repartition of the phenomena in Middle and Modern Indian. Briefly, cerebralization of dentals in the presence of *r* is an eastern rather than a western phenomenon. Marāṭhī follows the western dialects and retains dentals. My own observation⁴ led me to rank Gujarātī in this respect with Marāṭhī. But there are still wanting detailed studies of other languages.

Sindhi, although not an eastern dialect, has already been noticed⁵ as a language in which cerebrals appear where other languages have dentals; but as yet no definition has been

¹ Wackernagel, i, pp. 169, 171.

² i, pp. 167 ff.

³ *La formation de la langue marathee*, pp. 117 ff.

⁴ *JRAS.* 1921, p. 512.

⁵ Cf. Bloch, p. 126.

given of the conditions under which they appear. It is the object of this paper to examine which Primitive Indian dentals have become cerebrals in Sindhī, and under what conditions.

The Sindhī cerebrals are all pronounced with tongue-tip turned back and striking behind the teeth-ridge. The separate sounds are these—

t, a surd stop, which may be followed immediately by *r*, often not shown in writing: *tr*. In Southern Sindhī this group has become *t*.

th, an aspirated surd stop.

ḍ, a voiced stop, which may be followed immediately by *r*: *ḍr*. In Southern Sindhī this group has become *ḍ*.

ḍ̣, a voiced stop, the explosion of which is immediately preceded by an occlusion of the glottis. It bears the same relation to *ḍ* as *g j b* to *g j b*.

ḍh, an aspirated voiced stop, which may be followed immediately by *r*: *ḍhr*. In Southern Sindhī this group has become *ḍh*.

r, a voiced flap.

rh, an aspirated voiced flap.

ṇ, a voiced nasal accompanied by some escape of breath through the mouth.

A note is required to elucidate the relationship between *ḍ ḍr ḍ̣ ḍh* and *r rh*. *Ḍ* represents older *ḍh* which has lost its aspiration through dissimilation: e.g. *ḍiḥō* bold < **ḍhiḥō*: Skt. *dhṛṣṭā*-, cf. N. *ḍhiṭo* id. The origin of *g* and *b* and partly of *j*- (which also represents Skt. *y*-) is similar. *Ḍr* represents Skt. *ḍr* or *tr* in the group *ntr*: e.g. *ḍrākḥ*^a f. small grape: Skt. *drākṣā*, *maṇḍr*^u m. spell: Skt. *māntra*-. *Ḍ̣* represents older *ḍ̣*- or *-ḍḍ*-: e.g. *kōḍi* f. small shell: Pkt. *kavaddiā* Skt. *kapardikā*. *Ḍh* represents older *ḍh*- or *-ḍḍh*-: e.g. *ḍēḍh*^u one and a half: Pkt. *divaḍḍha*- Skt. *dvyardha*-. *R* represents older *-ḍ̣*-: e.g. *kōṛō* m. bosom: Skt. *krōḍa*-; *rh* represents older *-ḍh*-: e.g. *paṛhaṇ*^u to read: Pkt. *paḍhaṛi* Skt. *paṭhati*.

The difference of development between Pkt. *-ḍḍ-* *-ḍḍh-* and *-ḍ-* *-ḍh-* is seen elsewhere. Nepālī distinguishes them as *r* and *ṛ*. There appears to be a similar distinction in Kāśmīrī and in the Lakhimpurī and Chattisgarhī dialects of Hindī. There may be here an explanation of the various confusions in Hindī between *ḍ* and *ṛ*, and undoubtedly for those between *ṛ* and *r*, as in the two Hindī dialects already quoted.

The evolution of the Primitive Indian dentals may be considered under six heads. The dental is—

- (1) preceded at a distance by *r*;
- (2) preceded immediately by *ṛ*;
- (3) preceded immediately by *r*;
- (4) followed immediately by *r*;
- (5) (a) single and intervocalic,
(b) double and intervocalic,
(c) initial;
- (6) *n* and *l*, initial and intervocalic.

1. A single PI. intervocalic dental disappeared in Sindhī, whereas a similar cerebral remained as *r* or *ṛh*.

Such a dental, although preceded at a distance by *r*, seems to have remained a dental and therefore eventually to have disappeared. Examples unfortunately are not numerous, and, on the other hand, there are words in which a cerebral represents a PI. dental. These are probably loan-words, and may perhaps be referred to the eastern cerebralizing dialects, which appear to represent the dentals of the first three cases shown above by cerebrals.

The dental remains: *paī* f. agreement (*prātīti-*) *bhāu* m. brother (*bhrātṛ-*) *suō* heard (*śrutā-*); *gahilō* heedless (? *grathila-*) *pēhryō* first (H. *pahilā*, cf. *prathamā-*); *trihār* f. trebleness (*trīdhā*); *māryō* struck (*mārīta-*) *ruaṇ^u* m. weeping (*rōḍana-*).

The dental becomes a cerebral: *paṛēsī* m. neighbour (*prativāsa-*) is a loan-word: for in Sindhī *-s-* > *-h-*. Moreover, the word appears with a cerebral in all ModI. languages (e.g. M. *paḍōśī* id.) and so appeared in Pa. *paṭivasati*. *Paṛāḍo*

m. cry, echo (*pratiśabda-*) is not certain. *Paṛhaṇ*^u to read (*prathāyati*) is a common Indian loan-word: cf. Skt. Pa. *paṭhati* M. *padhñē*, etc. Words belonging to the root *granth-* were early borrowed in their cerebralized forms (Pa. *gaṇṭhi-* beside *gantha-* *ganthēti*) and are so found in Sindhī and in most of the ModI. languages: *gaṇḍh*^u m. joint *gaṇḍh*ⁱ f. knot *gaṇḍhaṇ*^u to tie *gaṇḍhir*^u knotty (*grantha-* *granthi-* *granthayati* *granthila-*). The presence of *g* indicates that these are not modern loans. With this class of early common Indian loan-words should be included the descendants of those Sanskrit (i.e. Middle Indian) words, in which a cerebral derived from a dental is the sole reminder of a vanished *r* or *ṛ*. But of these the Indo-European etymologies¹ are often by no means certain: e.g. *pin*^u m. lump (*pīṇḍa-*) *kānō* m. reed (*kāṇḍa-*) *kunō* m. pot (*kunḍa-*) *manan*^u to shampoo (*maṇḍa-*) *munō* blunt (*muṇḍa-*); *kunḍh*^u m. blockhead (*kunṭha-*), etc.

2. In the group *ṛ* + dental also the Sindhī development seems to be the retention of the dental and, if single, its subsequent disappearance.

The dental remains: *muō* dead (*mṛtā-*) *kiō* done (*kṛtā-*) *giḥ*^u m. ghee (*ghṛtā-*) *hiō* m. heart (*hṛdaya-*); *udhaṇ*^u to increase (*vṛddhā-*) *riḍhō* pleased (*ṛddhā-*); cf. also *wījhaṇ*^u to thrive (**vivṛdhyati* cf. *vivardhatē*) *riḷhaṇ*^u to be pleased (*ṛdhyati*). *Katyā* f.pl. Pleiades (*kṛttikāḥ*) is doubtful, having a < *ṛ* which is the Marāṭhī treatment (cf. M. *kātyā* id.),² and is probably a loan. Similarly *nacaṇ*^u to dance (*nṛtyati*, cf. B. *naṛ-* to move < **natati*).

The dental becomes cerebral. *Miṭi* f. earth (*mṛttikā*) is found only in Marāṭhī with a dental (*māṭi* f. cf. Pa. *maṭṭikā*), elsewhere always with a cerebral e.g. H. *miṭṭi* N. *māṭo*, etc. (cf. Pkt. *maṭṭiā*); *budhō* old (*vṛddhā-*) is a common Indian loan-word (cf. Pa. *vaddha-* *vuddha-* *buddha-* beside *vaddha-*, H. *būṛhā*, etc.): moreover, PI. *v-* > S. *w-*; *sambhūṛō*

¹ Wackernagel, i, §§ 146-7.

² Bloch, p. 48.

recollected (*sambhṛta-*) beside *sambhūno* and *sambhīryo* appears on account of its *ū* to be a form extended with *-ta-* Pkt. *-ḍa-*, viz. **sambhua-ḍa-*; *pōrhō* very old (with *-rh-* not *-ḍh-*) is from *prauḍha-* not *prāvṛddha-*.

3. In the group *r* + dental there is divergence: *rt rth rdh* remain dental, *rd* becomes cerebral. In all the *r* is assimilated. This will be shown later to agree with the difference of development between initial *t- th- dh-* and initial *d-*.

rt: *dhūtō* m. pimp (*dhūrta-*) *bhatār*^u m. husband (*bhartṛ-*, cf. Skt. *bhattāraka-*) *katab*^u m. business (*kārtavya-*) *watan*^u to wander (*vārtatē*), *kat*^u m. a cut *katar*ⁱ f. shears (*kartati*), *katan*^u to spin (*kartana-*).

Despite *watan*^u a group of words belonging to the root of *vārtatē* have a cerebral in Sindhi as in other ModI. languages. These are ancient loan-words. Pāli had both *vattati* and *vattati* with some differentiation of meaning¹; similarly *pavattati* to roll on, to go on, to proceed *pavattati* to revolve. So in Sindhi with the sense of "revolving, twisting" *watan*^u to twist, to plait (cf. H. *bātnā*) *waṭino* m. spindle (*vartana-*) *waṭ*ⁱ f. wick *ḍiātī* f. lamp wick (*varti- dīpavarti-*) *waṭ*^u m. twist (*varta-*) *ātan*^u to melt (*āvartana-*) *waṭ*ⁱ near (*vartin-*); *wāt*^a f. path (*vārtman-*) is a later loan, since it has *ā* not *a* (cf. G. *vāt* N. *bāto*, etc.).

Beside *kat*^u, etc., Sindhi has the verb *katan*^u to cut (*kartati*). The two words *kartati* to cut and **kartati* to spin (cf. *kṛntati kartayati*) were probably early differentiated by counter-borrowing from cerebralizing and non-cerebralizing dialects, *katt-* being reserved for cutting and *katt-* for spinning in all the ModI. languages except Singhalese with *katīnu* "to spin", which, however, may represent *kaṇṭ-* (cf. Skt. *kṛntati* Pa. *kantati*); but in any case Singhalese has replaced *katt-* "to cut" by *kapīnu* to cut (*kalpayati*).

Māṭī f. large earthen vessel (*mārttika-*) should be compared with *miṭī* (*mṛttikā*) mentioned above; *aṭō* (<**artaka-*, cf.

¹ Cf. Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, *sub voce*.

Persian *ārd* meal Av. *aša-* ground : Skt. lex. *aṭṭa-*) is a common Indian loan-word.

rth : *sāth*^u m. caravan *sāthī* m. comrade (*sārtha-* *sārthika-*) *cōthō* fourth (*caturthā-*) *tith*^u m. place of residence (*tīrthā-*).

rdh : *adh*^u m. half *adh-* in composition (*ardhā-*) *ādhō* half (*ārdha-*), *wadhaṇ*^u to grow (*vārdhatē*) *wadh*ⁱ too much (*vardhita-*) *wadhiṇī* f. increase (*vardhana-*), etc. ; *nidhaṇkō* poor (*nirdhana-*) *nidhar*^u helpless (**nirdhara-*).

The words containing *ardha-* and used to express fractions have a cerebral in common with all other ModI. languages : *adhāī* two and a half (*ardhatṛīya-*) is plainly a loan-word, for the Sindhi treatment of *-īya-* is *-ij-*, e.g. passives in *-ijan*^u > *-īyā-*, *bījo* second (*dvitīya-*) *trījo* third (*trītiya-*), whereas in the eastern group it is *-īa-*. Secondly the Sindhi treatment of *r* is *i*, *u* not *a*, which is perhaps eastern (it is regular in Singhalese) : *ardhatṛīyaḥ* > **aḍḍhaaīo* > *adhāī*. On three counts therefore *adhāī* is to be considered a loan from an eastern dialect. With it go *sādh*^u plus a half (*sārdha-* Pkt. *saddha-*) *ḍēdh*^u one and a half (Pkt. *divaḍḍha-*, cf. Skt. *divyardha-*).

Words belonging to the root *vardh-* "to cut" are distinguished from those belonging to the root *vardh-* "to increase" by surviving only in the borrowed form with a cerebral : *wadhaṇ*^u to cut *wadhiṇī* f. cutting *wadh*^u m. cut (*vardhayati vardhana-* *vardha-*). Other languages, however, which, like Hindi, have the cerebralized form for *vardh-* to increase (e.g. H. *barhnā*) have lost the root *vardh-* to cut except in the noun *barhaī* m. carpenter (*vardhaki-*) which cannot be confused with any form connected with *barhnā* to increase.

Mundh^u m. beginning, top, front part, adj. chief (*mūrdhān-*) has only metaphorical meanings and is therefore suspect of being borrowed.

rd : this group in Sindhi became *ḍḍ* and then *ḍ* : *paḍaṇ*^u to break wind *paḍ*^u m. breaking wind (*pardatē parda-*) *gaḍah*^u m. donkey (*gardabhā-*) *coḍāhā* fourteen (*cāturdāsa-*) *kuḍaṇ*^u to leap (*kūrdati*) *laḍaṇ*^u to load (*lardayati*) *chaḍaṇ*^u to abandon

(*chardayati*) *ḍēḍar*^u m. frog (*dardura*-); *niḍar*^u fearless (**nirdara*-); *kōḍ*^u m. cowry (*kaparda*-).

Baledō m. herd of cattle (*balivarda*-) *bāḍal*^u m. cloud (*vārdala*-) are shown also by the presence of -l- for regular -r- and in the latter of b- for regular w- to be loan-words.

4. On the contrary, when followed by *r*, *t* as well as *ḍ* and probably *dh* are cerebralized. In the northern and central dialects *r* remains, in the southern it is lost.¹ There is no example of the group *thr*; but *str* appears as the dental *th*. Since after nasals all surds are voiced, *ntr* > *nḍr*.

tr: *trahan*^u to fear *trāh*^u m. trembling *trāhan*^u to frighten (*trāsati trāsa- trāsayati*) *tri- trē* three *trijō* third etc. (*tri-trāyaḥ trītiya*-) *truṭan*^u to be broken *trōran*^u to break (*trutiyati trōṭayati*) *truijan*^u to miscarry (of cattle) *trumbijan*^u id. (Dhātup. *trōpati trumpati* to hurt); *triman*^u to ooze *trēhan*^u to damp; H. *tūtā* wet *tēm* f. wetness Sgh. *tem* wetting, despite Dhātup. *tīmyati* lex. *tēmana*- probably go back to **trimiyati* **trēmāyati*.

khātr^u m. passage made by burglars *khātrō* m. channel of a torrent (*khātra*-) *gōtr*^u m. parentage (*gōtrā*-) *ciṭr*^u m. picture *ciṭrō* m. panther (*ciṭrā*-) *cēṭr*^u m. spring crop (*caitra*-) *chaṭr*^u m. umbrella (*chattrā*-) *jātrō* m. son-in-law (*jāmāṭṛ*-) *jātr*^u f. furrow (*yātrā*) *ḍōhiṭrō* m. daughter's son (*dauhitra*-) *nakhṭr*^u m. constellation (*nákṣatra*-) *nētr*^u m. reed, cane (*naḍā- + vētra*-) *paṭriṭrō* thin (*pāṭtra*-) *pāṭr*ⁱ f. large dish (*pātra*-) *puṭr*^u m. son *pōtrō* m. son's son *niputrō* childless *ḍērōṭr*^u husband's brother's son (*putrā- paūtra- niṣputra- dēvaraputra*-) *māṭrējō* belonging to one's stepmother (**mātrēya*-, cf. *bhrātrēya*- and Pa. *mattēya*-) *miṭr*^u m. friend (*mitrā*-) *muṭr*^u m. urine *gaṇṭr*^u m. cow's urine *mutran*^u to urinate (*mātra- gōmūtra- mūtrayati*) *vahiṭr*^u m. riding or draught animal (*vahitra*-) *suṭr*^u m. thread *sōtrō* of cotton (*sātra- sautra*-) *jōtrō* m. cord (*yōktra*-).

When the preceding syllable contains *r*, the group remains dental and the second *r* is assimilated: *wart*^a f. leather thong

¹ *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. viii, pt. i, p. 23.

(*varatrā*) *rāt*ⁱ f. night *rātūṇō* nocturnal (*rātrī*) *nōrātō* m. *ārātī* f. (= *navarātra-ārātrika*).

ntr: *āṇḍrō* m. entrails (*āntrā-*) *khāṇāṇḍrō* m. kitchen (? **khādanāntra-*) *nēṇḍrō* m. inviter (cf. *nīmantraka-*) *maṇḍr*^u m. spell (*māntra-*) *jaṇḍr*^u m. handmill *jaṇḍrī* f. lathe (*yantrā-*).

dr: *ḍrākḥ*^a f. small grape (*ḍrākṣā*) *ḍrāu* m. fear (*ḍrāva-*) *ḍrōḥ*^u m. deceit *ḍrōḥī* wily *ḍrōḥaṇ*^u to deceive (*ḍrōḥa-ḍrōhin-ḍrōhayati*) *ḍrōṇaṇ*^u *ḍrōkaṇ*^u *ḍrakaṇ*^u to run (cf. *drāvati drātī*) *āḍrōkō* damp (*ārdra-*); *nīṇḍr*^a f. sleep (*nīdrā*) *muṇḍr*^a f. seal *muṇḍrī* f. signet-ring *muṇḍraṇ*^u to seal (*mudrā mudrikā mudrayati*). In *baḍrō* m. (= *bhādrapada-*) the loss of aspiration and the shortening of the first vowel is not explained.

The derivation of *kōḍirī* f. a species of *jawārī* from *kōdrava-* is doubtful. *Daṇraṇ*^u to run (beside *ḍrōṇaṇ*^u) and *dām*^u m. price (*dramma-*) are obviously loans (cf. H. *daurnā* and *dām*).

ndr: *iṇḍrī* f. penis (*indriyā-*) *caṇḍr*^u m. moon *cāṇḍr*^u lunar (*candrā-cāndra-*) *caṇḍrō* perverse (**candraka-*, cf. *cāṇḍa-*).

The last syllable of *nāṇāṭr*^u m. husband's sister's son (*nānāndra-*) has been altered after words containing *putrā*: e.g. *ḍērōṭr*^u. *Cāṇḍī* f. silver (*candrikā*) is shown by its *ā* to be a loan (cf. H. *cāḍī*).

It has already been indicated that PI. *-ṇḍ-* > S. *-n-*¹ (e.g. *kānō* reed: *kāṇḍa*). Thus *ānō* m. egg *ānī* f. fish's roe *ānir*^u having swollen testicles *ānūrō* m. "testicle" point to an earlier *āṇḍā-* not **āndra-*. But despite the doubt thrown on the etymology *āṇḍā-* = OSl. *jědro* seed, testicle Russ. *jadrō* seed pl. *jōdra* testicles by Berneker² and Wackernagel,³ there seems no valid reason to urge against it. Both the Vedic and the Slavonic words can be referred to an IE. **ēndrō-n*.

In Slavonic the first element of a long diphthong standing before a consonant is shortened,⁴ and the resultant *en-* becomes

¹ Cf. also Bloch, *Journal Asiatique*, 1912, i, p. 335.

² *Slavisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 456.

³ i, p. 171.

⁴ Mikkola, *Urslavische Grammatik*, p. 59.

jē.¹ Compare also OSi. *jetro* "liver" with Skt. *āntrā*-. Thus in both words form, accent, gender, and meaning agree. It is necessary, therefore, to assume PI. **āndrā*- from which in a cerebralizing dialect came *āṇḍā*- to appear as a loan-word in the RV. and in Sindhi.

The history of RV. *dandā*- is instructive in this respect. Words connected with it entered Sindhi at perhaps three different periods. *Dandr*^u m. "horn of the ibex" points to PI. **dandra*- (cf. Gk. *δέινδρον*) and is the real Sindhi word; *dano* m. weal *danan*^u to flog are early borrowings of the common Indian loan-words *dandā*- *dandayati* (cf. *āṇḍā*-above); *dando* m. "pestle, club" is either Southern Sindhi for **dandro*, or is a later borrowing from another language (cf. H. *dandā*).

dhr: there is no certain example of this group, but *dhrāin*^u "to satisfy, to glut" beside H. *dhāpnā* id. points to a PI. **dhrap*- **dhrāp*- **dhrāpya*-, while *dhrāijan*^u "to be procured" is possibly to be referred to *dhrājati* to move; *wadh*ⁱ f. strap (*vardhrī*) is perhaps southern dialect for **wadhr*ⁱ. The aspirate of *dadh*^u f. ringworm (*dadru*-) is found in other languages: perhaps it represents **dadhru*-. Cf. G. *dādhār* beside *dādar* *dād* P. *dadhur* beside *dadd*.

There is no example of the group *thr*, and but one of *str*: *bath*ⁱ f. quiver (*bhrāstrā*). With this may be compared the treatment of the group *ṣṭr* which also loses its *r*: *bath*^u m. large pot in which grain is parched (*bhrāṣṭra*-).

5. The dentals considered up to this point have all been grouped with *r*: the fate of dentals uninfluenced by *r* has now to be considered.

(a) The Primitive Indian intervocalic single dentals disappeared, the surds first becoming voiced; only of the aspirates there remained a trace in their aspiration. A few instances suffice to illustrate this general rule.

piu m. father (*pitṛ*-) *māir*^u nom. pl. f. mothers (*mātārah*) *jāō* m. son (*jātā*-) *paṛ* m. husband (*pāti*-) *with*ⁱ f. space (*vīṭasti*-).

¹ Ib., p. 72.

nāi f. mountain torrent (*nādī*) *ār*^u m. shame (*ādara-*) *maū* m. arrogance (*māda-*) *khāiṇ*^u to eat (*khādati*) *upāiṇ*^u to produce (*utpādayati*).

kahan^u to say (*kathayati*) *gūhū* m. ordure (*grūtha-*) *mahī* f. buttermilk (*mathitā-*).

ḍahī f. curds (*dādhi-*) *wahū* f. son's wife (*vadhū-*) *gōh*^a f. iguana (*gōdhā*) *ōh*^u m. udder (*audhasa-*) *sāhan*^u to prepare (*sādhayati*).

There are a few words in Sindhī in which Primitive Indian dentals in this position are represented by cerebrals. These words are common to most of the other Modern Indo-Aryan languages, and are found with cerebrals in Pāli and Prākṛit. They may either be early loan-words from a dialect in which dentals in this position regularly became cerebrals (but at present we have no knowledge of such a dialect) or be the result of a number of different accidents.¹ It is noteworthy that Sindhī, with other languages of the North-West—Lahndā and Kāśmīrī—has in one word preserved the dental: *pawan*^u to fall *piō* fallen *pāiṇ*^u to pour in (*pātati patitā- pātayati*) Multānī *pē-* to lie *pā-* to put, K. *pyon*^u to fall: Pkt. *paḍai* M. *paḍṇē* Gy. *per-*, etc. But in compounds the cerebralized form appears beside the uncerebralized: *upīraṇ*^u to grow up (*utpatati*) beside *upāiṇ*^u to bale out (*utpātayati*), *niūraṇ*^u to stoop beside *niwan*^u to stoop *niwāiṇ*^u to cause to bow down (*nipatati nipātayati*). *Ārī* f. wild duck (*ātī-* an aquatic bird, cf. *āṭī-* *Turdus ginginianus*) everywhere has a cerebral: M. *āḍī*, etc. So too *kaṛhan*^u to boil *kāṛhō* m. cauldron *kāṛhan*^u to cause to boil (*kvāthātē kvātha- kvāthayati*) M. *kadhṇē*, etc.: Pāli has *kathitō* distinguished by its cerebral from *kathitō* spoken..

(b) M. Bloch² has drawn attention to the parallelism in development between single stops when initial and corresponding doubled stops when intervocalic. With regard to the phenomena of cerebralization the treatment is identical in

¹ Cf. Wackernagel, i, § 133, note, and § 148; Bloch, p. 125.

² p. 96.

Sindhi. Initial Middle Indian *t- th- dh-* and intervocalic *-tt- -tth- -ddh-* remain dentals, initial *d-* and intervocalic *-dd-* become cerebrals. With this may be compared the fate of the same consonants when preceded by *r*.

t- -tt-: *tand*^u f. wire (*tántu-*) *tatō* hot (*taptá-*) *tāñō* m. warp (*tāna-*) *tir*^u m. sesamum (*tilá-*) *tusan*^u to be pleased (*tuṣyati*) *tuh*^u m. husk (*túṣa-*), etc.

*sambat*ⁱ f. readiness (*sampatti-*) *wit*^u m. power (*vittá-*) *pit*^u m. bile (*pittá-*); *bhat*^u m. water gruel (*bhaktá-*) *utaṇ*^u to say (*uktá-*) *sutī* f. a particular sea-shell (*śukti-*); *pātō* reached (*prápta-*) *tatī* f. heat (*tapti-*) *sat*^a seven (*saptá-*), etc.

th- -tth-: *thaṇ*^u m. teat *thañ*^u f. human milk (*stana- stanya-*) *thadh*ⁱ f. coldness (*stabdhi-*) *thambhaṇ*^u to support (*stámbhatē*) *thūhō* m. hump of a camel (*stúpa-*); *thulhō* fat (**sthūlya-*, cf. *sthūlá-*; Nep. *ṭhulo*) *thar*^u m. desert (*sthála-*) *thāñō* m. place (*sthána-*) *thūñī* f. stake (*sthāñā*) *thiaṇ*^u to occur (*sthitá-*).

wath^u f. thing (*vastu-*) *mathō* m. head (*mastaka-*) *āthar*^u m. pack-saddle (*āstara-*); *uthāñī* f. morning (*utthána-*) *wathāṇ*^u m. cattle-pen (*upasthána-*); *mathaṇ*^u to churn (*mathnāti*).

dh- -ddh-: *dhāñ*^u m. grain (*dhānyā-*) *dhurō* m. side stick of a lathe (*dhúra-*) *dhūṇaṇ*^u to shake (*dhūnóti*) *dhāwaṇ*^u to blow with bellows (*dhāmati*) *dhāiṇ*^u to suck (*dhāpáyatē*), etc.

ḥadhō bound (*baddhā-*) *budhō* heard (*buddhá-*) *purdhō* understood (**paribuddha-*, cf. *paribōdha-*) *rudhō* engaged in (*ruddhá-*) *sudh*ⁱ f. knowledge (*śuddhi-*); *ḍadhō* burnt (*dagdhá-*) *ḍōdhī* m. milkman (*dōgdhī-*) *mudh*^u foolish (*mugdhá-*); *ladhō* taken (*labdhá-*) *jadhō* coitu fructus (**yabdhā-*, cf. *yābhati*) *thadh*ⁱ f. coldness (*stabdhi-*).

Similarly the groups *-nt- -nñh- -ndh-* remain dental.

nt: *andī* f. edge of cloth (*ánta-*) *andar*^u m. inside (*ántara-*) *khāñdī* f. patience (*kṣānti-*) *tand*^u f. wire (*tántu-*) *ḍand*^u m. tooth (*dánta-*) *ḍāñd*^u m. ox (*dāntá-*) *rāñdī* f. sport (**rānti-*; *rāmatē* formed after *kṣāmatē*: *ksānti-*, etc.) *sandāiṇ*^u to vex (*sañtāpayati*) *sīndhī* f. parting in the hair (*sīmánta-*: the aspiration is unexplained).

nth: *pandh*^u m. distance (*pánthan*-) *pāndhī* m. traveller (*pānthā*-) *mandhiarō* m. churning staff (*mānthā*).

ndh: *andhō* blind (*andhā*-) *kandh*^u m. back of neck (*skandhā*-) *sindh*^u m. Indus (*sīndhu*-) *bundhan*^u to understand (**bundhati*, cf. pres. part. mid. *budhānā*- Gk. *πυνθάνομαι*: *búdhayatē*) *bandh*^u m. dike (*bandhā*-), etc.

When a dental was followed by vowel + *r* + consonant or consonant + *r*, then through a process of anticipation, an *r* was also pronounced immediately after the dental. It was not a case of metathesis, since the original group containing *r* behaved like any other group containing *r*: thus presumably *ḍirghā*- *tāmrā* > **ḍirgha*- **trāmra*- not **ḍrigha*- **trāma* which would have become **ḍrīhō* **trāō*. The dental followed by this secondary *r* behaved as in the Primitive Indian group dental + *r*, that is to say, it became a cerebral. The groups *tḡ* *dḡ* became *tri* *dri*.

trih^a f. thirst (*tḡṣā*) *triṣkan*^u to split (**tḡdati*, cf. *tḡnātti* *tḡdīlā*-). *ṭipan*^u to leap (*tḡpyati*) presumably belongs to the southern dialect in which *tr* > *t*; *ḍriṣh*ⁱ firm (*dḡḍhā*-).

trak^u f. spindle (*tarku*-) *trapan*^u to leap (*tarpayatē*); *ḍrabh*^u m. the grass *Poa Cynosuroides* *ḍrābhō* m. a collection of such grass (*ḍarbhā*- *dārbha*-) *ḍriḡhō* tall (*ḍirghā*-) *ḍrijaṇ*^u to be afraid *ḍrinō* afraid (*ḍriyātē* *ḍirndā*-).

trāmō m. copper (*tāmra*-).

In the case of *ḍ*- there are more exceptions, the majority of which are probably to be ascribed to the southern dialect, though some are susceptible of special, but perhaps unnecessary, explanations: all forms of the root *ḍrś*- *darś*-, confused perhaps with *diś*-, *ḍisan*^u to expect (*ḍrśyatē*) *ḍitho* seen (*ḍrśtā*-) *ḍasan*^u to show (*darśayati*); *ḍāḍh*^u f. severity *ḍāḍhō* hard (*dārḍhya*-), in which *r* is followed by two consonants; *ḍubirō* thin (*durbala*-) *ḍuhāḡ*^u m. lessening of husband's love for his wife (*durbhāgya*-, with *-h-* for **bh-* due to influence of *suhāḡ*^u m. husband's love < *saubhāgya*-): these may have been influenced by forms descended from *duṣ*-, e.g. *ḍukār*^u m. famine (*duṣkāla*-); in *ḍadḥ*^u (*dadru*-)

ḍēḍar^u (*dardura*-) other irregularities appear—aspiration in the former, *ē* for *a* in the latter.

The only example of the group *dhṛ* is *ḍithō* < **ḍhiṭhō* (*dhṛṣṭā*-). In any case we have no certain example of the treatment of *dhṛ*.

An initial dental when followed by *ṭh* beginning the next syllable seems to be liable to assimilation: thus *ṭuṭhō* pleased (*tuṣṭa*-) beside *tuṭhō* id. influenced by *tusan*^u to be pleased (*tuṣyati*), *ḍithō* < **ḍhiṭhō* (*dhṛṣṭā*-).

The number of words in Sindhī in which *t*- *tt*- *th*- *tth*- *dh*- *ddh*- appear as cerebrals is small. There are, it is true, a considerable number of words containing *ṭ* *ṭh* *ḍ* *ḍh* in agreement with other modern Indo-Aryan languages, but for the most part they are at present unprovided with Indo-European or Aryan etymologies, and we have no right to suppose that these cerebrals were developed from dentals. In a few cases M. Bloch has already made some comparisons with Dravidian words.

Where cerebrals, however, in these positions in Sindhī do represent Primitive Indian dentals, it is possible that they are either the result of special circumstances, or are borrowed from some dialect where such dentals regularly became cerebrals (cf. the case of *-t*- in e.g. *niṛaṇ*^u beside *niṛaṇ*^u discussed above, and what will be said later about the cerebralization of all dentals in certain North Gujarātī dialects).

Tāṇaṇ^u to pull tight (*tāṇayati*) has a different meaning from the regular *tāṇaṇ*^u to drag; the etymology of *tiṇḍrus*^u m. a kind of small gourd (lex. *tindiśa*- name of a plant) is uncertain, and in any case the word has *-s*- instead of regular *-h*-.

The root *sthā*- early had forms with the cerebral **ṣṭhā*-, due perhaps to the influence of forms beginning *anu api pari prati*, and to the present tense *tiṣṭhati*. Thus in Sindhī we have *ṭhāṇ*^u m. "stall" beside *thāṇō* m. place (*sthāna*-, but Pa. *ṭhāna*-) and *thāṭ*^u m. place (*sthāman*-: but N. *ṭhāṭ*); *uṭhaṇ*^u to be produced (*utthita*-, but Pa. *utthāti* Pkt. *utthedi*)

beside *uthaṇ*^u to rise *uthāṇī* f. morning *uthāraṇ*^u to raise (where all the other modern languages have a cerebral); *paṭhaṇ*^u to send (*prasthāpayati*, but Pa. *paṭṭhapēti* H. *pathānā*, etc.); in *kawīṭ*^u m. Feronia Elephantum (*kapittha*- Pa. *kapittha*- and *kavīṭṭha*-, M. *kawāṭh*, etc.) the loss of aspiration and the long vowel are irregular.

In *ṭraṭhō* frightened (*trasta*-) *ṭh* is probably due to the analogy of other past participles like *ṭuṭhō* (*tuṣṭa*-) *ḍiṭhō* (*ḍyṣṭa*-). *Ārhar*^u m. "hot season" seems to be a metathesis for **āradhū* with irregular treatment of *-dh* < **āḍaddha* < **ādagdha*- (cf. *ādāhyēta* and *ādahana*-; S. *ḍadhō* "burnt" but Pa. *daddha*-). With this may be compared the treatment of *-bdh*- in H. *ṭhārhā* (*stabdhā*-) beside S. *thadhī* Pa. *thaddha*-.

Whereas *t th dh*, initial or doubled, remained dental, *d*- and *-dd*- became cerebral, namely *ḍ*. With this is to be compared the treatment of *rt rth rdh* on the one hand and *rd* on the other.

d : *ḍukār*^u m. famine (*duṣkāla*-) *ḍakhīṇ*^u m. the south *ḍākhiṇō* southern (*dākṣiṇa*- *dāksīṇa*) *ḍadhr*^u f. itch (*dadru*-) *ḍahī* f. curds (*dādhi*-) *ḍand*^u m. tooth (*dānta*-) *ḍam*^u trained *ḍānd*^u m. ox (*damya*- *dāntā*-) *ḍah*^a ten (*dāśa*) *ḍahan*^u to excite *ḍajhaṇ*^u to be afflicted *ḍadhō* excited (*dāhati* *dahyātē* *dagdha*-) *ḍiaṇ*^u to give *ḍijaṇ*^u to be given (*dāyatē* *dīyātē*) *ḍāwaṇ*^u *ḍān*^u m. shackles for the forefeet (*dāman*- *dāmanī*) *ḍāhō* wise (lex. *dāsa*-) *ḍiṇ*^u m. festival day (*dīna*-) *ḍīh*^u m. day (*divasa*-) *ḍēu* m. demon (*dēvā*-) *ḍēh*^u m. county (*dēśā*-) *ḍēr*^u m. wife's brother (*dēvara*- *dēvī*-) *ḍikh*^a f. ceremony of initiation (*dīkṣā*) *ḍiō* m. lamp (*dīpa*-) *ḍōraṇ*^u to wander (*dōlāyātē*) *ḍōh*^u m. fault (*dōṣa*-) *ḍukh*^u m. pain (*duḥkha*-) *ḍuhaṇ*^u to milk *ḍudh*^u m. curds *ḍōdhī* m. milkman *ḍōhō* m. milker (*duhāti* *dugdhā*- *dōgdhī*- *dōgha*-) *ḍōhitrō* m. daughter's son (*duhitra*-) *ḍūr*ⁱ adv. at a distance (*dūrē*) *ḍāḍhō* hard (*dārdhya*-) *ḍaraṇ*^u to fear (*dāratī*) *ḍaraṇ*^u to be split *ḍāraṇ*^u to split *ḍār*^u m. fissure *ḍar*ⁱ f. den, burrow (*dalati* *dārayati* *dāra*- *darī*) *ḍōrō* m. string of a kite (*dōraka*-) *ḍū* two (*duvā*) *ḍūṇō* double (Pkt. *duṇa*- : *dviguṇā*-).

-dd : *kōḍar*ⁱ f. hoe *koḍāryō* m. worker with a hoe (*kuddāla*-

kaṛuddāla-) *uḍāin*^u to cause to fly (*uḍḍāpayati*: *dīyati*); *saḍ*^u m. call *saḍaṇ*^u to call *saḍō* m. calling (*śābda-*).

Thus no initial *d-* or medial *-d-*, except in the group *nd*, remains in Sindhi proper. And although *d-* has been re-introduced in numerous words, there is no opposition between a *d-* and a **ḍ* like that between *g j ḍ b* and *g j ḍ b̄*. Initial *dh-* when followed by another aspirate might conceivably have become *d-*, just as *g ḍ b* came from *gh- ḍh- bh-* under similar circumstances, e.g. *gāh*^u *ḍiṭhō buh*^u < **ghāhu* (cf. H. *ghās*) **ḍhiṭhō* (cf. N. *ḍhiṭō*) **bhuḥ*^u (cf. H. *bhusā*) (*ghāsu- dhrṣṭā busa-*). But the only example is *ḍiṭhō* where *dh-* was first assimilated to *ḍh-* by the following *ṭh*.

Sindhi proper knowing nothing but *ḍ* (*ḍ̄*) has changed the initial *d-* of a large number of loan-words, chiefly tatsamas, to *ḍ* (just as knowing nothing but *ṭr-* it has changed the initial *tr* of many tatsamas to *ṭr*): e.g. *ḍal*^u m. leaf *ḍān*^u m. gift *ḍuṣṭ*^u bad *ḍes*^u m. country *ḍasaṭ* (H. *dasai*) *ḍēsai* native (H. *dēsai*), etc.

Words beginning with *d-* are for the most part obviously loans: e.g. *dēs*^u m. country *dōs*^u m. fault *dal*^u m. host (tatsamas), *daṛaṇ*^u to run *dām*^u price *dūō* two in cards *dūlah*^u m. generous person (cf. H. *daṛnā dām dūā dūlahā*), *dard*^u f. pain *dast*^u m. hand (Persian *derd dest*).

In the following examples *nd* appears to remain dental: *nindaṇ*^u to slander (*nīndati*) *mandō* wicked (*manda-*) *mandar*^u m. temple (*mandira-*) *hindōrō* m. cradle (*hindōla-*) *sindhur*^u m. red lead (*sindūra-*) *kundirū* f. olibanum (*kunduruka-*). But none of these examples is very convincing. Moreover while *ṅk ṅc mp* became *ṅg ṅj mb* just as *nt* became *nd*, *ṅg ṅj mb* became *ṅ ṅ m*. It might therefore be expected that *nd* should have become *n*.

ṅk: *aṅg*^u m. figure (*aṅkā-*) *aṅgūr*^u m. sprout (*aṅkūra-*) *kaṅg*^u m. crane (*kaṅkā-*) *kaṅgaṇ*^u m. bracelet (*kaṅkana-*) *saṅg*^a f. fear *saṅgaṇ*^u to fear (*śaṅkā śaṅkatē*).

ṅc: *kaṅjurō* m. bodice (*kaṅcula-*) *muṅjaṇ*^u to send (*muṅcati*) *paṅj*^a five (*pāñca*) *maṅjō* m. low bedstead (*mañca-*) *kuṅj*^a f. key (*kuṅcika*).

mp: *kam̐an*^u to tremble (*kam̐atē*) *cambō* m. *Michelia* *Champaka* (*campaka-*) *lim̐an*^u to plaster (*lim̐āti*) *sambat*ⁱ f. preparation (*sampatti-*) *trumban*^u to pierce (Dhātup. *trumpati*).

ṅg: *aṅ*^u m. body (*āṅga-*) *aṅur*^u m. finger (*aṅgula-*) *aṅar*^u m. live coal (*āṅgāra-*) *liṅ*^u m. limb (*liṅga-*) *siṅ*^u m. horn (*śṅga-*).

ñj: *piñan*^u to card cotton (*piñjā*) *piñiro* m. cage (*piñjara-*) *bhañan*^u to break (*bhañjayati*) *mañar*^u m. a kind of ear-ring (*mañjara-*) *mañuth*^a f. madder (*mañjiṣṭhā*) *muñ*^u m. moonj grass (*múñja-*).

mb: *kamar*ⁱ f. blanket (*kambalā-*) *kuṛm*^u m. family (*kuṭumba-*) *cuman*^u to kiss (*cumbati*) *jamā*ⁱ f. *Eugenia jambolana* (*jambū*) *nim*^u m. *Melia Azidarach* (*nimba-*) *samujhan*^u to understand (*sambudhyati*: M. Bloch¹ wrongly, I think, derives this from *samādhyāyati*) *laman*^u to hover (*lambatē*).

Similarly Skt. *ṇ* appears in Sindhī as *ṇḍ*, and Skt. *ṇḍ* presumably through **ṇṇ* as *n*.

It might, therefore, be expected that the course of events would have run thus: *ṇḍ* > **ṇḍ* > **ṇṇ* > *n*. And this is apparently the case in *ninun*^a f. husband's sister (*nānāṇḍṛ-*) and may be considered the regular Sindhī treatment.

6. The sounds *n* and *l* may be considered together, for their development appears to be completely parallel within the different dialect groups. In the result, too, there is the same relationship between *n*- *l*- and *-nn-* *-ll-* on the one hand and *-n-* *-l-* on the other as between e.g. *t-* *-tt-* and *-t-*.

In Sindhī, as in all other languages of this group, *n-* *-nn-* appear as *n*, *-n-* as *ṇ*. If the evidence of the literary Prākṛits and the grammarians is to be trusted every *n* became *ṇ*, after which, as appears in the Jain Prākṛit MSS., *n-* and *-nn-* again became *n-* *-nn-*.² Moreover, it is certainly true that *-nn-* < *-rṇ-* became *n* (e.g. *kan*^u m. ear < *kārṇaḥ*) and that *-ṇḍ-* probably through the stage **ṇṇ* also became *n* (e.g. *kānō* m. reed < *kāṇḍa-*).

But the Sindhī treatment of *-ny-* *-jñ-*, which became *ṇṇ* in

¹ p. 414.

² Cf. Bloch, p. 137.

Prākṛit, agrees with the Pāli development of *ññ*, in that this group becomes *ñ*. This contradicts the opinion of M. Bloch,¹ who sees only a modern development in Sindhī *ñ*.

ny ny: *puñ*^u m. virtue (*púnya-*), *riñ*^a f. desert (*áranya-*) beside *riṇ*^u m. desert (*árana-*), *jañ*^a f. marriage procession *jāñī* m. member of a marriage procession (*jánya- jānya-*), *dhāñ*^u m. grain (*dhānyā-*) beside *dhāñō* m. coriander (*dhāntā dhānaka- dhānēya-*), *suñ*^u desolate (*śūnyā-*), *thañ*^u f. human milk (*stanya-*) beside *thaṇ*^u m. teat (*stāna-*) *mañan*^u to agree to (*manyatē*) beside *māñ*^u m. conceit (*mdna-*).

jñ: *wiñāñ*^u m. charm for discovering a thief (*viñāna-*) *ōñāñō* m. sign (**upajñāna-*, cf. *upajāñitē* Pa. *upaññāta-*).

rāñī f. queen (*rājñī*) may be a loan from the unidentified dialect in which *-ṇṇ-* > *-ṇ-*: with it may be compared M. *rāñī* f. id., and M. *āñi* "and" G. *āñ* "other", in which, despite M. Bloch's suggestion of a PI. stem **ana-*,² I still incline to see Skt. *anyā-*. On the other hand, *rāñī* possibly rests on a form **rājanī*, containing the *svaṛabhakti* vowel,³ and so parallel to Vedic forms like *vīriya-* beside *vīryā-* or to classical forms of *-an-* stems after a heavy syllable like *brahmaṇā*, and corresponding therefore to Indo-European forms with *°n* beside *n*.⁴ *Āñ*^a f. subjection (*ājñā*) is reminiscent of Pa. *āñā* f. order beside *aññā* f. knowledge, and of Pkt. *ānavēdi*. In *jañyō* m. sacred thread (*yajñōpavītā-*) *ñ* has been dissimilated to *ṇ* by the preceding palatal *j-*, which in Sindhī is a strongly palatalized *d'*- sound. *Winatī* f. request (*viññapti-* Pa. *viññatti-*) is perhaps a loan (cf. M.G. *vinatī* f.): Shert gives this word as *wīnatī* of which the first *ī* does not show the regular Sindhī treatment.

The languages which distinguish *n-* *-nn-* and *l-* *-ll-* from *-n-* and *-l-* are the Himalayan dialects as far as and including Kumaonī, Lahndā, Sindhī, Pañjābī, Rājasthānī, Gujarātī,

¹ p. 136.

² p. 293.

³ Cf. Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, p. 14.

⁴ Cf. Meillet, *Introduction*, p. 95. Old Irish *rīgain* "queen" < **rēg, °nī* presents an exact parallel.

Marāṭhī, Oṛiyā. M. Bloch includes some at least of the North-West Himalayan (Dard) languages, e.g. Baṣgali, with those that change *-n-* to *-ṇ-*, and excludes Oṛiyā. The Oṛiyā treatment of *-n-* is *-n-* equally with that of *-l-* as *-ḷ-*. Of the North-West Himalayan languages Kāśmīrī and Gypsy (if it belongs to this group) have developed *-n-* as *n* not as *ṇ*. But others of the group, though preserving *-n-* as *n*, agree with Singhalese, and, as will be shown later to be more to the point here, with Paštō, in showing *ṇ* for *nṇ*. The only examples¹ of apparent cerebralization of *-n-* seem to be Paṣai *gaṇ* great Baṣgali *parṇṇ* child (of very doubtful etymology) Kalāśā *šēṛ* Paṣai *šūṛiṇṇ* dog (? *śván-*) Wai-Alā *vēṛ-* Baṣgali *war-* to see (? Av. *vaēnāmi*) Kalāśā *gūṛo* singing (*gāna-*). None of these etymologies are very certain. And in any case Baṣgali *r* also apparently corresponds to *-r-*: e.g. *dyur* far (*dūrā-*) *bar* out (*dvara-* or *bahis-*) and perhaps *mṛ-* to die (*mar-*). On the other hand, the examples of *n* < *-n-* *-ṇ-* seem certain: Baṣgali *mancī* Wai-Alā *manaś* Gawar-Bati *manuś* (*mānuṣa-*), Gawar-Bati *śunā* dog (*śván-*), Kalāśā *ṛona* Gārwi *giān* Maiyā *ṛō* great (*ghana-*), Wai-Alā *tanu* Paṣai *tānik* Gārwi *tanī* Khowār *tan* Maiyā *tā* self (*ātman-*), Maiyā *śun-* Baṣgali and Kalāśā *san-* to hear (*śṛṇōti*).

In Sindhī *-l-* appears as *r*, *l* and *-ll-* (*-*dl-*) as *l*, and *-ly-* as *lh*.

A few examples of each of these changes will suffice.

n-: *naṛ^u* m. reed (*naḷā- naḷā-*) *nōr^u* m. mongoose (*nakulā-*) *nāō* new (*navā-*) *nirōyō* in good health (*nīrōgin-*) *nāwan^u* to bow (*nāmati*), etc.

-nn-: *chanō* m. shed (*channā-*) *chinō* cut (*chinnā-*) *upanō* produced (*utpanna-*); *un^a* f. wool *ōnō* woollen (*ārṇā aurna-*) *punō* filled (*pūrṇā-*) *pan^u* m. leaf (*parṇā-*) *kan^u* m. ear (*kārṇa-*), etc.

l-: *lāhō* m. profit (*lābha-*) *lāin^u* to apply (*lāgayati*) *lawan^u* to chatter (*lapati*) *likh^a* f. nit (*līkṣā*) *luṇan^u* to reap (*lundāti*), etc.

¹ These are all taken from Grierson: *The Pisāca Languages*.

-ll- : *gal*^u m. cheek (*galla*-) *khal*^a f. skin, bark (lex. *khalla*-) *phul*^u m. flower (*phulla*-) *walahō* m. husband (*vallabha*-).

-*dl- : *ālō* moist (<*ārdla- : ārdra-) *bhalō* good (lex. *bhalla*- <*bhadla- : bhadra-).

-ly- : *kalh*^a yesterday (*kalyam*) *mulh*^u m. price (*mūlya*-).

-n- : *van*^u m. tree (*vāna*-) *jaṇō* m. person (*jāna*-) *sūṇō* swollen (*śūṇā*-) *aṇaṇ*^u m. courtyard (*aṅgana*-) *dhūṇaṇ*^u to shake (*dhūṇōti*), etc.

-l- : *garō* m. throat (*gala*-) *bir*^u m. hole, burrow (*bīla*-) *tir*^u m. sesamum (*tīla*-) *pīpir*^u m. *Ficus religiosa* (*pippala*-) *mūrī* f. radish (*mīla*-), etc.

miṛaṇ^u to meet with (cf. N. *mēryāunu*) goes back probably to **miḍa*- **mēḍya*-, while Skt. *mīlati* (cf. G. *mīlvū* H. *mīlnā*, etc.) is to be referred to the dialect in which -ḍ- > -ḷ- > -l- : cf. *naḍā*- *naḷā*- *nala*-, *argaḍa*- *argala*-, etc.

Words containing *l* = PI. -*l*- are loan-words and often exhibit other signs of being such : e.g. *kajal*^u m. collyrium (*kajjala*-) has *j* not *ḡ* ; *patal*ⁱ f. leaf-plate (*patrala*-) has *t* not *ṭr* (cf. *paṭriṇō*) ; *palās*^u m. *Butea frondosa* (*palāsā*-) has -*s*- not -*h*- ; *mūl*^u m. origin, principle (*māla*-) has only a metaphorical sense (cf. *mūrī*) ; *sāwal*^u swarthy (*śyāmala*-) is used only as an epithet of Kṛṣṇa (cf. the word of general use *sāwirō*).

To sum up, the dental stops -*t*- -*th*- -*d*- -*dh*- (including those preceded by *ḡ* or by *r* + vowel), -*t*- -*tt*- -*th*- -*tth*- -*dh*- -*ddh*- (including *rt* *rth* *rdh* and probably *thr*) remained dental, while *tr* and probably *dhr*, -*d*- -*dd*- (including *dr* and *rd*) became cerebrals.

We appear to be in the presence of at least two distinct processes. In the first *tr* *dr* (*dhr*) became *ṭr* *ḍr* (*dhr*), although when not followed by *r* these sounds, except *d*, resisted cerebralization. In the second *d* in all positions (except when single and intervocalic, where presumably it disappeared before the onset of cerebralization of *d*) became *ḍ*—in this process is included the cerebralization of the group *rd*.

The difference of treatment between *rt* *rdh* on the one hand

and *tr dhr* on the other is marked. It is due to a difference in the nature of the *r* in the two positions: in the first it is implosive, in the second explosive. It is the explosive *r* which influences a preceding dental. It is to be further remarked that while the implosive *r* is completely assimilated (*rt rth rdh > tt tth ddh > t th dh*), the explosive *r* remains in Northern and Central Sindhi (*tr dhr > tr ḍhr*).

In the groups *rd* and *dr* the difference of the *r* does not necessarily come into question, although the existence of the difference is shown by the survival of the explosive *r* (*dr > ḍr* while *rd > ḍ*). Here cerebralization of both groups would be sufficiently explained by the fact that *d*-*dd*- were always cerebralized: actually, however, the change *dr > ḍr* is probably to be grouped with the change *tr dhr > tr ḍhr*. The contrast to be remarked is that between the treatment of *d*-*dd*- on the one hand and *t*-*tt*-*th*-*tth*-*dh*-*ddh*- on the other. Here the critical difference between the two groups appears to be the degree of energy used in pronunciation. The fortis *t th* are more resistant than the lenis *d*. Again, the aspiration immediately following the occlusion in *dh* gives it greater strength than the unaspirated *d*; so also, although the fortis *t* in the group *tr* is cerebralized, the aspirated fortis *th* resists even when followed by *r*.

The difference of treatment between *n*-*nn*-*l*-*ll*- on the one hand and *n*-*l*- on the other is similar, though not identical. The single intervocalic consonant is in a weaker position than the same consonant when initial or intervocalic and double. For example, *k*-*kk*-*> k*, while *-k* disappeared; *t*-*tt*-*> t*, while *-t*-*> r*; *m*-*mm*-*> m*, while *-m*-*> w*.

Thus the general conditions of cerebralization in Sindhi appear to have been (1) absence of resistance in the dental—*d*-*dd*-, *n*-*l*- were cerebralized;

(2) in the case of a resisting dental, contact with an explosive *r*—*tr dhr > tr ḍhr*: *th* even in this position resisted cerebralization.

It is now necessary to consider the date or dates, with

reference to other sound-changes, at which this cerebralization occurred in Sindhī.

The change of *d*- *-dd-* to *ḍ*- *-ḍḍ-* occurred after (1) the assimilation of *d* by a following *y* or *v*: for *ḍy ḍv* > *j ḷ*, whereas *dy dv* would have become *ḍḍ* > *ḍ*:—

dy: *khāḷ*^u m. food (*khāḍya*-) *aj*^u to-day (*adyá*) *wij*^u f. lightning (*vidyút*-) *wēḷ*^u m. doctor (*vaḍya*-) *upajan*^u to be produced (*utpadyatē*).

dv: *ba* two *ḷijō* twice *ḷi*- (*dvā dvitīya*- *dvi*-), *ḷārī* f. window (*dvāra*-) *uḷaran*^u to save (**udvārayati*, cf. *vārdyati* to restrain).

(2) the disappearance of intervocalic *-t-* *-d-*; since, if before, these sounds would have become **ḍ* > *r*.

The group *dy* had become *jj* or *yy* (written *j y*) by the time of Aśoka, when *dv* still remained unchanged. But the loss of intervocalic *-d-* was much later. It appears to have been generally maintained in Middle Indian till the first century A.D.¹ Therefore the cerebralization of *d*- *-dd-* must have occurred after that date. If then Pa. *ḍasati ḍahati ḍēti* are previous to that date, they are not words borrowed from the ancestor of Sindhī, but should perhaps be classed with *paṭati*, etc., whose origin is still doubtful. A *terminus ad quem* is furnished by Mārkaṇḍēya's statement that in Vṛacaḍa Apabhraṃśa, which he says came from Sindh, *ḍ* for *d* was optional.² Mārkaṇḍēya appears to have lived in the seventeenth century.³ Further, a word like *kōḍ*^u (*kaparda*-), in which cerebralization was perhaps early and is certainly general, may be a loan from an eastern dialect.

The change of *tr dhr dr* is not subject to this control and may have been much earlier. Hence Sanskrit *daṇḍá- cáṇḍa-* may be loan-words from this dialect.

We are thus led to the conclusion that the cerebralization characteristic of Sindhī, namely that of *tr dr dhr* and *d*- *-dd-*,

¹ Bloch, p. 18.

² Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen*, p. 29.

³ *Ib.*, p. 40.

has nothing to do with that ascribed to the eastern dialects, namely that of *r* + vowel + dental, *ɾ* + dental, *r* + dental.

The change of *tr dhr* to *ʈr dhr* appears to be confined to Sindhi. It is found neither in the neighbouring languages of Lahndā, Mārwarī, and Kacchī, nor in any other Modern Indo-Aryan language, although some, e.g. the Multānī dialect of Lahndā, Kāśmīrī, and Gypsy, retain the explosive *r* after a dental without cerebralizing the dental.

The cerebralization of *d*- -*dd*- appears in the south in Kacchī¹; in the north in the southern and western dialects of Lahndā, viz. Bhawalpurī, Multānī, Hindkī, and Thaḷī²; but not in the north-eastern dialects of Lahndā, nor on the east in Mārwarī.

In North Gujarāt, however, are dialects—Surtī, Paṭṭanī, Khārwa—in which cerebrals and dentals are said to be confused.³ This is possibly to be interpreted in the sense that all dentals have become cerebrals. Spellings such as *ḍāṭ* tooth (*ḍānta*-) are probably phonetic, while spellings like *mōtō* fat (cf. H. *mōṭā*) *rōṭī* bread (cf. H. *rōṭī*) are mistaken attempts to spell correctly, but, the distinction in pronunciation between cerebral and dental being lost, the writer does not know when to write either. In any case, not only *d*- -*dd*-, *tr dhr* have been affected, but all dentals—*t th dh* as well as *ḍ*.

The change of *-n*- *-l*- to *ɳ ʌ* (*r*) is older and extends as already indicated over the North-West languages (but not the Dardic group including Kāśmīrī and Gypsy) up to and including Kumaonī, Lahndā, Pañjābī, Rājasthānī, Gujarātī, Marāṭhī, Oriyā.

At least three different isoglosses for the cerebralization of Sindhi can therefore be distinguished:—

- (1) *tr, dr, dhr, ntr ndr* > *ʈr, ḍr, dhr, ṇdr*.
- (2) *-n*-, *-l*- > *ɳ*, *r* (<**ʌ*).
- (3) *d*-, -*dd*- > *ḍ*-, -*ḍḍ*- (<**ḍḍ*).

¹ Cf. *LSI*. viii, 1, p. 185.

² Cf. lists of words given *passim* in *LSI*. viii, 1, Lahndā section.

³ *LSI*. ix, 2, pp. 382, 413, 437.

On the other hand, the cerebralization of the dental in the groups *r* + vowel + dental, *ṛ* + dental, *r* + dental is at least as old as that by which *ndr* became *ṇḍr*, for loan-words showing both these changes are found in the R̥gveda. But it appears to be confined to the eastern languages. To this group we may provisionally assign Singhalese, Oriyā, and Bengālī. But in these languages detailed investigation of this point is still wanting.

But the phenomenon of cerebralization is not confined to the Indian branch of the Aryan family. An Iranian language that neighbours Indo-Aryan at the present day possesses cerebrals. Paštō has two cerebral sounds native to it, namely *r* and *ṛ*. The former appears as the product of a dental preceded by Aryan *ṛ* or *r*, the latter as the product of *n* preceded by *r*.¹

ṛt: *maṛ* he died (Av. *mərəta*- Skt. *mṛtá*-) *vuṛ* he brought (Av. *bərəta*- Skt. *bhṛtá*-) *kaṛ* he did (Av. *kərəta*- Skt. *kṛtá*-); *žaral* to cry out (cf. Skt. *járatē*) *dāṛal* to split (Av. *dərəta*-, cf. Skt. *dīrṇá*-) *nvaṛaz* snipe (Pehl. *vartak* Skt. *vārtikā*).

ṛd: *zra* heart (Av. *zərədaya*- Skt. *hṛdaya*-) *prāṅ* panther (Skt. *pṛdāku*-).

rt: *āvaṛi* he changes (Av. *varətata* Skt. *āvārtatē*) *sōṛ* cold (Av. *sarəta*-).

ōra flour (<**arda*-, cf. Av. *aša*- Pers. *ārd*, S. *aṭō*).

rn: *pāṇa* leaf (Av. *parəna*- Skt. *parṇá*-) *kōṇ* deaf (Av. *karəna*- Ved. *karná*- "having the ears stopped", perhaps here too Skt. *kāṇá*- "one-eyed", which Joh. Schmidt² has compared with OSlav. *krŭnŭ* "having the ears cut off" and *krŭno-nosŭ* having the nose cut off).

The Paštō cerebralization of *ṛ* or *r* + dental is remarkably like that of the eastern group of Indo-Aryan languages. The treatment of *rn* recalls also the treatment of the same group in India in a number of common Indian loan-words, the earliest of which appear in the R̥gveda, e.g. *kāṇá*- (*karná*-).³ The

¹ Cf. *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, i, 2, pp. 207-8.

² Cf. Wackernagel, i, p. 192.

³ See p. 581, n. 1.

change of *nirṇā-* to *nāṇā-* seems to have been characteristic of Ardha-Māgadhī.¹

To the north and east of the Paštō area are other languages—the North-West Himalayan group, named Dardic or Piśāca by Sir George Grierson—at least some of which certainly belong to the Indian rather than the Iranian branch of the Aryan languages. Belonging to the most westerly group of these—the Kāfir—is Pašai, and to the east of Pašai Gawar-Bati, Kalāšā, and Maiyā.² These all appear to be Indian in character; in them Prim. Ar. *žh* appears as *h*, not as *z* or *ḍ*: e.g. Pašai and Kalāšā *hās(t)* Maiyā *hā* hand (Av. *zasta-* OPers. *dasta-* Skt. *hāsta-*) Pašai *haṛā* Gawar-Bati *heṛa* heart (Av. *zərəḍaya-* Pehl. *dīl* Skt. *hṛdaya-*); Prim. Ar. *jh-* appears as *h-* not as *j-*, e.g. Pašai *hanīk* to beat (Av. *jan-* Skt. *hānti*); IE. *k*, appears as *š* not *s*, e.g. Pašai *šīr* Gawar-Bati *šarūta* head (Av. *sarah-* Skt. *śīras-*) Kalāšā and Maiyā *šīš* head (Skt. *śīrṣan-*) Gawar-Bati, Kalāšā, and Maiyā *daš* ten (Av. *daha* Skt. *dāśa*).

Here, too, if our scanty sources of information are to be trusted, we meet with the same type of cerebralization as in Paštō, which is so surprisingly like that of the eastern group of Indo-Aryan languages.

r + vowel + dental: Pašai *pōṛā* in front (Skt. *pravāt-* sloping path *právat-* forward, cf. Pers. *fīrōd* beneath < **prautā*).³

ṛd: Pašai *haṛā* Gawar-Bati *heṛa* heart (Skt. *hṛdaya-*).

Further east in Maiyā we find the same treatment of *rṇ* as appears in Paštō, and probably also in Pašai and Kalāšā: Maiyā *kāṇ* Pašai *kār* Kalāšā *kuṛō* ear (*kārṇa-*). Contrast with this Maiyā *šun-* Kalāšā *san-* to hear (*śṛṇōti*).

If it were permitted to theorize without a very sure foundation of fact, one would be tempted to reconstruct the history

¹ For lists see Wackernagel, i, pp. 193–4.

² See the map in Grierson, *The Piśāca Languages*.

³ Grierson, *Piśāca Languages*, p. 64; Horn, *Neupersische Etymologie*, p. 183.

of the chief waves of cerebralization thus. The first—that of the groups *r* + vowel + dental, and *r* + dental, or at least *ṛ* + dental—was effected while the Aryan invaders were still at the gates of India. This change affected not only the Indo-Aryans, but also their Iranian neighbours, linguistic ancestors of the Paštō speakers. As the Indo-Aryans moved on into India, a portion were left in the mountains to the north, linguistic ancestors of the speakers of Paśai, Gawar-Bati, Kalāśā, and Maiyā. The dialects of these early invaders would be the first to be exposed to the rapid change dependent partly on a new environment. Hence words borrowed from them by succeeding tribes, among whom we will suppose to have been the authors of the Ṛgveda hymns, would have reached a more advanced phonetic development. Such a theory might account for the appearance of forms like *kāṭa-* (<**kṛta-*) *dandā-* (<**dandra-*) side by side with *kṛtā-* *candrā-*, forms proper to the phonetic development of the Ṛgveda dialect.

We know too that in the midst of the eastern dialect group was later situated a great centre of civilization, Pāṭaliputra. To this fact perhaps is due the early and wide extension of certain forms showing cerebralization and properly peculiar to the eastern group. The speakers of this cerebralizing group spread eastwards till they reached the sea, and as representatives of their dialects we find Bengālī and Oṛiyā to-day. Further, if we admit that Singhalese was brought to Ceylon from the east coast of India, there is no difficulty in accounting for the cerebralization of that language.

The next great wave of cerebralization was that which turned *-n-* and *-l-* into *ṇ* and *ḷ*. The beginnings of this are probably to be placed about the second century B.C.¹ It has affected a large number of contiguous languages. As they lie at present, they are the Himalayan languages from Kumaonī in the east to Bhadravāhī in the north-west,

¹ Cf. Bloch, p. 137.

Pañjābī, Lahndā, Sindhī, Rājasthānī, Gujarātī, Marāṭhī, Oṛiyā.

The third movement, the cerebralization of *ḍ*- *-ḍḍ*-, has affected only Kacchī, Sindhī, and the southern and western dialects of Lahndā. As we have seen, it was probably posterior to the first century A.D.

Whether or not the cerebralization of the eastern group had its beginning in the mountains of the north-west, at least to-day cerebrals, developed from dentals, are found in Paštō and in some of the Dardic languages. And in the mountains south of Afghanistan a Dravidian language, Brāhūī, is still spoken.

All that we have learnt of cerebralization in Sindhī may be held to confirm M. Grammont's theory of a general tendency observable in Indo-Aryan towards an articulation about the palatal arch. The sounds best able to resist that tendency would be those pronounced with the most energy, namely the surd stops and the aspirates. And in Sindhī we found that *t th dh* remained dental, while *ḍ* was cerebralized.

That this tendency should result in a series of sounds identical with those existing in the language of the earlier inhabitants of the country is perhaps, as M. Meillet suggests, something more than coincidence. And although some of the changes here considered (*ḍ*- *-ḍḍ*- > *ḍ̥*) were produced many centuries after the arrival of the first Aryans in India, other cerebrals had appeared in the language at a much earlier date. The change of *ṣt(h) ṣḍ(h)* to *ṣ̥t(h) ṣ̥ḍ(h)* was common Indo-Aryan, while we have indications in the R̥gveda of the cerebralization of the group *nḍr* and of the cerebralizations characteristic of the eastern group. But it is not enough to speak of Dravidian influence without at the same time exhibiting a reason within the language itself for the change. If the early Dravidians distinguished a dental series from a cerebral series, then, supposing there were no predisposing cause for change in Aryan, we have no right to say that the Dravidians who learnt Aryan would have reproduced the

dentals of that language as cerebrals. Thus we cannot ascribe simply to Dravidian influence the cerebrals of such words as Pa. *ḍasati ḍahati ḍēti paṭati*. And with regard to the regular cerebralization, in the east of the groups *r* + vowel + dental, *ṛ* + dental, and *r* + dental, in Sindhi of the groups *tr dr dhr* and *d- -dd-*, the most that we can say is that Dravidian speech-habits may have affected the final direction of a tendency already existing in the language, namely that towards a pronunciation about the palatal arch particularly under the assimilating influence of a neighbouring *r*.

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The Identification of the Chinese Phoenix

BY THE HON. M. U. HACHISUKA

(PLATE II)

ALL those acquainted with Chinese art and literature are familiar with two fabulous birds, known in Chinese as Fêng-huang 鳳凰 and Luan 鸞 and in Japanese as Ho-ow and Luan respectively. Not very appropriately the name Phoenix has been given to the former in Western nomenclature.

I have long been of the opinion that originally these were actual birds found in nature. The first point that led me to think so was the distinction made between the young and the mature Phoenix, the young bird being called Yo-tsu 鷩族. This seemed to show that an ordinary observer would detect a strongly marked difference in the bird's appearance at different ages, and suggested a possible identification of the Phoenix with one of the large-size game-birds in which such changes occur. I came finally to the conclusion that the Phoenix is really the Ocellated pheasant (*Reinardius ocellatus*), and that the Luan is the Argus pheasant (*Argusianus argus*). These two birds are nearly related to each other in classification. The following are my reasons for this opinion. In the ancient descriptions of Fêng-huang the bird has a cock's head, a snake's neck, a swallow's "chin", a tortoise's back, and a fish's tail. It has five colours and its height is about six feet. Let us take these points in detail and see if they are true of the Ocellated pheasant.

1. *Cock's head*.—The Ocellated pheasant is obviously very similar to the domestic cock in the formation of its head.

2. *A snake's neck*.—This refers not only to the slender neck, up-reared like that of an enraged snake, but also to the almost naked skin of the Argus pheasant.

3. *Swallow's "chin"*.—This allusion is somewhat obscure.

4. *Tortoise's back*.—The back of the Annam Ocellated

pheasant has an irregular pattern of dots and stripes. On the secondary wing-feathers the dots become more regular and are arranged in patterns like the corners of a hexagon. On the real wing-feathers the dots are joined by lines and resemble the marking on the carapace of a tortoise. Some ancient books compare the back of the Phoenix to a tiger skin, instead of a tortoise-shell.

5. *Fish tail*.—The tail of the Ocellated pheasant resembles that of a fish in its rudder-like position, flat at the two sides.

6. *Five-coloured*.—This may be translated "many coloured".

7. *Six feet high*.—It is well known that the ancient foot measure in China was much shorter than the modern one, and it varied in different parts of the country. It is not possible, therefore, to attach any definite significance to this ancient measurement as applied to the bird, especially as we do not know whether the measurement was taken from head to foot on the ground, or from head to tail on a tree. The fact is that the Chinese are very inaccurate in their use of numbers; they are apt to exaggerate, and they have a preference for round numbers.

So much for the details of the body, and they are much the same for the Argus pheasant, and Darwin (*Descent of Man*, vol. ii, p. 141) makes a similar comparison about the Argus pheasant's wing-covert. "The feathers are also elegantly marked with oblique dark stripes and rows of spots like those on the skin of tiger and leopard combined." We will now proceed to consider the bird's note. I have had no opportunity of hearing the note of either the Argus or the Ocellatus, but the following paragraph occurs in Hume and Marshall, *The Game-birds of India, Burmah, and Ceylon*, p. 101: "The call of the male sounds like 'How-how' repeated ten or a dozen times, and is uttered at short intervals when the bird is in its clearing, one commencing and others in the neighbourhood answering. The report of a gun will set every male within hearing calling, and on the least alarm



Ocellated Pheasant, drawn from an actual specimen.

[To face p. 686.]



or excitement, such as a troop of monkeys passing overhead, they call. The call of the female is quite distinct, sounding like 'How-o-woo', the last syllable much prolonged, repeated ten or a dozen times, but getting more and more rapid until it ends in a series of 'Owoo's' run together. Both the call of male and female can be heard to an immense distance, that of the former especially, which can be heard at the distance of a mile or more." This paragraph refers to the Argus pheasant, but the note of the Argus is very similar to that of the Ocellated pheasant. In my opinion it explains why the character *fêng* denotes the male, and *huang* the female. The names imitate the bird's note. In the book entitled *A Monograph of the Pheasants* (vol. iv, p. 118), by William Beebe, an eminent American ornithologist, the following passage occurs: "To the Malay ear the cock Argus calls *kuan* and *kuang*; to the wild Sakai *kwak*, to the Siamese *kyek*, while the native of Sumatra has translated the cry into the syllables *koewearu* or *kuaow*. All these have come to be the general names of the birds in their respective countries,—wholly onomatopoeitic in origin."

Now, if the Chinese Phoenix and the Ocellated pheasant are identical, how can we account for the fabulous character of the Phoenix, and all the superstitions about it? It is almost impossible to shoot an Argus pheasant, even with a modern gun, because of its retiring habits. The Ocellatus is still more difficult to secure, as is proved by the fact that only about four museums in the world possess specimens of it. To quote Mr. Beebe again (vol. iv, pl. lxxxix):—

"The most mysterious of all pheasants are the birds of this group. We live in their neighbourhood, we hear their calls, we find their dancing arenas, and yet, after weeks of search, may catch never a glimpse of the birds themselves. Night after night their call rings out a few hundred yards away, sounding much like the call of the Argus, but with the muffled resonance which is unmistakable. *In appearance they recall some Chinese imaginary phoenix.*"

This elusive character of the bird, together with its appearance, is surely sufficient to account for the legends which have gathered round it. There are several places in the old Chinese classics where a white Fêng and white Luan is mentioned, but modern scientists have not discovered any specimens of albino *Ocellatus* or *Argus*. It is a fairly common occurrence, however, to find albinos among game-birds, and therefore it is highly probable that there are occasional specimens among the Ocellated and *Argus* pheasants. The appearance of even an ordinary albino pheasant in China is regarded as a good omen; either it presages a time of peace, or the birth of a new sage, or some such important event, and the same beliefs are also current in Japan. There is a record to the effect that a white pheasant was presented to the Emperors Tenchi 天智, Temmu 天武, and Shotoku 稱徳 (*Tori*, vol. ii, No. 9, p. 245).

I do not know of any attempt to determine the scientific origin of the Phoenix and the Luan among Oriental writers, but the problem has been approached in Europe. The late Professor A. Newton, an ornithologist of Cambridge University, was of opinion that a picture of the Fêng in the encyclopædia *T'u shu chi ch'êng* could only be the work of some artist who had seen a peacock, and especially the *Pavo cristatus* of India proper. In like manner he also thought that the Luan is based upon an acquaintance with the *Argus* pheasant (Giles, *Adversaria Sinica*, vol. i, pp. 9, 10). As I have said before, I agree with Professor Newton in his opinion about the *Argus* pheasant, but I have various reasons for disagreeing with the view that the Phoenix is to be identified with the peacock. These reasons are as follows: The character *k'ung* 孔 of 孔雀 (peafowl) means literally a hole; it is commonly understood that it refers to the eye-like pattern on the tail. This character does not appear in any of the ancient names of the Phoenix. On the other hand, there are several terms in the Chinese and Japanese languages which contain the character *fêng*, e.g.—

1. Phoenix-headed duck 鳳頭鴨子 or Tufted duck (*Nyroca fuligula* L.), in which the crest falls backward as in the Ocellated pheasant, but is entirely unlike the upright crest of the peacock.

2. Phoenix-tailed palm 鳳尾蕉 (*Cycas revoluta* Thunb.).

3. Phoenix-tailed goldfish 鳳尾金魚 (*Carassius auratus*). In none of these terms is the use of *fêng* applicable to the peacock, which is very different in shape, as regards both crest and tail, from the creatures named.

In conclusion I suggest that the name Phoenix is misleading when applied to the Chinese fabulous bird, which has associated with it no legend about self-burning. I think it is a pity not to use the name *Ho-ow*, which is more suggestive of the bird's note than any other of its many names.

A new Interpretation of Akbar's "Infallibility" Decree of 1579¹

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IN the month of Rajab, A.H. 987 (September, 1579), the 'Ulamā of the Mughal Empire issued a joint *fatwa* (*maḥẓar*),² by which, according to Vincent Smith,³ "Akbar was solemnly recognized as being superior in his capacity of Imām-i-Ādil to any other interpreter of Muslim law, and practically was invested with the attributes of infallibility." He therefore calls it the "Infallibility Decree", and he interprets it as the turning-point of Akbar's religious life. He regards it as the "momentous innovation which should extend the autocracy of Akbar from the temporal to the spiritual side, and make him Pope as well as King".⁴ By this step he rendered impossible all opposition to any future developments of his religious policy.⁵ This limited interpretation of the *maḥẓar*, however, in the light of the *Dīn Ilāhī*, seems to obscure the real policy of Akbar.

The *maḥẓar*, it is suggested, was intended to fix the position of Akbar in the Muslim World by eliminating him from the religious and political control of Persia, but without com-

¹ Read on Friday, 20th July, 1923, before the Islamic Section of the Centenary Meeting of the Society.

² *Muntakhabu'l-Tawārīkh*, by 'Abdu'l-Qādir al-Badā'ōnī (*Bibl. Ind.*) (cited *Bad.*), ii, 270-2.

³ V. A. Smith, *Akbar, the Great Mogul*² (1919), p. 179.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 178.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 180, and n. 1. Vincent Smith appears to have been misled by

Badā'ōnī, whose statement (ii, 272) وبعد ازان که فتوی بدست

آوردند راه اجتهاد مفتوح گشت وغيره . . . does appear to

support the view, but it must not be forgotten that the passage was written after the promulgation of the *Dīn Ilāhī*. *Bad.* i, 5.

mitting him to the allegiance of the Ottoman *Khalīfah*. It aimed, indeed, at pronouncing Akbar to be *Khalīfah* of his time (*Khalīfatū'l-zamān*), and, as such, it was a protest against the Ottoman pretensions.¹ His renunciation of the

¹ For the text (T.) of the joint pronouncement (محضر) of the 'Ulamā of the Mughal Empire v. *Bad.* ii, 271-2, and in the corresponding volume of the translation (Tr.) by W. H. Lowe (B. I). The *mahzar* is in very ornate Persian and translation into English is extremely difficult. Lowe has rendered clear the general sense, but even after E. B. Cowell's revision, there are several misleading passages which are noticed below, reference being made to the lines both of the text (T.) and of the translation (Tr.).

1. محضر—a joint pronouncement, opinion, or declaration, not petition (as Lowe translates it). Cf. Vullers, *Lex. Pers.-Lat.* ii, 1144, *syngrapha*, (*vulg.*) *testimonium*; also v. J. T. Zenker, *Dict. Turc-Arab.-Pers.*, s.v., and Lane, *Arabic Lexicon*, s.v. حضر.

2. T. 12, 13. Tr. 15, 16. مرتبه (*martabah*) is better translated "standing", rather than "rank".

3. T. 15, 16. Tr. 19, 20. واکبر... اعدل واعقل. واعلم بالله اند. Lowe's translation misses the point of these superlatives. The argument is surely, even the *just* leader (*imām-i 'ādil*) is greater than a *mujtahid*, "and . . . Akbar . . . is *most* just, *most* wise, and *most* god-knowing."

4. T. 18. Tr. 24. بني آدم "mankind" not "the nation", similarly عموم (T. 20, Tr. 27) and عالمیان (T. 22, Tr. 29); als.

همه کس means "everybody" not "the nation". The use of the word "nation" in these places obscures the real meaning of the words, which are definitely universal in character, and consequently of the whole document. It is to undue reliance on Lowe's translation that Vincent Smith's misconception can be directly traced.

5. T. 10. Tr. 12. امام عادل. "The just leader" or "*Imām*"; Lowe's use of *Imām-i 'Ādil* as a technical term is misleading.

Shī'ah creed would have been sufficient to effect the rupture with Persia, but the simple acknowledgment of the *Sunnī* creed would have brought him technically, at least, under the authority of the Ottoman Sultān of Rūm—the acknowledged *Khalīfah* of the Prophet and Leader of the Faithful (*amīru'l-mūminīn*).¹ So the Mughal 'Ulamā simply placed Akbar above the *mujtahidīn*—the *Shī'ah* 'ulamā of Persia—and therefore beyond Persian religious jurisdiction. He was therefore declared, by implication, to be the head of the *Shī'ah* community. At the same time he was left free to assume the leadership of the *Sunnī*, and that course was indicated by the use of the *Khalīfah*'s title—*Amīru'l-mūminīn*—in the text of the document. This suggestion he followed, assumed the title *Khalīfatu'l-zamān* or *Khalīfatu'llāh*,² and thereby not only maintained Mughal independence of the Ottoman Sultān, but also challenged his right to the title of *Khalīfah*. In this way Mughal pride in Timūr's *Sunnī* orthodoxy and in his triumph over Bāyazīd Yildarīm was vindicated by his descendant Akbar.³

¹ v. T. P. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islām*, s.v. *Khalīfah*, for a discussion of the Ottoman pretensions from the Indian point of view. The claim, however, was recognized both at Mecca and Aleppo, as contemporary poems of the years 1517–19 show. For this information I am indebted to Professor E. G. Browne.

² خليفة زمان *Bad.* i, 5; ii, 8, 278. خليفة الله *ib.*, ii, 273.

Akbarnāmah (B. I) *passim*. Also cf. *Shāh 'Ālamnāmah* (B. I) *passim* for uses of خليفة; and *Accounts and Papers* (H. of C., No. 162 of 25th March, 1859), p. 156. "Vicegerent of God."

³ This significance, I suggest, underlies Abū'l-Fazl's comparisons between the horoscopes of Timūr and Akbar (*AN.* i, 25, 42–3), viz. that Akbar revived the glories of Timūr. Cf. *AN.* i, 60, where a hereditary claim to Mughal overlordship of Rūm appears to be implied in Arghūz Khān's victories, while Khāfi Khān emphasizes his lordship over all Turkeṣtān (*Muntakhabu'l-Lubāb* (B. I), i, 5; cf. *AN.* i, 79–80). For Abū'l-Fazl's emphasis of Timurid ancestry and tradition v. *AN.* i, 6, 16, 22, 25, 42–3, 77–81, 128, 219, 335, 336; ii, 171, 279, 307. Cf. N. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, ed. W. Irvine, ii, 349, for Timūr's place in the *Khalīfah*; also ii, 129, for Timūr's relations with Persia quoted as a refutation of the Ṣafawī claim

The situation of 1579 was the outcome of a triangular contest between the house of Timūr, the Ottoman Turks, and the Ṣafawī dynasty.¹ The "Rūmī feud" of Persia, dating from the fall of Sardis in 546 B.C., and only bridged by Alexander the Great and Timūr, is a factor in history almost as constant as any physical feature.² In the fourteenth century of the Christian era, this feud was represented by Timūr and Bāyazīd Yildarīm, who held the Emperor of Rūm as his vassal. The rise of the Mughals was almost contemporary with the rise of the Ottoman Turks, though their acceptance of Islām was later, and Bāyazīd viewed the newly converted Timūr somewhat in the light of an upstart, and his disdain he made, eventually, no attempt to conceal. He gave shelter to Qarā Yūsuf of *Kharpūt*, and refused Timūr's request that he should be given up; he cited another of Timūr's vassals, Tahartan, *amīr* of *Erzinjān*, and later Timūr himself to appear before him. To Timūr's demands he evaded a direct answer by introducing irrelevant reflexions on the Mughal's orthodoxy.³

to hegemony over the Mughals. For the continued interest in Timūr and Timurid ancestry by the later Mughals, v. W. Rieu, *Cat. Pers. MSS.*, i, 177b-179, 285.

¹ The leading dates of the four stages are:—

- (i) Timūr and the Ottoman Turks—culminating in the battle of Angora, 1402.
- (ii) The Ottoman Turks and the Ṣafawī dynasty, culminating in the cession of the *Khilāfat* by Mutawakkil, the last of the Egyptian Abbāsids, to Salīm the Grim in 1517, by which Salīm becomes the overlord of the *Sunnī* vassals of Persia.
- (iii) The departure of Humāyūn from Persia to India as an *amīr* of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, under the command of Shāhẓādah Murād, aged 16, in 1544.
- (iv) The *maḥzar* of 1579, by which Akbar achieved a diplomatic victory over both the Ottoman and the Ṣafawī houses.

² Cf. J. B. Bury, *A History of Greece*, 2nd ed., 1917, pp. 229-30; and *AN.* i, 21. Professor M. 'Abdu'l Ghanī has drawn my attention to a description

of Timūr as اسکندر العهد (B.M. MSS. Add. 23980, fol. 8a.)

³ E. G. Browne, *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, pp. 196, 204. H. A. Gibbons, *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 244-6, 250. Faridūn Bey, *Munsha'āt-i Salāṭin* (Constantinople, A.H. 1274), i, 116 f. Qarā Yūsuf's appeal (which Professor Gibbons has

This last step drew from Timūr his great profession of *Sunnī* orthodoxy,¹ while events drifted to the inevitable hostilities which culminated in the Battle of Angora in 1402. Bāyazīd was defeated and captured, to die a prisoner in Timūr's hands in the following year.² Timūr had, therefore, established his orthodoxy and achieved the triumph of Alexander the Great.³ From this point, then, arise the two Mughal traditions of irreproachable orthodoxy and of pride in their superiority over the Ottoman Turks. The Emperor of Rūm had acknowledged Timūr's overlordship,⁴ and it is the glamour attaching to this achievement which accounts for the prestige of Timūr and his house, as well as for the insistence of Mughal historians on the Timūrid ancestry of Akbar. It is significant, too, that Abū'l-Faẓl points out the close similarity between the horoscope of Akbar and that of his ancestor.⁵

The next stage of the feud is reached when Muhammad II fulfilled the prophecy of the *Sūratu'l-Rūm* by the capture of Constantinople (1453), claiming to stand to East and West alike as the successor of Constantine and Justinian, assuming the title *Qaiṣaru Rūm*, the opponent of the Pope of Rome and the enemy of the Shah of Persia.⁶ In these and the following evidently overlooked, *op. cit.*, p. 245). Timūr's demand and Bāyazīd's reply, *ib.*, i, 118-19; Bāyazīd's reference to the authority of the *Khalīfah*, *ib.*, i, 130. Cf. J. von Hammer Purgstall, *Gesch. des Osman. Reiches* (Tr. Tr.), ii, 81 ff.

¹ Farīdūn Bey, i, 130-2; cf. H. Beveridge, *Timur's Apocryphal Memoirs* (J. A. S. B., N.S., xvii (1921), pp. 201-4). On p. 204 Mr. Beveridge contends that Timūr was a *Shī'ah*. The contention seems impossible in the light of this letter published in an Ottoman, and therefore anti-Mughal, work.

² E. G. Browne, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-9; H. A. Gibbons, *op. cit.*, pp. 251-6; *AN.* i, 79-80; cf. Tr. i, 211, n. 3. I fail to see the reason for Mr. Beveridge's desire to emend the reading from *zīr* to *zabar*, for it would seem in accord both with the facts of history and with the general policy of Abū'l-Faẓl to exalt the Timūrids above all rivals, particularly the Ottoman *Sultān*.

³ Reference is made to this fact even in the case of Humāyūn in 1544 (*AN.* i, 206), and repeatedly with reference to Akbar (e.g. *AN.* i, 21; *Bad.* ii, 133, 175).

⁴ Timūr recognized Sulaimān as successor to Bāyazīd as a vassal (H. A. Gibbons, *op. cit.*, p. 259). For the Byzantine Emperor's submission to Timūr, *ib.*, pp. 259-60.

⁵ *AN.* i, 25, 42-3, 80, 128.

⁶ Cf. G. Finlay, *History of Greece*, v, 293.

years the fortunes of the descendants of Tīmūr became inextricably bound up with those of Persia against their common Rūmī enemy, the Ottoman Turk, and the period coincides with the rise of the Ṣafawī dynasty.

Shāh Ismā'il (1502-24) restored the Persian monarchy to something of its former splendour, and proved himself to be a worthy rival to Salīm the Grim (1512-20). He forced the *Shi'ah* faith on his vassals, so that it became the national religion of Persia, thereby adding another—a religious—factor to the Perso-Rūmī feud.¹ But the consequences of this policy reacted on Persia itself, and in the Shah's dominions there remained a strong *Sunnī* opposition which looked to Rūm for support and leadership. The Black and White Sheep Turcomāns, subdued in 1507, appear to have relied upon the Turk, as did the Uzbek Shaibān Khān, whose head was stuffed and sent to Salīm in 1512 by Shāh Ismā'il's command.² In 1510 and 1512, Bābur, the descendant of Tīmūr, in order to obtain his ancestor's territory, Samarqand, was forced to accept the suzerainty of Shāh Ismā'il, to accept the *Shi'ah tāj*, and to strike coins bearing *Shi'ah* texts.³ Bābur, then, was the avowed vassal of the Shāh of Persia, and it was

¹ E. G. Browne, op. cit., pp. 315, 379, 416 ff.; Hammer-Purgstall, op. cit., iv, 172 f.

² E. G. Browne, op. cit., pp. 404 ff., 418-19; *Memoirs of Bābur*, ed. Sir Lucas King, ii, 68, 362. Cf. Hammer-Purgstall, op. cit., vi, 152 ff.; vii, 78 ff.

³ *Tārīkh-i Rashidī*, ed. Elias and Ross, 1898, pp. 238, 246-7 and note, for the status of Bābur. Bābur concealed the vassalage (*Memoirs*, ii, 70-2 and 72, n. 3), and later writers have tended to accept his statement (cf. L. F. Rushbrooke Williams, *An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 102 and notes, 103), and to regard Bābur as equal in status to Shāh Ismā'il. But, as Amīr of Kābul and Qandahār, he was still an adherent of the *Shi'ah* sect (Farīdūn Bey, i, 350), and this fact accounts for 'Ubaidu'llāh Khān's description of him as *ān zisht-akhtar bad-bakht hākīm-i Kābul*, etc. Mr. Rushbrooke Williams' somewhat laboured *apologia* for his hero's conduct in 1512 consequently falls to the ground (p. 108 f.). It is of interest to notice Abū'l-Fazl's omission of all mention of political relations between Bābur and Shāh Ismā'il, whose name he mentions but twice, once in an anecdote (*AN.* i, 295) and the other time in recording the rescue of Bābur's *zanāna* (*AN.* i, 85-6).

as a term of vassaldom that the word "friend" was used to express the relations between Mughal and Ṣafawī—a significance which both Mughal and English writers chose to leave obscured.¹ Bābur's position was fraught with the utmost danger. He had gone against the Tīmūrīd tradition of orthodoxy, and he was, in consequence, faced with a rebellion of his leading vassals, with the hostility of the people of Samarqand, and, owing to an attempt to maintain his independence, with the wrath of Shāh Ismā'īl. So Bābur lost Samarqand, to which 'Ubaidu'llāh Khān, an orthodox *Sunnī* and a friend of Salīm, succeeded.² Bābur then returned to Kābul and Qandahār was added to his territories. There he continued loyal to Shāh Ismā'īl and to the *Shī'ah* faith. These facts are a clear testimony to the Shāh's effective rule even in those parts. The evidence for the facts is to be found in the statements of 'Ubaidu'llāh Khān to Salīm the Grim in 1514 and later years, and it would appear that the Amīr of Samarqand was not merely the Sultān's informant but also the leader of the *Sunnī* opposition to Shāh Ismā'īl.³ The progress of events from 1514—the massacre of the *Shī'ah* subjects of Turkey, the battle of Chāldirān, ending in the defeat of Shāh Ismā'īl, followed by the conquest of Syria and Egypt, culminating in the cession of the *Khilāfat* by the last of the Egyptian 'Abbāsids to Salīm the Grim in 1517—indicates the continuity of Salīm's anti-Persian policy,

¹ e.g. *Memoirs of Babur*, ii, 71; cf. Abū'l-Faẓl's account of the relations between Humāyūn and Shāh Ṭahmāsp (*AN.* ii, 188 ff.), where "friendship" is carefully stripped of political significance. On the use of the word "friend" in the East, v. R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, 1913, ii, 86, 2c, and note at § 45 of the letter of Aristæas. Cf. *Xen. Cyrop.* iv, 26 *et passim*; *AN.* i, 210. The idea of vassaldom is not confined to the East; cf. A.S. *wine* (meanings 2 and 4) ap. Bosworth and Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. For this reference I am indebted to Mr. B. Dickinson, M.A., of Edinburgh University.

² *Memoirs of Babur*, ii, 74 ff.; *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, pp. 262-3; W. Erskine, *A History of India under Baber and Humayan*, i, 322 ff.; Rushbrooke Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-9; Farīdūn Bey, i, 346 ff.

³ *Memoirs of Babur*, ii, 77-8, and notes; Farīdūn Bey, i, 347, 350-1, 360-2. Cf. Hammer-Purgstall, iv, 161-3, vii, 70 ff., for Ottoman intrigue with Persian *Sunnī* vassals.

for 'Ubaidu'llāh Khān had already hinted the desirability of the last step as a means of ensuring the support of the Persian *Sunnī* vassals by the bond of loyalty due to their *Khalīfah*.¹ But the Ottoman claim to the *Khilāfat*, carrying with it a proclamation of hegemony over all *Sunnī* believers, balanced, to some extent in the eyes of the Mughals, the Shī'ah professions of Bābur, and provided him with a solution to his dilemma. Shāh Ismā'il was weakened by the battle of Chāldīrān, and Bābur decided to identify himself with Mughal tradition by following the path of Tīmūr in Hindustān, where he ultimately restored Dihlī to the rule of his house in 1526.² It is significant, too, that his first coins struck in India at Lahore bear the names of the four *Khulafā al-rāshidūn*,³ and that the *khutbah* was read in his own name—an act of usurpation of the prerogative, either of his suzerain, the Shāh of Persia, or of the *Khalīfah*, the Ottoman Sultān of Rūm.⁴

The flight of the defeated Humāyūn from India, and his enforced refuge in Persia during the reign of Shāh Tahmāsp, mark the opening of the third stage. Humāyūn appears to have been most unwilling to enter Persia, and it was only after considerable pressure from his followers and Bairām Khān's welcome by the Shāh that he consented.⁵

Bairām Khān had done homage to the Shāh, probably not unwillingly, Humāyūn was forced to do so too, and to accept the *Shī'ah tāj* from Tahmāsp's own hands.⁶

¹ Hammer-Purgstall, iv, 174, 178, 190–1. T. P. Hughes (op. cit., s.v. *Khalīfah*, pp. 264–5) discusses the validity of the transfer from an Indian Muslim standpoint. For acceptance of Salīm as *Khalīfah*, E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, ii, 260. Farīdūn Bey, i, 349; cf. the aims of Pius V, when, in 1570, he issued the Bull *Regnans in excelsis* deposing Queen Elizabeth.

² *Memoirs of Bābur*, ii, 94–5, 96–7; *AN.* i, 79–80; *Bad.* i, 336; Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., p. 114.

³ C. J. Brown, *Coins of India*, pl. x, No. 1.

⁴ *Memoirs of Bābur*, ii, 190; *Bad.* i, 336; Sīdī 'Alī Ra'īs (*A Turkish Sailor at the Court of Humāyūn*), ed. A. Vambéry, p. 53.

⁵ *AN.* i, 190, 205, 206; *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, ap. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India* . . . vol. v (cit. *Tab. E. & D.* v), p. 217. W. Erskine, op. cit., ii, 275.

⁶ i.e. as a *Khil'at*. W. Erskine, op. cit., ii, 280, 284–5, 290. *Tab. E. & D.* v, 218.

Mughal historians attempted to belittle the significance of the relations in their efforts to maintain the equality of Humāyūn with Shāh Ṭahmāsp, and to show that the relations were even cordial. Erskine's account shows this view to be far from the truth and gives a full account of the severity and indignity to which Humāyūn had to submit, but Erskine, too, was misled by the later Mughal historians of the period, and wrote on the assumption of the equality of the two monarchs. The hardships of Humāyūn vanish when it is remembered that he was the Shāh's vassal, who was forced against his will to perform a vassal's duties and to submit to discipline; and as the Shāh's unsuccessful *amīr* to justify his failure, and to set out once more to reconquer the lost *ṣūbahs* of Qandahār, Kābul, and Dihlī, as second in command to a royal prince.¹ Qandahār was to be given to Bairām Khān as the Shāh's direct vassal and held by him on the same terms as Humāyūn

¹ W. Erskine, op. cit., ii, 275 ff., 291-9. This account, when compared with that in the *Akbarnāmah*, i, 188 ff., shows that Abū'l-Faḡl was careful to omit or to explain away as far as possible all references to acts of homage (particularly i, 203 f.). Where terms of *niyābat* are unavoidable, he makes them appear as divine delegations (e.g. the implication of *nawāb-i kāmyāb*) (*AN.* i, 206, 208), unless it is irony on the part of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, whom he depicts as referring to Humāyūn as the ornament of the *Khilāfat*; again, if not irony on the part of the *Shi'ah*, it must be a gloss on the part of the author (cf. Tr., H. Beveridge, i, xix, n., 136). Abū'l-Faḡl does not disguise the pleasure of the Shāh in his triumph, but interprets it as brotherly love or friendship renewed (i, 205-6); the fact that Humāyūn was forced to render an account of his failure to his suzerain, and as his unsuccessful *amīr*, he is acquitted on the ground that the causes of failure lay beyond his control (i, 217), this fact Abū'l-Faḡl attributes to the brotherly sympathy of Shāh Ṭahmāsp. He also admits the acceptance of robes of honour (*khilā'*) on several occasions; (for the significance of the *khilā'* v. r. y note on "Two instances of *khilā'* in the Bible", *J. Theol. S.*, Jan. 1922, pp. 197 ff.; also cf. R. P. A. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des Noms des vêtements chez les Arabes*, pp. 14-19). The circumstances of Humāyūn's departure from Persia he discreetly omits (i, 218 f.), and Prince Murād, the nominal commander-in-chief, appears as the most distinguished auxiliary (i, 218). It is significant, however, that Humāyūn does not dare to punish Abū'l-Ma'ālī for the murder of Shīr 'Alī Beg, a deserter from the Shah's court. Abū'l-Faḡl's excuse is so weak that it reveals more than it conceals (*AN.* i, 334, contra ii, 101-2; *Bad.* ii, 9-10; cf. W. Erskine, op. cit., ii, 518-19; cf. also *Tab. E. & D.* v, 218-19, 221-2).

held Dihlī.¹ This feudal relationship Mughal historians skilfully concealed, but its effects are to be seen not only in the continuance of Persian orders and decorations, but in the persistence of the term *masnad-i imārat* as a title of the throne of Dihlī.²

In Bairām Khān, then, we have the link between the Shah of Persia and his Mughal *pādishāh-amīr*.³ Bairām Khān was a *Shī'ah* and a favourite *amīr* of Shāh Tahmāsp, who treated him almost as an equal of Humāyūn, and when Qandahār was taken and placed under Persian control, it was Bairām Khān he appointed as *Amīr*.⁴ Humāyūn was by no means easy in his mind about the loyalty of the Khān-i Khānān to the Mughal state and ideals, and owing to disturbing rumours in 1554, he marched in person to Qandahār.⁵ The Shāh's later references to Bairām Khān

¹ *AN.* i, 241, 309; *Tab. E. & D.* v, 221; W. Erskine, op. cit., ii, 291. N.B.—Abū'l-Faḥl's concealment of the real reason of Bairām Khān's appointment (p. 241).

² For instances see the writer's paper "The Political Theory of the Indian Mutiny": *Trans. R. Hist. S.*, 4th ser., vol. v, p. 83, n. 1.

³ The translation of the word *pādishāh* by the word *Emperor* seems to be a relic of the false identification of *pād* with the Hindī *baṛa*. *Pād* seems to refer to a gift in return for service, and is rather a sub-kingly than an imperial prefix. It seems to be closely connected with the idea of the German *volk könig* and the Latin *regulus*. This identification makes possible the combination of the term with the word *amīr*, as in the case of Timūr (cf. H. Beveridge, *AN.* (Tr.) i, 443, n. 2). The philology of the word seems to be obscure, and this argument is based on its historical associations; cf. H. Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, pp. 35 (No. 265), 36 (No. 273); Vullers, op. cit., i, 314a, 315a. It is significant that Abū'l-Faḥl uses the term *Shāhīnshāh* as an imperial title for the Mughal, probably as a challenge to Persia (*AN. passim*); cf. the Roman gift of Consulship to Barbarian kings, e.g. Clovis in 507 (*Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc.* ii, 38).

⁴ *Tab. E. & D.* v, 221-2; *AN.* i, 241 (Tr. ii, 475, n. 1). This note overlooks the fact that Abū'l-Faḥl has spoken the truth by accident. Bairām Khān was not merely a *persona grata* but a friend (i.e. a vassal) of the Shah (v. *supra*, p. 597, n. 1); cf. *AN.* ii, 172 (*contra*, W. Erskine, op. cit., ii, 516). It was Shāh Tahmāsp, not Humāyūn, who conferred the title of *Khān*. *Yār-i wafādār* is a title more typical of Persia than of Dihlī.

⁵ *Tab. E. & D.* v, 236; *AN.* i, 332 (foot of page)-334; cf. Bairām Khān's exemption of Shaikh Gadā'i from the ceremony of *taslīm* (*AN.* ii, 106). W. Erskine, op. cit., ii, 507.

tend to support the view that Humāyūn's fears were not without foundation.¹ It was, moreover, to Bairām Khān that Humāyūn entrusted his son and successor, Akbar, who succeeded, therefore, in 1556 under Persian influence and recognized, later, by a *farmān* of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, so once again the Mughals were faced with a Ṣafawī hegemony as under Bābur.² Their opposition was to find overt expression in a conspiracy to overthrow Bairām Khān, who had already shown his appreciation of its existence in his treatment of Tardī Beg in 1556, and later of Pīr Muḥammad. The conspiracy came to a head in the *zanānah* where Mughal feeling was paramount, and Akbar ordered the *Khān-i Khānān* to hand over the symbols of his office (*wakālatu'l-saltanat*) and to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca.³ He was to proceed by way of Nagūr, apparently to go by sea from Patan. Akbar, or his advisers, was suspicious as to the intentions of Bairām Khān, and Pīr Muḥammad went to Nagūr to watch his movements.⁴ Their suspicions seem to have been justified, for he suddenly changed his route, striking north through Bikanīr and

¹ *AN.* ii, 172.

² *AN.* ii, 170 ff.; *Bad.* ii, 52; *Tab. E. & D.* v, 276, cf. 342. The *farmān*, which Abū'l-Faḍl records, is clearly a recognition, and more than a letter of condolence, as the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī* bears out. The preceding relations—i.e. of vassalage—were to be continued (*AN.* ii, 171). On the custom of the vassal giving his suzerain's ambassador a *Khil'at* cf. *The Story of Aḥīkar*, ed. F. C. Conybeare and others (Arabic version), p. 102, fol. 101b, and p. 101, 102b. It would appear highly probable that the Shāh of Persia regarded the appointment of the *Khān-i Khānān* of the Mughal State as within his personal patronage (cf. *AN.* ii, 237), and that the *Khān's* duties were of the nature of Persian resident at the Mughal court. If that is so, the opposition to Bairām Khān is still less a matter for surprise.

³ For a summary of these events v. V. A. Smith, op. cit., pp. 42-44. N.B.—*AN.* ii, 100. There is strong indication that Bairām Khān and his party contemplated rebellion and that it was only rejected after considerable hesitation (*Bad.* ii, 38-9). When he left for Mecca, Bairām Khān must have had a considerable following (*Bad.* ii, 40-2); cf. *AN.* ii, 96-9, 104 ff.; *Tab. E. & D.* v, 251-8.

⁴ *Bad.* ii, 39; *Tab. E. & D.* v, 265-6; *AN.* ii, 100-1. The route is quite clear in the light of the second journey, Biyānā, Nagūr, Patan. The contemporary movement of the Mughal forces at this point appear to bear no other interpretation, none of the authorities appears to assign any motive.

Jalandhar, where he was defeated by Akbar's forces. He was forgiven, and on the second occasion he did not attempt to go north, but arrived at Patan, where he was killed by Muḥammad Khān Afghān, in revenge of his father's death.¹ The attempt to reach Persia, coinciding as it did with Akbar's march to Jhajjar, indicates a hope of Persian intervention, which the Mughals feared, for in 1560 Akbar was not yet provided with that strong body of Hindu support on which he was able to rely twenty years later. That task was the next stage of Akbar's work, and the ten years following Bairām Khān's death in 1561 are marked by the establishment of an effective Mughal lordship over the Hindu states of North India, by the reception of Hindus into the service of Akbar, and the consequent abolition of *jizya* in 1564, probably at the suggestion of Rājā Todār Mall.² It was, then, on Hindu support that Akbar relied to free himself from Persian hegemony and to suppress the various rebellions against his throne.³ At the end of this period, when the revolt of the *Mīrzās* was suppressed in Gujarāt (1573), Shaikh Mubārak suggested the desirability of taking the step of declaring Mughal independence of Persia,⁴ but Shāh Tahmāsp was still alive, and another five years' struggle remained to render Akbar's position secure.

Two other factors contributed to render the step not only possible but also imperative. The first was the death of Shāh Tahmāsp in 1576, with the consequent Turkish and civil wars⁵; the second was the almost continuous series of outbreaks of Muslim disorder in India, mainly associated with *Mīrzā*

¹ *AN.* ii, 96-101; *Bad.* ii, 45. Is there admiration or irony concealed in Bada'ūnī's chronogram?

² v. V. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-122, for a general account. *Jizy* *AN.* ii, 203-4; *Bad.* ii, 276.

³ The growth of an anti-Persian policy can be seen in the punishment of Abū'l-Ma'ālī in 1564, the year of the abolition of *jizya* (*AN.* ii, 204 f.; cf. p. 599, n. 1 *supra*).

⁴ *AN.* iii, 39. For an account of the rebellion, V. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-20.

⁵ Hammer-Purgstall, *op. cit.*, vii, 70 ff.

Muḥammad Hakīm and other relatives of Akbar, relying on Persian support.¹ In 1574 Salīm the Drunkard² was succeeded by Murād III (1574-95), whose main object was to secure the succession of his infant son from Persian opposition. To assure him of Persian support an ambassador was sent by Shāh Ṭahmāsp to the court of Rūm. In the meantime, Shāh Ṭahmāsp died while the embassy was still at the Turkish court (1576).³ A disputed succession, aggravated by Turkish attacks and intrigues, involved Persia in eleven years' chaos until Shāh 'Abbās was able to establish himself. Murād not only directed a force to attack Persia through Georgia, but also followed the traditional Ottoman policy of stirring up her *Sunnī* vassals.⁴ Akbar was well acquainted with the state of affairs, for he was called upon to assist in restoring order,⁵ and he received an Uzbek ambassador, whose mission was not improbably connected with the turn of events.⁶ Persian interference was clearly out of the question. Moreover, Turkish prestige in Europe was clearly on the decline. Her forces were faring ill in Georgia, and in Rūm itself there was much discontent which culminated in the assassination of the Sokolli *wazīr* in 1578.⁷ This news Akbar probably received from Hajjī Habibu'llāh and Sultān Khwāja on their return from Europe about this time,⁸ hence there was no fear of interference from Rūm, so Akbar's course was clear. The main fact, however, to be realized is that the Shāh of Persia

¹ V. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 119 ff.; *Bad.* ii, 249 ff.; cf. Bābur's position in Samārqand, 1510-14.

² For an additional instance of Mughal antipathy for the Turk v. *Tūẓuk-i Jahāngīrī*, Tr. H. Beveridge, p. 2.

³ Hammer-Purgstall, *op. cit.*, vii, 67 f., 70 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 74 ff.

⁵ *AN.* iii, 211; cf. *Tab. E. & D.* v, p. 407. *Bad.* ii, 139, 241.

⁶ *AN.* ii, 386; *Bad.* ii, 270.

⁷ For the state of Turkey, v. Hammer-Purgstall, *op. cit.*, Bk. xxxviii, vol. vii, 1 ff.

⁸ 1577 and 1579 respectively, *Tab. E. & D.* v, 407, 410.

regarded the Mughal *pādishāh* as his *nawāb*,¹ and that among the Mughals there was a party which was disposed to recognize this hegemony from motives either of religion or rivalry. The latter class is represented by Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm and his cousins. However slight, therefore, was the exercise of this hegemony, it was both irksome and dangerous to the stability of Akbar's power in India. In 1579 had come his opportunity of throwing it off, and by the *mahẓar* of that year the step was effected.

Akbar's policy towards the two great sects of Islām had been definitely non-committal,² but this position was by no means satisfactory to the Muslimīn in India, and gave rise to the series of disturbances which the promulgation of the *mahẓar* brought to a climax in 1580-1.³ As Persian support

¹ v. 'Abdu'l-Fattāh Fūmanī, *Tārīkh-i Gilān*, p. 171 (ap. B. Dorn, *Muhammedanische Quellen zur Gesch. der Südl. Küsterländer des Kaspischen Meeres*, t. iii)—

ودر شهر جمادی الاول لوی یثل شاه عباس باتفاق خان
خانان که ایلچی بندگان نواب شاه سلیم فرمانفرمایی
هندوستان بود

The reference is to Jahāngīr in 1612. Cf. N. Manucci, op. cit., ii, 48-54, 128 ff., 146 ff., especially ii, 129.

² If his views inclined to either side it was towards the *Shi'ah* creed, even as late as 1564, when he named his twin sons Mirzā Ḥasan and Mirzā Ḥusain (*AN.* ii, 236; *Bad.* ii, 69). Further, down to 1579 he commanded the loyalty of the *Shi'ah* *qāẓi* of Jaunpur, and as a result of the *mahẓar*, he was accused of open acknowledgement of the *Shi'ah* faith to alienate those of the *Sunnī* creed (*AN.* iii, 273). Further, had he not professed *Shi'ah* views, the strongly marked *Shi'ah* phraseology of the *mahẓar* would have lost its force (v. sub., p. 607). He was probably at heart *Sūfī*, though somewhat vague, but his own vagueness provided his philosophical basis of toleration (i.e. of everything except definiton), and ultimately of his schemes of comprehension.

³ Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm and his cousins may be said to represent the Persian element in Mughal politics from the time of Bairām Khān's fall. For the extent of orthodox unrest v. *Bad.* ii, 276-7; V. A. Smit h, op. cit., pp. 77 f., 97, 110 ff., 185 ff., 190-7.

was not forthcoming to the rebels, and Akbar was able to use his Hindu vassals, the revolt was easily suppressed.¹ The heretical views of Akbar and his religious vagaries are insufficient to account for this outbreak in the face of the political issues involved; moreover, the view is an anachronism due to reading the early history of the reign in the light of the *Dīn Ilāhī*, for which Abū'l-Faḍl and 'Abdu'l-Qādir are largely responsible. Both the geography² and the *dramatis personæ*³ of the rebellion render the view untenable, while Akbar's conduct at Kābul in 1581 seems to be conclusive.⁴ It was the value of Hindū support, combined with the desirability of religious comprehension, which led Akbar from the attempt to unite in his own person the leadership of the *Shī'ah* and *Sunnī*, to the attempt to unite Muslim, Hindu, Christian, and Jain in one faith,⁵ for Akbar saw, as Aurangzib did not, that political stability in India depended on retaining the goodwill of his Hindū vassals, and that fusion of the two elements is the characteristic feature of Mughal policy.⁶ These considerations find their final proof in the immediate antecedents of the *maḥẓar*, in the language of Mughal historians after 1579, and in the wording of the *maḥẓar* itself.

For some years prior to 1579, Akbar had watched carefully the affairs of Rūm, and he had taken a deep interest in the conduct of the four *Khulafā al-rāshidūn*, and his study

¹ e.g. the parts played by Rājā Todār Mall and Rājā Mān Singh v. V. A. Smith, op. cit., pp. 186-7, 192, 201.

² The combination was roughly the same as that which faced Humāyūn. Bengal which was orthodox *Sunnī*, Kābul and the Persian frontier, where Persian help could easily be obtained. (V. A. Smith, op. cit., cap. vii.)

³ The Persian faction and the *religiosi* of the Mughal State.

⁴ v. V. A. Smith, op. cit., p. 201. Badā'ūnī is significantly silent (ii, 294-5).

⁵ i.e. in the *Dīn Ilāhī*; cf. I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islām*, 1910, pp. 310-12.

⁶ This argument, I submit, meets the criticism and queries raised on religious questions by Mr. S. M. Edwardes against my "Political Theory of the Indian Mutiny" in the *Indian Antiquary*, lii, 198 ff., particularly p. 203 (q.v.). For more immediate causes I must refer him to *The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*, ii, 406-9.

culminated in the personal recital of the *khutbah* in 1579.¹ In Mughal histories written after 1579, the words *Khalīfah* and *Khilāfat*, not only with reference to Akbar personally, but also of his ancestors from Adam,² and it occurs as late as 1858, in the *Proceedings of the Trial of the King of Delhi*.³ The word *Khalīfah* is used even by the orthodox *Sunnī* 'Abdu'l-Qādir of Badā'ūn,⁴ but the most striking case is that of Abū'l-Faẓl in the *Akbarnāmah*. The motive seems to be clearly propagandist, and he appears to use the word in three different senses, though distinction in some cases is difficult to define, and there is a tendency to confusion, which is probably intentional.

First it is used in a sense closely approximating the orthodox *Khalīfatū Rasūlillāh*, and coincides with the less orthodox Abbāsīd form *Khalīfatullāh*.⁵ The view that Akbar was regarded as the *Khalīfah* of the Faithful is supported by the use of the title *amīru'l-mūminīn*, in the *maḥzar* itself, as one of Akbar's titles. The second sense seems to imply the *Sūfī* idea of one directly inspired of God.⁶ The third sense is that of the rightful heir.⁷ These ideas were summed up in the more general form *Khalīfatull-zamān*, the *Khalīfah* of the Age.

The constant reiteration by a writer of such an artificial style as Abū'l-Faẓl cannot be without some motive, and the motive would appear to be anti-Ottoman propaganda to enable Akbar, when freed from Persian hegemony, to stand forth as the *Khalīfah* of his age, thereby satisfying the twofold great

¹ v. *supra*, p. 603, n. 8. Also *AN.* iii, 270; *Bad.* ii, 268; *Tab.* i, 412.

² Cf. *Al-Qurān*, ii, 28; v. *AN.* 48 f., 53-5, 60, 78 (of Timūr).

³ v. *supra*, p. 593, n. 2.

⁴ *Bad.* i, 5; ii, 8, 18, 273, 278.

⁵ *AN.* i, 6, 17, 24, 30, 75, 78, 99, 111, 117, 120, 183, 201³ (bis), 232 (?), 245, 303, 305 (bis), 312, 341, 346, 350, 351, 361, 362^e, 364, 365; ii, 1, 15, 19, 23, 27, 34, 35, 52, 57, 76, 160, 184, 344, 371; iii, 16, 76 (bis), 252, 268, 274. Cf. D. S. Margoliouth, "The sense and title *Khalīfah*": ap. *A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to Edward G. Browne*, 1922, pp. 322-8, esp. p. 327.

⁶ *AN.* i, 15, 19, 21, 203, 232 (?), 284, 306, 322; ii, 14, 305, 352^b (?).

⁷ e.g. *AN.* i, 1, 365.

Tīmūrid traditions.¹ The troubles in Persia rendered any year after 1576 safe for the final step, as far as any danger of Persian interference was concerned. But an open renunciation of the *Shī'ah* faith would have disturbed Akbar's *Shī'ah* subjects,² so it was advisable to disguise the renunciation of Persian allegiance, and the result was a document which could be offensive only to those who realized its implication. It is significant that the *maḥẓar* of 1579 contains no single clause which an orthodox *Shī'ah* could not accept.

The Mughal 'Ulamā, in answer to a series of questions³ regarding the relative positions of a just king (*sultān-i 'ādil*) and the *mujtahidīn* (the guardians of the Faith and Traditions), replied that a just leader (*imām-i 'ādil*) was superior in standing to all, including the *mujtahidīn*, and must be obeyed. Akbar was *most* just (*a'dal*). The consequence is clear. But, even then, the limits of action are carefully defined. Where *Ijtihād* was beyond dispute, not even the just Sultān could interfere; and on all his decrees, the binding power of a verse of the Qurān and the good of mankind remained to limit his power. Of *infallibility* there is neither mention nor implication. The *maḥẓar* is concerned with authority, not with doctrine.⁴ So Akbar was placed above the *Mujtahidīn*, freed from the religious and political control of Persia, and placed in the position of *Khalīfah*—a direct challenge to the Ottoman pretensions to the leadership of the Faithful. With the *Dīn Ilāhī* the *maḥẓar* has no connexion whatsoever.

Persia never recognized the act of independence and

¹ Cf. V. A. Smith, op. cit., pp. 416-17, and H. Beveridge (*AN. Tr.* i, xxx). Neither is really fair, for Abū'l-Faẓl is usually attempting exact definition by means of repeated metaphors instead of by abstract terminology; further, both overlook the propagandist element.

² e.g. Muḥammad Yazdī (*Bad.* ii, 276 f.).

³ *AN.* iii, 268 ff.; *Bad.* ii, 268, 270. On the position of the 'Ulamā v. E. J. W. Gibb, op. cit., ii, 394 ff.; for phraseology and arguments, cf. *Maverdī, Constitutiones Politicæ*, ed. M. Enger, pp. 1-1'.

⁴ *Contra* V. A. Smith, op. cit., pp. 178 ff. The opposition of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Nabī, Maḥdūmu'l-Mulk, and other dissentients was probably far more political than religious.

resisted it diplomatically and occasionally by arms, but it was not until 1853 that Bahādur Shāh II, as a last resort, reversed the step of Akbar by a secret avowal of allegiance to Persia and the *Shī'ah* faith.¹

The consequences of the Turkish attitude, however, were even more lasting. Even at the time Quṭbu'l-Dīn Khan mentioned the Sultān of Rūm as a possible objector,² and the opposition lasted as long as there was a Mughal *pādishāh* on the throne of Dihlī, hence Muslim opinion in India tended to remain indifferent to the fate of the *Khalīfah* at Rūm. That was the object of Mughal policy, but the East India Company never realized its importance. Bahādur Shāh II was, consequently, driven first into the arms of Persia, then from his throne, and the *Dāru'l-Khilāfat* was empty, so that the Indian *Sunnī* was forced to look to Rūm. Within three centuries, therefore, of the promulgation of the *maḥẓar* separating the Mughal state from Ottoman jurisdiction, Sayyid Jamālu'l-Dīn was able to heal the schism in the *Sunnī* world.³

¹ A general reference may be made to the writer's paper, "The Political Theory of the Indian Mutiny," particularly pp. 83, n. 1, and 85, also to the *Camb. Hist. Brit. For. Pol.*, ii, 403-4, 411-12, 415-16.

² *Ibid.* ii, 274.

³ For a fuller development of this argument v. the writer's article "The Historical Antecedents of the *Khilāfat* Movement" in *The Contemporary Review*, May, 1922. On Sayyid Jamālu'l-Dīn, v. E. G. Browne, *The Persian Revolution, 1905-9*, chap. i.

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Rudaki and Pseudo-Rudaki

By E. DENISON ROSS

- § 1 RŪDAKĪ THE POET.
- § 2 RŪDAKĪ AND QATRĀN.
- § 3 THE CONTENTS OF THE PSEUDO-RŪDAKĪ.
- § 4 THE TEHERAN LITHOGRAPH OF THE "DĪVĀN-I-RŪDAKĪ".
- § 5 ETHÉ'S COLLECTION.
- § 6 KALĪLA WA DIMNA.
- § 7 QUOTATIONS FROM RŪDAKĪ IN BAYHAQĪ'S HISTORY.
- § 8 THE MĀDĪR-I-MAY ODE.
- § 9 CONCLUSION.

NO genuine collection of Rūdakī's poems is known to exist to-day, and in the following article I have attempted to indicate how much of the poetry of Rūdakī has been preserved and how much has been wrongly attributed to him in the Persian Anthologies. Although one of the founders of modern Persian poetry, and the author of a poetic version of *Kalīla wa Dimna*, Rūdakī's works seem unaccountably to have disappeared at an early date. For although Asadī the Younger in his *Lughat-i-Furs* quotes more lines from Rūdakī than from any other poet, and although the Persian Farhangs abound in citations of single lines, the anthologists of the sixteenth century already complain that Rūdakī's poems are hard to come by.

The life of the poet Rūdakī has often been told in English, the most recent account being that of Professor Williams Jackson in his delightful *Early Persian Poetry* (New York, 1920). The facts are few, and we only know positively that he was court poet to Naṣr ibn Aḥmad the Sāmānid, who reigned in Transoxania from A.D. 913 to 942. The dates of his birth and death are uncertain. He is said to have been born blind. It is needless for me to repeat here the various flattering allusions to his eminence as a poet made by other

Persian poets, as they have often been quoted, but the following Arabic lines, which have only lately appeared in print for the first time, may be suitably reproduced here.

In the *Rāḥat uṣ-Ṣudūr*,¹ on p. 62 of the text we read :—

لولا جرير والفرزدق لم يدم * ذكرٌ جميلٌ من بنى مروان
ونرى ثناء الروذكى مخلصاً * من كل ما جمعت بنو سامان

“Had Jarīr and Farazdaq never existed, no favourable record of the Banū Marwān would have survived; and we consider the praises of Rūdakī the most permanent record of the Banū Sāmān.”

There is one further source for the biography of Rūdakī which I reproduce here because it deserves more notice than has hitherto been accorded to it. In Sam‘ānī’s *Kitāb ul-Ansāb*² we read :—

الروذكى بضم الراء وسكون الواو وفتح الذال المعجمة
وفي آخرها الكاف. هذه النسبة الى روزك هي ناحية
بسمرقند وبها قرية يقال لها بنج وهذه القرية قطب روزك
وهي على فرسخين من سمرقند والمشهود منها الشاعر
المليح القول بالفارسية السائر ديوانه في بلاد العجم ابو
عبد الله جعفر بن محمد بن حكيم بن عبد الرحمن ابن آدم
الروذكى الشاعر السمرقندى. كان حسن الشعر متين

¹ *Rāḥat uṣ-Ṣudūr wa Ayat us-Surūr*, a history of the Seljuqs, by Ar-Rāwandī, edited by Muḥammad Iqbāl. E. J. W. Gibb Memorial. New Series, vol. ii, 1921. This work was completed at the beginning of the thirteenth century of our era.

² Facsimile published by the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial (vol. xx, 1913), fol. 262.

القول . قيل اول من قال الشعر الجيد بالفارسية هو .
 و قال ابو سعد الادريسي الحافظ ابو عبد الله الروذكى
 كان مقدماً في الشعر بالقارسية في زمانه على اقرانه .
 [يروي عن اسمعيل بن محمد بن اسلم القاضي السمرقندى
 حكاية حكاها عنه ابو عبد الله بن ابى حمزة السمرقندى .
 لا نعلم له حديثاً مسنداً وبعد ان رايت له رواية لم استحسن
 ترك ذكره .] قال وكان ابو الفضل البلعمى وزير اسمعيل
 بن احمد والى خراسان يقول ليس للروذكى غى العرب
 والعجم نظير . ومات بروذك سنة ٣٢٩ .

“His *nisba* name was derived from Rūdak, which is a district of Samarqand, and contains a village known as Banj (or Binj),¹ this village is the *qutb* or centre of Rūdak, and is two farsakhs distance from Samarqand. Its most famous man is the melodious Persian poet, whose *dwān* is current in Persia, Abū 'Abdullah Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Ḥakīm b. 'Abdur-Rahman b. Ādam ar-Rūdakī, the Samarqandī poet. He wrote beautiful verse and had a racy style. He is said to have been the first to compose excellent verses in Persian. Abū Sa'd al-Idrīsī the Ḥāfiẓ says 'Abū 'Abdullah ar-Rūdakī was superior to all his contemporaries in Persian poetry'. [He received an *ḥikāyat* from Isma'il b. Muḥammad b. Aslam the Qāzī of Samarqand, which was handed on by Abū

¹ On fol. 92, a, under **البنجى** we read: Binj-i-Rūdak is the same as *Qutb-i-Rūdak*. Abū Sa'd al-Idrīsī says Rūdakī was buried there, and that he had visited his tomb.

'Abdullah b. Abī Ḥamza as-Samarqandī. We have not found attributed to Rūdakī any authoritative *hadīṣ*, but in view of the fact that I have found that he had a *riwāya*, I did not think fit to omit all mention of him.] Abū l-Faḍl al-Bal'amī, the vazir of Isma'īl b. Aḥmad, the Governor of Khurasan, used to say : 'Rūdakī is without rival among the Arabs and Persians.' Rūdakī died in the year A.H. 329."¹

The passage within brackets was for some reason or other omitted by Mirzā Muḥammad in his notes on the *Chahār Maqāla*.² From the context it would appear that the term *riwāyat* refers to the subject of *hadīṣ*. But in Arabic *riwāyat* is the verb-noun of both *rāwī*, a traditionist, and of *rāwīyat*, a memorizer of verses. In Persian, however, the term *rāwī* is used also in reference to poetry. It must be remembered that Sam'ānī confines his biographies almost exclusively to theologians, and it is therefore hardly possible that we have here an allusion to the fact that Rūdakī had a *rāwī*, or "reciter" whose business it was to memorize and recite the poet's compositions.³ Nizāmī 'Arūzī tells us in *Maqāla II*, Anecdote 20, that Firdawsī's *rāwī* was a certain Abū Dulab,⁴ and we learn from the Persian *Farhangs* that the name of Rūdakī's *rāwī* was Maj or Māj (see below, p. 636). This circumstance makes it the more difficult to account for the apparently total disappearance of his *maṣnavī* version of the *Kalīla wa Dimna*. I shall have occasion below to refer to the scattered verses of this romantic epic which have been rescued from oblivion, but in this place I may be permitted to quote from Firdawsī's *Shāhnāma* what is certainly the earliest allusion to Rūdakī's lost work. (See Turner Macan's

¹ The well-known *Tadkiras* place his death variously between A.H. 330 and 343.

² *Chahār Maqāla*, Persian Text, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial (xi, 1, 1910), pp. 125-6 of Persian notes.

³ It was Zhukovski, in his fine monograph on Anvarī, who first called attention to the *rāwis* of Persian poets. See Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, vol. ii, p. 373.

⁴ See also Nöldeke, *Das Iranische Nationalepos* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1920, p. 27). Firdawsī also had a special copyist (*nassākh*) by name 'Alī Daylam.

edition, vol. iv, p. 1750, lines 16 seq., and Mohl's edition, vol. vi, p. 455.)

کلیله بتازی شد از پهلوی * بدینسان که اکنون همی بشنوی
 بتازی همی بود تاگاه نصر * بدانگه که شد در جهان شاه نصر
 گرانمایه بو الفضل دستور اوی * که اندر سخن بود گنجور اوی
 بفرمود تا پارسی و دری * بگفتند و کوتاه شد داوری
 وزان پس بدورسم و رای آمدش * برو برخرد رهنمای آمدش
 همی خواستی آشکار و نهان * کز و یادگاری بود در جهان
 گذارنده را پیش بنشانند * همه نامه بر رود کی خواندند
 پیوست گویا پراکنده را * بسفت اینچنین در آکنده را

“They translated *Kalila* from Pahlavi into Arabic as you may hear it read to-day. Up to the time of Naṣr [ibn Aḥmad] it remained in Arabic; but while this Prince was lord of the age in the world, his powerful *dastūr*, Abū-Faḡl, who was his treasurer in respect of literature, ordered that the Fārs and Darī dialects should be spoken, but his power was of short duration. Later on, when [the Prince] heard [a recitation of *Kalila*] an idea presented itself to him: wisdom being his guide in the matter. He expressed the desire, both in public and in private that some memorial of himself should survive in the world. Chosen men were brought before him who read out the whole book to Rūdakī, who set in order the scattered words, and pierced the pearls which had been hitherto entire.”

§ 2. RŪDAKĪ AND QAṬRĀN

In 1873 Dr. Ethé published in the *Nachrichten der Universität zu Göttingen* an article entitled “Rudagi, der Samaniden

Dichter", in which he printed the text (with translation) of all the quotations from Rūdakī which he had been able to discover scattered through the pages of no less than twenty-six separate works. This article has formed the basis of all subsequent references to Rūdakī in the works of European scholars, and the fifty-two quotations of various lengths, including eight *rubā'īyyāt*, have been generally accepted as genuine.¹

The earliest source consulted by Ethé was the *Lubāb ul-Albāb* of 'Awfī, which was completed in A.D. 1220, but since his article was written much material has become available to European scholars which enables us to get nearer to the truth. I would mention especially the *Lughat-i-Furs* of Asadī the Younger, completed about A.D. 1060,² and the *Mu'jam* of Shams-i-Qays³ completed about A.D. 1217. A third and highly important source is the sole surviving volume of Bayhaqī's *History of Mas'ūd the Ghaznavid*; but, though this work was well known to Ethé he ignored the fact that it contains no less than four quotations from Rūdakī,⁴ which must, owing to the date of this work, namely A.D. 1050, take equal rank as regards genuineness with the citations in the *Lughat-i-Furs*.

The quotations from Bayhaqī which I print at the end of this article are certainly the most important extracts which have been preserved to us of the *qaṣīdas* of Rūdakī: for Asadī only gives isolated lines from such poems. On the other hand Asadī has preserved for us a complete quatrain, and as many as sixteen couplets of Rūdakī's *Kalīla wa Dimna*.

¹ Shibli Nu'mānī in his *Shi'r ul-'Ajam* says that the quatrain beginning

چون کار دم (No. 37 of Ethé) could never have been written in Rūdakī's day. *Yih hargiz Rūdakī kī zamān kā kalām nahīn ho sakta.*

² Asadī's *Neupersisches Wörterbuch*, ed. Paul Horn (Berlin, 1897).

³ *Al-Mu'jam fī Ma'āyirī ash'ār-il-'Ajam*, edited by Mirza Muhammad and E. G. Browne, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial, vol. x, 1909.

⁴ I myself owe this indication to my very learned Persian friend, Mr. Taqizāda.

Shams-i-Qays, like Bayhaqī, also gives several consecutive verses in the course of his eighteen citations from Rūdakī, which comprise twenty-nine *bayts* in all.

Since Ethé's article was published there has come to light in Europe a little manuscript collection of forty poems, bearing the title of *Dīvān-i-Rūdakī*. This collection turns out to consist mainly of poems of Qaṭrān, who lived one hundred years after Rūdakī. In fact, I have found all except five of the forty in one or other of the MSS. of Qaṭrān's *Dīvān*.¹ I shall in the following article refer to this collection as the *Pseudo-Rūdakī*. Though this collection was apparently not known to Ethé, he had at the time of his writing his article on Modern Persian Literature for the *Grundriss der Iranischen Litteratur* (vol. ii, Strassburg, 1896-1904) learnt from the *Majma' al-Fusahā* that many of the poems attributed to Rūdakī really belong to Qaṭrān.

The copies of the *Pseudo-Rūdakī* known to me are two in the British Museum (Or. 7894 and Or. 3246), and one in my own possession. The three manuscripts agree in every detail and from a note in the British Museum manuscript Or. 7894 it appears that the text is derived from a manuscript belonging to the Sipahsālār Mosque in Teheran.²

My own copy of the *Dīvān-i-Rūdakī* was, like the other two, probably written during the second half of the nineteenth century. It contains forty poems in all, including two quatrains. My suspicions regarding the authorship of these poems were first aroused by finding that the first *qaṣīda* was identical with a *qaṣīda* published by Schefer in vol. ii of his *Chrestomathie*

¹ The three MSS. I have been able to consult are A. B.M. Or. 3317, B. B.M. Or. 2879, and C. a MS. in the possession of Professor E. G. Browne, which he kindly placed at my disposal. This MS. was formerly in the library of Rīzā Qulī Hidāyat, who has written many notes and additional verses in the margin.

² Copie de Roudeki, ancien poète Persan, d'après un manuscrit d'Ali Qouli Mirza. Ce manuscrit se trouve aujourd'hui (1890) à la Bibliothèque de la Mosquée du Sépeh Salar à Teheran. (It has been bound as *The Divan of Katarān*.)

Persane,¹ under the name of the poet Qaṭrān. I further found that my manuscript contained the elegy written by Qaṭrān on the occasion of the great earthquake at Tabriz (A.D. 1042) which is also printed by Schefer (*loc. cit.*). The inclusion of this poem alone would be enough to prove that the collection had been wrongly ascribed to Rūdakī.

Seeing that complete Divāns of Qaṭrān exist in various recensions, it is unnecessary for me to enumerate the *Taḍkīras*, etc., in which quotations from his poems occur. I would merely mention in passing that whereas Shams-i-Qays and 'Awfi give examples of his poetry, Asadī has made no allusion to Qaṭrān in his dictionary, nor does Niẓāmī 'Aruzī mention him in the *Chahār Maqāla* among the famous poets. The earliest dictionary which cites Qaṭrān is the *Risāla i Husayn Vafā'i*,² which quotes one verse under the word *tīr*.

Even if Qaṭrān's fame during the eleventh century was confined to northern Persia, it is unlikely that he was unknown to Asadī, who dedicated his *Karshasp Nāma* to Abū Dulaf, Governor of Arrān, one of Qaṭrān's patrons.

It would also appear from the selections made by both 'Awfi and by Dawlat Shāh that Qaṭrān was especially noted for his play on words (*tajnīsāt*) and his double rhymes: although, if we examine his whole divan we find he only exercises this gift in comparatively few of his poems. His *qaṣīdas* as a whole are fine examples of the best style, and the fact that several of them have been accepted as the work of the great master Rūdakī is sufficient testimony to their quality.

The chief sources of the life of Qaṭrān are Taqī Kāshī in the *Khulāṣat ul-Ash'ār* (B.M. MS. Or. 3506) and the *Majma' ul-Fuṣahā* of Riẓā Qulī Khān (Lith., i, p. 466). The most important point in connexion with our present inquiry is the name of

¹ Schefer was the first European scholar to call attention to the poems of Qaṭrān, and he explains that he first became acquainted with them from a copy made in 1841 from an early manuscript of Qaṭrān's Divān preserved in Shiraz.

² See Saleman, "Bericht über die Ausgabe des Mi'jar i Jamali": *Mélanges Asiatiques*, St. P., 1888, p. 469.

his patrons. For on this the authorship of the *qaṣīdas* attributed to Rūdakī mainly turns.

Owing to exigencies of space, I must reserve for a future occasion a detailed discussion of Qaṭrān's patrons; the object of the present paper being only to indicate what is at present known regarding the works of Rūdakī. I may mention, however, that Taqī Kāshī places Qaṭrān's death in A.H. 445, and Riṣā Qulī Khān in A.H. 465. From independent sources we know that Qaṭrān was in Tabriz in A.H. 434 (A.D. 1042), on the occasion of the great earthquake on which he composed an elegy [No. XIII of the *Pseudo-Rūdakī*], and again in A.H. 438 (A.D. 1046), when he met the famous traveller-poet Nāṣir-i-Khusraw [see *Safar Nāma*, Schefer's translation, pp. 18 to 19].

Riṣā Qulī Khān [*Majma' ul-Fuṣaḥā* (Lithograph, vol. i, p. 466)] says Qaṭrān's patrons were Abū Naṣr-i-Mamlān, 'Azud ud-Dawlah, Abū Maṣṣūr Hastūdān (*sic*), Faḏlūn, and Shah Mamlān: while Taqī Kāshī (*op. cit.*) says they were Amīr Abū Maṣṣūr al-Mu'ammārī (Governor of Azarbaijān for the Caliph Qā'im), Amīr Abū'l-Khalīl Ja'far, Abū 'l-Hayja Minūchihr and others. All these names occur in the *qaṣīdas* of Qaṭrān, but it is curious that Taqī Kāshī makes no mention of Abū Naṣr; and that Riṣā Qulī Khān, who knew Taqī Kāshī's work, does not refer to Abū'l-Khalīl Ja'far, whose name occurs in so many of the *qaṣīdas* found in the Dīvān of Qaṭrān.

Now it has been thought by certain Persian writers that the attribution of Qaṭrān's *qaṣīdas* to Rūdakī was due to a confusion between Rūdakī's patron Naṣr ibn Aḥmad, the Sāmānid, and Qaṭrān's patron Abū Naṣr, to whom so many of his poems are dedicated.¹ This theory is also enunciated in several notes in various manuscripts in the British Museum, which space will not allow me to quote here.² It appears to me

¹ Riṣā Qulī says this confusion led some to suggest that Rūdakī used "Qaṭrān" as *takhallus* or poet name!

² These notes are written by Bahman ibn 'Abdullah Mīrzā ibn Faḥl 'Alī Shāh, a learned author and bibliophile, better known as Bahā ud Dowlah. See Rieu, *Suppl. Pers. MSS.*, p. 138.

that such confusion, if it did occur, could only have arisen by design, and certainly not by accident; and I suggest that originally some man of letters in Persia, finding that very little had survived of Rūdakī's work, was determined to supplement this deficiency, and finding a rare *divān* of a comparatively little known poet, Qaṭrān, selected the best of the latter's *qaṣīdas*, which contained the name of Abū Naṣr, and mixing them with the few surviving *qaṣīdas* of Rūdakī (none of which are dedicated by name to Naṣr ibn Aḥmad) produced a *divān* of Rūdakī, part or all of which is represented by the *Pseudo-Rūdakī* of Teheran. Of the sixteen poems in which the *mamdūh* or patron is mentioned in *Pseudo-Rūdakī*, all except three contain the actual name Abū Naṣr, which tends to confirm my view that there was a definite intention underlying the selections made from Qaṭrān, who includes many other patrons in the course of his *divān*.

The Teheran lithograph *Divān-i-Rūdakī*, of which I shall speak below, goes a step further, and places at the head of many *qaṣīdas* the fictitious name of "Abū 'l-Naṣr ibn Aḥmad Sāmānī".

The *Pseudo-Rūdakī* contains thirty-eight *qaṣīdas*, or ghazals, and two quatrains. Of these sixteen contain the name of the *mamdūh*, or patron, to whom they were addressed:—

No.	I contains the name			Abū Naṣr Mamlān.
No., VII	„	„	„	Abū Naṣr Muḥammad.
No. VIII	„	„	„	Abū Naṣr.
No. IX	„	„	„	Abū Maṣṣūr Mas'ūd.
No. X	„	„	„	Mīr Abū Naṣr Muḥammad.
No. XI	„	„	„	Mīr Abū Naṣr b. Mas'ūd b. Mamlān
No. XVI	„	„	„	Mīr Abū Naṣr.
No. XVII	„	„	„	Shāh Abū Maṣṣūr.
No. XVIII	„	„	„	Mīr Abū Naṣr.
No. XX	„	„	„	Amīr Abū Naṣr.
No. XXI	„	„	„	Abū Naṣr.

No. XXIV	contains the name	Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Aḥmad.
No. XXX	„ „	Abū Naṣr
No. XXXIII	„ „	Abū Naṣr Mamlān.
No. XXXIV	„ „	Abū Naṣr.
No. XXXV	„ „	Abū Naṣr b. Mas'ūd b. Mamlān.

Thus we see thirteen are dedicated to Abū Naṣr, whose full name was Amīr Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Mas'ūd ibn Mamlān ibn Wahsūdān.¹ Professor Browne's MS. *Dīvān* of Qaṭrān, which is only a selection and is not arranged in *dīvān* order, contains 203 *qaṣīdas*, 12 quatrains and one quotation from a *maṣnavī*. No less than twenty different patrons are mentioned in the various *qaṣīdas*. Forty-six of these contain the name "Abū Naṣr". Abū Maṣṣūr [Mas'ūd, Wahsūdān ibn Muḥammad Mamlān ibn Wahsūdān ar-Rawwādī al-Azdī] is mentioned in twelve *qaṣīdas*, while Abūl Khalil Ja'far is the *mamdūh* of twenty-two.

Since I began my inquiries into the question of Rūdakī's poems my attention has been called to a rare *Tadhkira* in the British Museum called the *Maykhāna*, which was composed by a certain Ḥasan Rāzī b. Luṭfullah Ṭihrānī and completed about A.H. 1040.² In his article on Rūdakī he points out that all the genuine *Dīvāns* of Rūdakī appear to have been lost. At the time of writing (i.e. A.H. 1025) he knew of five or six thousand verses in various libraries, but it was evident that they were all poems by Ḥakīm Qaṭrān, and that the confusion had arisen owing to the similarity of the names of their respective *mamdūhs*. He then proceeds to say:—

"The writer of these lines, Ḥasan Rāzī, has examined nearly twenty copies of Rūdakī's *Dīvān*, and having compared them with a copy of Qaṭrān's *Dīvān*, written in an old hand, there remained only a few *qaṣīdas*, which seemed to belong

¹ Munajjim Bashi in the printed edition gives "Dahsūdān", while some MSS. of Qaṭrān read "Hastūdān".

² Or. 3537. See also *Majma' ul-Fuṣṣahā*, vol. ii, p. 38.

genuinely to Rūdakī and these he has brought together." His selection consists of half a dozen *qaṣīdas* and twenty *rubā'īyyāt*. In most cases he mentions the library in which he found these poems.

I have traced all his selected *qaṣīdas* elsewhere, excepting the third, which he says he found in a *majmū'a*, "written three hundred years ago" (i.e. eighth century of Hijra), and which begins:—

آمد بهار خرم با رنگ و بوی صلیب
با صد هزار نرگت و آرایش عجیب

It is interesting to note that one of the libraries he consulted was that of I'timād ud-Dawlah, in Agra.

§ 3. THE CONTENTS OF THE *PSEUDO-RŪDAKĪ*

I propose in this place to print the opening verse of each of the poems contained in the *Pseudo-Rūdakī* for purposes of identification, giving (1) the *mamdūh*, or patron whenever mentioned; (2) the number of bayts in the MS.; (3) the reference to the pages and number of bayts in the Teheran Lithograph¹; (4) references to Ethé's collection with the number of bayts; (5) the reference to Qaṭrān's *Dīvān*, mainly from B.M. MS. Or. 3317. In the case of Qaṭrān I have not always given the number of bayts, as this varies in the different MSS. I have consulted. It will be observed that in many cases the T. Lithograph gives more bayts to many of the poems than are to be found in the *Pseudo-Rūdakī*. These additional verses are generally to be found in the *Dīvān* of Qaṭrān.

No. I

تادل من با هوای نیکوان گشت آشنا
در سرشک دیده گردان شد چو مرد آشنا

¹ I refer to this collection as T. Lith. A description of its contents will be found below (p. 633).

Mamdūh, Bū Naṣr Mamlān. 39 bayts. T. Lith., pp. 1 to 4, 30 bayts. Ethé No. 4. 15 bayts. Qaṭrān, Or. 3317, fol. 1b. Schefer, *Chres. Pers.*

No. II

چو بگشاید نگار من دو بادام و دو مرجان را
بدین نازان کند دل را بدان ریحان کند جان را

7 bayts. T. Lith., p. 5, 7 bayts. Qaṭrān, Or. 3317, fol. 2b. Some *Taḍkiras* open with the second bayt:—

من و جانان بجان و دل فرو بستیم بازاری
که جان و دل مرا دادست و من جان داده جانان را

No. III

خدا یگانا جان منا بجان و سرت
که جان بشد زتنم تا جدا شدم زدرت

20 bayts. T. Lith., pp. 5 to 7. 20 bayts. Qaṭrān, Or. 3317, fol. 23b.

No. IV

تا ز آمدن دوست بر من خبر آمد
گوئی سرم از ناز بخورشید بر آمد

14 bayts. T. Lith., pp. 10 to 13. 36 bayts. Qaṭrān, Or. 3317, fol. 34b.

No. V

اسب طرب و عیش تو ایشاه بزین باد
جان و تن خصان تو پیوسته حزین باد

7 bayts. T. Lith., pp. 13, 14. 7 bayts. Qaṭrān, Or. 3317, fol. 36a.

No. VI

خدا یگان جهان را طیب دارو داد
موافق آمد از بهر آنکه نیکو داد

9 bayts. T. Lith., pp. 9, 10. 9 bayts. Qaṭrān, Or. 3317, fol. 32a.

No. VII

یکبار بود عید بیک سال بیک بار
همواره مرا عید ز دیدار نو هموار

Mamdūh, Bū Naṣr Muḥammad. 47 bayts. T. Lith., pp. 18 to 22. 49 bayts. Ethé, No. 7. 13 bayts. [Ouseley Add. 127.] Qaṭrān, Or. 3317, fol. 67a.

No. VIII

شنبه شادی واوّل مه آذر
زخمه بر افکن بعود و عود بر آور

Mamdūh, Abū Naṣr. 23 bayts. T. Lith., pp. 22 to 26, 40 bayts. Qaṭrān, Or. 3317, 68b.

No. IX

افتخار دهر ابو منصور مسعود آنکه هست
بند گانش را بمیران صد هزاران افتخار

Mamdūh, Abū Maṣṣūr Mas'ūd. 18 bayts. T. Lith., pp. 26 to 29. 34 bayts. Qaṭrān, Or. 3317, fol. 53b; but reads اختیار for افتخار as first word. This is actually the seventeenth bayt of a *qaṣīda* found in all three copies of Qaṭrān's *Divān*, beginning

شد ز فرّ ماه فروردین جهان فردوس وار
باغها دیبا سلب شد شاخها مرجان نوار

Curiously enough T. Lith. also begins with this seventeenth line. Shibli Nu'mānī in his *Shi'r ul-'Ajam* also quotes a few lines of this *qaṣīda*.

No. X

از غم هجر طراز همه خوبان طراز
زرد و بار یکم و لرزانم چون تار طراز

Mamdūh, Mīr Abū Naṣr Muḥammad. 29 bayts. T. Lith., pp. 30 to 33. 28 bayts. Qaṭrān, Or. 3317, fol. 88b.

No. XI

صبر من کوتاه گشت از عشق آن زلف دراز
کو گهی با گل بسر است و گهی با گل براز

Mamdūh, Mīr Abū Naṣr b. Mas'ūd b. Mamlān. 12 bayts. T. Lith., pp. 33, 34. Qaṭrān, Or. 3317, fol. 92a; reads Sa'd for Mas'ūd. Ethé, No. 9 (6 bayts), reads second *misra'*

کو گهی با گل بسر است و گهی با پل براز

No. XII

ایا چراغ شهان جهان امیر اجلّ
بدست مایه فیروزی وتیغ اجلّ

8 bayts. T. Lith., pp. 34, 35. 8 bayts. Qaṭrān, Or. 3317, fol. 98b.

No. XIII

بود محال ترا داشتن امید محال
بعالمی که نباشد همیشه بر یک حال

Mamdūh, [Muḥammad Mamlān]. 29 bayts. T. Lith, pp. 35 to 40. 49 bayts. Qaṭrān, Or. 3317, fol. 99a. Schefer, *Chres. Pers.*

This is the elegy on the earthquake which laid Tabriz in ruins in A.H. 434 (A.D. 1042). The line containing the *mamdūh* does not occur in *Pseudo-Rūdakī*, but in T. Lith., and in Qaṭrān's Divān we read :—

چراغ شاهان مملان که پیش تیغ و کفش
یکیست شیر و شگال و یکیست زرو سفال

At the time of the earthquake Abū Maṣṣūr, son of Muḥammad Mamlān, was Governor of Tabriz. *Pseudo-Rūdakī* ends with the verse :—

بدان همال همی دادمی بعلم جواب
وزان نگار همی کردمی بیوسه سؤال

Schefer (*loc. cit.*) gives 46 bayts and ends with :—

خدای تیغ ترا درازل بزال نمود
ز بیم تیغت نا زاده خنک شد سر زال

No. XIV

ای بهنگام سخا ابر کف و دریا دل

مشتري خوار ز دیدار تو و ماه خجل

8 bayts. T. Lith., p. 40. 8 bayts. Qaṭrān, Or. 2879, but not in Or. 3317.

No. XV

ای آنکه ز تو بود بر اندام جهان دام

چون بست ترادست جهان دام بر اندام

14 bayts. T. Lith., pp. 41, 42. 17 bayts. Qaṭrān, Or. 3317, fol. 108b.

No. XVI

تا پوشید ز لؤلؤی سیمین باغ سمن
بگل سرخ و بیاقوت بیاراست چمن

Mamdūh, Mīr Abū Naṣr, Shāh Mamlān. 34 bayts. T. Lith., pp. 42 to 45. 34 bayts. Qaṭrān, Or. 3317, fol. 132a. [35 bayts.] Cf. No. XXIII below.

No. XVII

بی نشان آمد لبان و بی کمان آمد میان
این ز تنگی بی نشان آن از نژادی بی کمان

Mamdūh, Shāh Abū Maṣṣūr. 30 bayts. T. Lith., pp. 45 to 48. 33 bayts.

I have not traced this in Qaṭrān, Or. 3317, or Or. 2879, but it occurs in fol. 78b of Professor E. G. Browne's MS.

No. XVIII

من آن کشیدم و آن دیدم از غم هجران
که هیچ آدمی نیست دیده از هجران

Mamdūh, Mīr Abū Naṣr. This *qaṣīda* contains two interesting verses referring to the defeat of the Amīr of Mūghān by Abū Maṣṣūr Waḥsūdān and his son Abū Naṣr.

74 bayts. T. Lith., pp. 48 to 55. 75 bayts. Qaṭrān, Or. 3317, fol. 141a (74 bayts). Ethé, No. 12. Schefer, *Chres. Pers.*

N.B.—At the end of the second *miṣraʿ* Ethé reads

در دوران and T. Lith. از دوران.

No. XIX

ای جان من از آرزوی روی تو پرمغان
بنمای یکی روی و به بخشای برین جان

5 bayts. T. Lith., pp. 55 to 59. 39 bayts. Ethé, No. 14, 3 bayts—only the first bayt agrees with Ethé, who tells us that the Sprenger MS. 1378 has 33 bayts. Ethé inadvertently omits روی from the first *mišraʿ*.

For بی جان some MSS. read رنجان and some پرتمان.
Quoted by Shibli, *Shiʿr ul-ʿAjam*, i, p. 35.

No. XX

منم غلام خداوند زلف غالیه گون
که هست چون تن من زلف او نوان ونگون

Mamdūh, Mīr Bū Naṣr. 33 bayts. T. Lith., pp. 59 to 62.
34 bayts. Qaṭrān, Or. 3317, fol. 143b.
Ethé, No. 1. 19 bayts.

No. XXI

شد برگ رزان زرد چوزر از مه آبان
گشت آب رزان سرخ چو بیجاده تابان

Mamdūh, Bū Naṣr. 18 bayts. T. Lith., pp. 62 to 64.
22 bayts. Qaṭrān, Or. 3317, fol. 141a.

The lines giving the *mamdūh* are the following:—

جان ودل من هست سزاوار مراورا
چون ملک جهان هست سزاوار بمملان
خورشید همه میران بو نصر که بسپرد
یزدان بوی ودشمن او نصرت وخذلان

No. XXII

مه نيسان شينخون كرد گوئی بر مه كانون
كه گردون گشت ازو پر گرد وصحرا گشت ازو پر خون

19 bayts. T. Lith., pp. 65 to 68. 35 bayts. Qaṭrān, Or. 3317, fol. 133a. (37 bayts.) Ethé, No. 3. 8 bayts.

Shibli, *Shi'r ul-'Ajam*, i, p. 40.

No. XXIII

سرنگون مانده است جانم زان دو زلف سرنگون
لاله گون گشت آب چشم زان لبان لاله گون

4 bayts. T. Lith., p. 76. 4 bayts. Qaṭrān MS., E. G. Browne, fol. 78b (4 bayts).

No. XXIIIa

تا پوشيد بلؤلؤ سلب باغ سمن
بگل سرخ و بياقوت بيار است چمن

4 bayts. This excerpt from No. XVI has curiously crept in as a separate poem in *Pseudo-Rūdakī*.

No. XXIV

مادر می را بکرد باید قربان
بچهٔ او را گرفت و کرد بزندان

82 bayts. *Mamdūh*, Abū Ja'far Ahmad b. Muḥammad. 82 bayts. T. Lith., pp. 68 to 75. 84 bayts.

I have discussed the authorship of this *qaṣīda* below (see p. 640).

No. XXV

ای بند وبلا دیده واز بند بچسته
مردانه شده آمده در شهر خجسته

9 bayts. T. Lith., pp. 76, 77. 9 bayts. Qaṭrān, Or. 3317, fol. 173b. This is possibly dedicated to Amīr Faḡlun, *hākim* of Ganja, who was taken prisoner while attacking the Rūmis and was released by the efforts of Abū Maṣṣūr.

No. XXVI

ای نیزه تو گوی و دل دشمن انگله

خضم تو رو بهست و حسام تو بنگله

8 bayts. T. Lith., pp. 77, 78. 8 bayts. Qaṭrān, Or. 3317, fol. 174a. In Qaṭrān MS., E. G. Browne, fol. 64a, Rizā Qulī has made the following note:—

انگله حلقه ایست که تکه و گوی را دران کنند

gūy = a button, angula = a loop. واورا مادکی گویند

No. XXVII

ای جان بدسگالان جفت گذار کرده

ای طبع نیکو خواهان انباز ناز کرده

6 bayts. T. Lith., pp. 78, 79. 6 bayts. Qaṭrān MS., E. G. B., fol. 65b.

I cannot refrain from quoting the last bayt in which the poet makes wine-bibbing an excuse for his brevity and promises to write a longer poem on the morrow, when he has said his prayers.

گر شعر کوتاه آید چون می خورم بشادی

شعر دراز خوانم فردا نماز کرده

No. XXVIII

بار خدایا بسی عذاب کشیدی

انده و تیمار گونه گونه بدیدی

41 bayts. T. Lith., pp. 81 to 85. 44 bayts. Qaṭrān, Or. 3317, fol. 179b.

No *Mamdūh* is mentioned, but there is evidently an historical allusion in the following lines pointing perhaps to a Seljuqid patron.

زانکه برفتی بروم با سپه و گنج
 زانکه بسی رنج نیک و بد کشیدی
 ما بسلامت بجای خویش بماندیم
 تو بسمادت بجای خویش رسیدی

No. XXIX

ای همه از رادی. و از راستی * جان و دل از راستی آراستی

7 bayts. T. Lith., p. 90. 7 bayts. Qaṭrān, Or. 3317, fol. 181a.

The last line is worth quoting on account of its striking naïveté.

از امراء جمله تورا خواستم * کز شعراء جمله مرا خواستی

No. XXX

ندانی درد هجر ای بت مرا زان زارگردانی
 وگر زارم نگر دانی بداغ هجرگردانی

Mamdūh, Abū Naṣr. 34 bayts. T. Lith., pp. 85 to 88. 34 bayts. Qaṭrān, Or. 3317, fol. 181b.

Contains what appears to be a personal allusion.

یکی دهقان بدم شاه شدم شاعر زندانی
 مرا از شاعری کردن تو کردی باز دهقانی

No. XXXI

ای بر همه شاهان جهان یافته شاهی
می خور که بداندیش چنان شد که تو خواهی

10 bayts. T. Lith., p. 89. 10 bayts. Qaṭrān, Or. 3317, fol. 182a.

No. XXXII

بر هر سری سری تو از هر بهی بهی
از هر مهی مهی تو و بر هر شهی شهی

10 bayts. T. Lith., pp. 90, 91. 10 bayts. Qaṭrān, Or. 3317, fol. 181a.

This poem is printed by Schefer, *loc. cit.*

The last line is worth quoting.

بادا رخ عدوی تو همچون بهی درم
روی تو باد همچو گل شادی از بهی

I take بهی in the first hemistich to read *bahī* = a quince.

May the face of your enemies be dejected like a quince's ;

May your face be cheerful as a rose's with success.

No. XXXIII

بقی را که بودم بدو روز گاری
جدا دارد از من بد آمرز گاری

Mamdūh, Abū Naṣr Mamlān. 41 bayts. T. Lith., pp. 91 to 95. 43 bayts. Qaṭrān, Or. 3317, fol. 191b.

No. XXXIV

مرا بناله وزاری همی بیازاری

جفای تو بکشم تا مرا نیازاری

Mamdūh, Abū Naṣr. 32 bayts. T. Lith., pp. 95 to 98.
32 bayts. Qaṭrān, Or. 3317, fol. 192b.

Written apparently on the occasion of the 'Id uz-Zuhā

خجسته باد ترا عید گوسفند کشان

که تو همیشه درخت خجسته بنگاری

کنون کهان و مهان کاو گوسفند کُشند

رضای ایزد جویند از ان نه خونخواری

تو کاو بی گنه و گوسفند با بره را

بهل بکش عدو خصم با گنه کاری

Variant in Or. 3317.

چرا بناله وزاری همی بیازاری

No. XXXV

ایا سروی که سنبل را ز سوسن سایبان کردی

زبوی سوسن و سنبل جهان پر مشك و بان کردی

Mamdūh, Abū Naṣr b. Mas'ūd b. Mamlān. 36 bayts.
T. Lith., pp. 98 to 101. 34 bayts. Qaṭrān, Or. 3317, fol. 193b.

No. XXXVI

دل تنگ مدار ای ملك از کار خدائی

آرام و طرب را بده از طبع جدائی

4 bayts. T. Lith., p. 105. 4 bayts. Qaṭrān MS., E. G. B., 78b. 4 bayts.

No. XXXVII

ای ز تو ذره کند خورشیدی
کرمِت بسته درِ نو میدی

4 bayts. T. Lith., pp. 105 to 107. 18 bayts. Or. 3246, fol. 285a. A marginal note (apparently in the hand of Bahā ud Dawla Bahman) says: "These masnavi verses belong to Zuhūrī, and have been attributed to Qaṭrān and Rūdakī: but experts will realize that neither of these 'masters' would have expressed such sentiments."

No. XXXVIII

بوی جوی مولبان آید همی
بوی یار مهربان آید همی

6 bayts. T. Lith., p. 102. 7 bayts. Dawlah Shah says this is part of a long *qasīda*. Three additional bayts are sometimes quoted, but not more. See further remarks below.

Quatrains

No. XXXIX

با آنکه دلم از غم هجرت خونست
شادی بغم توام زغم افزون است
اندیشه کنم هر شب و گویم یارب

هجراش چنین است وصالش چون است

T. Lith., p. 108.

No. XL

چشم ز غمت بهر عقیق که بسفت

برچهر هزار گل آزارم بشگفت

رازی که دلم ز جان همیداشت نهفت

اشکم بزبان حال با خلق بگفت

T. Lith., p. 108.

§ 4. THE TEHERAN LITHOGRAPH

Although the so-called *Dīvān-i-Rūdakī*, lithographed in Teheran in A.H. 1315, is even less authoritative than the MS. *Pseudo-Rūdakī*, I think it may be well here to describe its contents; for it not only contains all the poems found in the MS. collection, but also thirty-four additional poems. The Teheran Lithograph was known to Shibli Nu'mānī, who has utilized it in his exhaustive account of Rūdakī in the *Shi'r ul-'Ajam*. The Teheran Lithograph contains 114 pages of poetry and 11 pages of introduction. It was edited by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī Āmulī, known as Ṣadr ul-Kuttāb, and was dedicated to Prince Farīdūn Mirzā. The contents of T. Lith. are as follows:—

(1) All the poems found in *Pseudo-Rūdakī*.

(2) Fifteen poems quoted by Ethé, but not in *Pseudo-Rūdakī*, namely, Nos. 2, 6, 10, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 33, 35, 36, 37, 41, 46, and 47.

(3) The four poems quoted by Bayhaqī. Only the third (Bayhaqī, p. 452) is quoted in full. Of the first (Bayhaqī, p. 219) only three bayts are given; of the second (Bayhaqī, p. 287) only two, and of the fourth (Bayhaqī, p. 751) only seven. I am inclined to think the editor has not taken his quotations direct from Bayhaqī, but from the *Tadkiras*.

(4) A *lughz* which is not given by Ethé, although it occurs in 'Awfi's *Lubāb-ul-Albāb*.

آن چیت بر آن طبق همی تابد * چون ملحم زیر شعر عنابی
ساقش بمثل چو ساعد حورا * پایش بمثل چو پای مرغابی

(5) Eight short poems which are found under Rūdakī's name in the later Anthologies, and of which three are quoted by Shibli.

The introduction to the T. Lith. adds nothing to our knowledge of Rūdakī, while the dedications placed at the head of most of the poems are hopelessly disingenuous, as the following examples will show.

The numbers refer to the list I have given below of the contents of the *Pseudo-Rūdakī*.

No. V. Amīr Abū Naṣr Muḥammad Sāmānī.

No. VII. Sultān Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Sāmānī.

No. XI. Amīr Naṣr ibn Mas'ūd ibn Mamlān as-Sāmānī.

No. XIII. "On good counsels, admonitions, and advice." This actually an elegy [by Qaṭrān] on the great earthquake at Tabrīz!

No. XXII. Amīr Abū 'l-Faṭḥ Sāmānī.

No. XXIV. "In praise of Wine." It is curious that the editor has not reproduced the anecdote in connexion with this *qaṣīda* which is prefixed in all the MSS. of the *Pseudo-Rūdakī* (see below, p. 641).

§ 5. ETHÉ'S COLLECTION

Having thus described the contents of *Pseudo-Rūdakī* I wish to call attention to some of the poems collected by Ethé which do not occur in *Pseudo-Rūdakī*.

No. 2, which Ethé took from the Bodleian MS. Ouseley 198 (fol. 175), begins:—

به ابروان چو کمان و بزلفگان چو کند

لبانت ساده عقیق و رخانت ساده پرند

Now this is the only extract given by Ethé which contains a *mamdūh*, or patron's, name. Line 12 he reads as follows:—

بلندرای بلندی فزای ابو نصر آن

که پست پشته بآرایش آسمان بلند

Ethé failed to detect a personal name in this verse, and translated it as follows:—

Und hochsinnsvoll so hoch sich schwingt,
dass, wenn sein Siegerglanz sich trifft,
Sich selbst die winz'ge Mücke bläht und
Mit dem Himmel misst, dem hehren!

[*ابو نصر* is represented by "Sein Siegerglanz".]

The second *mišraʿ* should read:—

بلند رای بلندی فزای ابو نصر آن

که پست باشد بآرایش آسمان بلند

Which I would render by:—

Abū Naṣr whose sublime thoughts
Make great things greater,
Makes the high heavens seem low
In comparison with his judgments.

This occurs in T. Lith., pp. 14 to 17, and contains 34 bayts, as against Ethé's 25.

It is also in Qaṭrān, Or. 3317, 26 bayts.

No. 5.—I have not traced elsewhere.

No. 6.—This *qaṣīda* is to be found in the T. Lith. (pp. 8, 9), where only 15 bayts are given as against Ethé's 25. It is

taken from the *Haft Iqlīm*, and can, I think, be accepted as the work of Rūdakī.¹ It begins:—

مرا بسود و فرو ریخت هرچه دندان بود
نبود دندان لاجل چراغ تابان بود

This *qaṣīda* has one very important verse, which contains the name of Rūdakī's *rāwī*.

تو رودکی را ای مج کنون همی بینی
بدان زمانه ندیدی که زین خسیسان بود

This bayt does not occur in T. Lith.

Ethé reads مج for مغ.

Now, in several of the great Farhangs, such as the *Rashīdī*, we read under the word مج or ماج, that this was the name of the *rāwī* of Rūdakī.

The following verse of Rūdakī is quoted:—

ای مج کنون تو شعر من از برکن و بخوان
از من دل و سگالش و ز تو تن و زبان

Oh, Maj! now learn my poems by heart and recite them; I supply the heart and the reflection—you the body and the tongue.

The Farhangs also quote Shams-i-Fakhrī, who says ²:—

تا مدحت او گفتم و خواندی ز شرف او
استاد سخن رودکی و راوی او مج

¹ It is also included among the half dozen *qaṣīdas* which the compiler of the *Maykhāna* regarded as genuine (see above, p. 620).

² Shams-i-Fakhrī of Ispahān compiled a dictionary (A.D. 1344) in the course of which he himself composed verses to illustrate the use of words.

No. 8.—Ethé says two bayts of this poem are given by 'Awfi, but they do not appear in the printed text.

No. 10.—In T. Lith. (pp. 79 to 81) has 27 bayts. It is found in Qaṭrān (Or. 3317, fol. 173a). The *mamdūh* is Abū Manṣūr.

No. 15.—Ethé gives 3 bayts. Qaṭrān MS., E. G. B., fol. 36b, has 32 bayts.

No. 16.—This elegy is undoubtedly genuine, as it is found in Bayhaqī (p. 751). Ethé only gives five bayts, which he has taken from the *Haft Iqlīm*.

The Teheran Lithograph (p. 104) has seven bayts.

Shibli (*Shi'r ul 'Ajam*, vol. i, p. 35) says this was written on the death of a Vazir's son. *Majma' ul-Fuṣahā* says that Shahīd Balkhī and Murādī also composed elegies on this same youth. Bayhaqī gives twelve bayts.

In Ethé's first bayt for غمکشی we should read غمکینی.

No. 18.—

شاد زی با سیاه چشمان شاد
که جهان نیست جز فسانه و باد

This occurs in 'Awfi and in the T. Lith., p. 18.

No. 30.—These two bayts are from Dawlat Shah. In Ethé's version بی آفت should be corrected to بی آلت, and the last word should read گر زمان, an old word for "heaven".

Nos. 31 and 32, according to Ethé, are from 'Awfi, but they do not occur in the printed text of the *Lubāb-ul-Albāb*.

No. 51.—This is the only verse in Ethé's collection which occurs in the *Lughat-i-Furs*. Ethé derived it from Vullers' *Lexicon*. Vullers cites it from *Lughat-i-Ḥalīmī*.

No. 52.—This is the only verse quoted by Ethé which occurs in *Shams-i-Qays* (p. 439). The correct version is :—

هر که ناخت از گذشت روزگار نیز ناموزد زهیچ آموزگار

§ 6. KALĪLA WA DIMNA

To the sixteen lines preserved by Asadī we may now add a further six, which occur in a recently acquired manuscript in the British Museum. The manuscript is numbered Or. 7863, and contains four short Persian works, chiefly ethical, in mixed prose and verse. It was written in A.H. 761. The last work is entitled *Tuhfat ul-Mulūk*, and contains the two following quotations from *Kalīla wa Dimna*, which, in view of their being, like Asadī's, in the *ramal* metre, and also in view of the age of the manuscript, we may accept as genuine quotations from Rūdakī's lost *Maṣnavī*.

fol. 60b

تاجهان بود از سر آدم فراز * کس نبوذ از راه دانش بی نیاز
مردمان بخرد اندر هر زمان * راه دانش را بهر کونه زبان
کرد کردند و کرامی داشتند * تا بسنک اندر همی بنکاشتند
دانش اندر دل چراغ روشنست * وز همه بد برتن تو جوشنست

fol. 82b

انک را دانم که اویم دشمن است * وز روان پاک بد خواه من است
هم بهر که دوستی جویمش من * هم سخن با هستکی کویمش من

§ 7. EXTRACTS FROM BAYHAQĪ¹

p. 219

بسرای سپنج مهمان را دل نهادن همیشگی نه رواست
 زیر خاک اندروننت باید خفت گرچه اکنونت خواب بردیاست
 با کسان بودننت چه سود کند که بگور اندرون شدن تنهاست
 یار تو زبر خاک مور و مگس بدل آنکه گیسوت پیراست
 آنکه زلفین و گیسوت پیراست گرچه دینار یا درمش بها است
 چون ترا دید زرد گونه شده سرد گردد دلش نه ناپینا است

p. 287

مہتران همه جهان مردند مرگ را سر همه فرو کردند
 زیر خاک اندرون شدند آنان که همه کو شکها بر آوردند
 از هزاران هزار نعمت و ناز نه بآخر جز از کفن بردند
 بود از نعمت آنچه پوشیدند و آنچه دادند و آنچه را خوردند

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زندگانی چه کوته و چه دراز نه بآخر ببرد باید باز
 هم بچمبر گذشته باید بود این رسن را اگر چه هست دراز
 خواهی اندر عنا و شدت زی خواهی اندر امان بنعمت و ناز
 خواهی اندک تر از جهان پذیر خواهی از ری بگیر تا بطراز

¹ The pages refer to the Calcutta printed edition. The blanks on p. 219 have been supplemented from B.M. Or. I.

این همه باد دیو. بر جانست خواب را حکم نی مگر که مجاز
این همه روز مرگ یکسانند شناسی ز یکدگر شان باز

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Bayhaqī:

ای آنکه غمکین و سوگواری و اندر نهان سرشک همی باری
از بهر آن کجا بیرم خامش ترسم ز بخت و انده دشواری
رفت آنکه رفت و آمد آنکه آمد بود آنچه بود خیره چه غم داری
هموار کرده خواهی گیتی را گیتی است که کی پذیرد همواری
مستی مکن که نشنود او مستی زاری مکن که نشنود او زاری
شو تا قیامت آید زاری کن کی رفته را بزاری باز آری
آزار بیش بینی زین گردون گو تو بهر بهانه بیان آری
گوئی که گماشته است بلائی او بر هر که تو بر او دل بگماری
ابری پدید نی و کسوفی نی بگرفت ماه و گشت جهان تاری
فرمان کنی و یا نکنی ترسم بر خویشتن ظفر ندهی یاری
یا بشکنی سپاه غمان بر دل آن به که می بیاری و بگساری
اندر بالای سخت پدید آید فضل و بزرگواری و سالاری

§ 8. MĀDIR-I-MĀY

I had originally intended to print this *qaṣīda* in full, but owing to the exigencies of space, I have decided to confine

myself to a discussion of its authorship, only quoting a few of the bayts which throw light on this point.

"Mādir-i-May" is found not only in *Pseudo-Rūdakī*, but also in many *Taḍkiras* under the name of Rūdakī.

Now in all the MSS. of *Pseudo-Rūdakī* an anecdote is prefixed explaining the circumstances which attended the composition of this *qaṣīda*; it is, however, to be noted that the Teheran Lithograph entirely ignores the anecdote; and this leads one to inquire whether the *Pseudo-Rūdakī* of the Sipahsālār Library in Teheran was known to the compiler of the Lithograph edition.

The anecdote prefixed to this *qaṣīda* runs as follows:—

در مدح ابو جعفر محمد بن احمد گوید در آن وقت که
والی ماوراء النهر بوده در خراسان پیاله شرا بی بیاد
او خورده و پیاله دیگر سر بمهر جهة او فرستاده
و نوشته بود که پیاله بیاد تو خوردیم و پیاله
جهة یادبود فرستادیم — حکیم این قصیده را
بدیهه گفته و فرستاده هزار تومان جائزه یافت

"When Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Aḥmad was Governor of Transoxania, he, being in Khurāsān, drank a cup of wine to the poet's memory, and sent the poet a second cup, sealed up, with a message saying: 'I have drunk a cup in remembrance of you, and am sending a cup as a souvenir.' The Ḥakīm thereupon recited this *qaṣīda* extempore, and sent it to the Governor, who rewarded him with a thousand tumans."

Rīza Qulī in his original draft of the *Majma' ul-Fuṣahā* attributes this *qaṣīda* to Rūdakī (see B.M. MSS. Or. 3524,

fol. 186b), but in the lithographed edition (*loc. cit.*) has added in the heading the following words:—

پس از تحقیق یقین شد این قصیده از قطران است هدایت
i.e. after careful research it has been established that this *qaṣīda* is by Qaṭrān “Hidāyat” (i.e. Rīzā Qulī Khān, whose *takhallus* was Hidāyat).

We do not know Rīzā Qulī’s authority for his statement, and I have not found this *qaṣīda* either in Qaṭrān’s *dīvāns* or among the poems attributed to him in the *Tadhkiras*.

As to the identity of the Governor of Transoxania to whom it is dedicated, the anecdote prefixed to the *qaṣīda* gives his name as Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, whereas in the body of the poem he is called Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. It may be noted that the *Kunyā* Abū Ja‘far is more commonly followed by the name Muḥammad.

Now there was a certain Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad who was uncle to Nūḥ ibn Naṣr the Sāmānid (A.D. 942 to 954). There was also a certain Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad who was sipahsālār of Khurāsān under Naṣr ibn Aḥmad, and who revolted against Nūḥ ibn Naṣr in A.D. 946 (see Ibn al Athīr, vol. viii, *passim*), but his patronymic was Abū ‘Alī. Both these men were as we see contemporaries of Rūdakī, but the evidence that either of them is intended is not conclusive.

Rūdakī’s name occurs in the following verse:—

نیست شگفتی که رود کی بچنین جای

خیره شود بی روان وماند حیران

“It is no matter for wonderment if Rūdakī in such circumstances is beside himself with wonder and remains astonished.” My friend, Mr. Taqīzāda, expressed his opinion to me that these lines could not be by Rūdakī himself. On the other hand, there are two lines which, according to two of the MSS., contain the name Mamlān, and may account for Rīzā Qulī’s note referred to above.

Line 61 reads :—

شاعر زی آورد و فقیر تھی دست
بازر بسیار باز کرده مملان

Line 77 reads :—

گر نه مرا بو عمر دلاور کردی
آنکه دستوری برگزیده مملان

If this *qaṣīda* is by Qaṭrān, the Abū Ja'far referred to might possibly be Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār, known as Ibn Kākwayh, who annexed Kurdistan in A.D. 1023, but it is in any case a patron not mentioned elsewhere in Qaṭrān's Divān.

§ 9. CONCLUSION

In conclusion I would claim that the following poems and extracts and lines may be reasonably attributed to Rūdakī.

- (1) All the quotations in the *Lughat-i-Furs*.
- (2) The four poems quoted by Bayhaqī.
- (3) The six couplets in the *Tuhfat ul-Mulūk* from *Kalīla wa Dimna*.
- (4) The twenty-nine bayts quoted by Shams-i-Qays.
- (5) The famous "Mūliyān" ode.¹

¹ As Professor Browne has pointed out, various opinions have been held among the Persians regarding the quality of this little poem. While it calls forth the highest praise from no less a man than Niẓāmī 'Arūzī, it meets with the severest criticism at the hands of Dawlat Shāh. (See *Literary History of Persia*, vol. ii, pp. 15-17.)

The fact that this poem is attributed to Rūdakī by the author of the *Chahār Maṣāla*, is perhaps a sufficient guarantee of its authorship, though curiously enough Minhāj-i-Sirāj, the historian, writing only one hundred years later (A.D. 1260) attributes it to a much later poet, namely Amīr Mu'izzī, whose patron was the Seljuqid Sultan Sanjar. (See Raverty's translation of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, pp. 153, 154.)

That 'Awfī should not have quoted these famous lines in his *Lubāb ul-Albāb*, is possibly due to the fact that, like Dowlat Shah, he did not admire them, though such considerations did not prevent Dowlat Shah quoting them. These verses are also quoted by Ḥamdullah Mustawfī in his *Zafar Nāma*. (See B.M. MS. Or. 2833, fol. 264b.)

(6) No. 6 of Ethé's collection (see p. 635 above).

(7) The eleven quotations given by 'Awfī in the *Lubāb ul-Albāb*.

There remain, as of doubtful authorship, eighteen extracts quoted by Ethé¹ and eight others in the Teheran Lithograph.

¹ Nos. 5, 8, 11, 15, 25, 30, 31, 32, 34, 38, 39, 40, 48, 49, 50, 51, and 52. I have not taken into consideration the *rubā'īyyāt* which have been attributed to Rūdakī, seeing that this form of verse is notoriously given to wandering from author to author. There is, however, one complete quatrain among the quotations in the *Lughat-i-Furs*, though it has been

split up into two separate citations in order to illustrate the words زغن, a crow, and غن, an oil-press.

جمله صید این جهانیم ای پسر
 ما چو صعوه مرگ بر سان زغن
 هر گلی پرمرده گردد زود و دیر
 مرگ بفشارد همرا زیر غن

which may be freely rendered:—

My son, we mortals are the sport of Fate:
 We are the sparrows, Death the bird of prey.
 As every flower fades: or soon or late
 Beneath Death's oil-press we are cast away.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

THE "YUZGHAT" INSCRIPTION REVISED

Our knowledge of the Hittite vocabulary is now sufficiently advanced to allow us to give an intelligible translation of the so-called Yuzghat inscription, in spite of its mutilated condition. There are few words of which the signification is still unknown. It contains more than one curious legend, the first of which relates to the magical restoration of certain women to life.

I can now explain the verbs *sanezzi*, *samesezzi*, *khukzi*, and *irkhaizzi*, Rev. 37, 38. *Sanezzi* means "to kindle" or "light" a fire, *samesezzi* "to extinguish", *khukzi* to "mutter" or "intone" a service, *irkhaizzi* "to worship", "prostrate oneself". In the Code of Laws the causal *samenuzzi*, *samenzi* signifies "to free from", "forfeit" (Hrozny, p. 134); in *KT.B.* ii, p. 26, 26, the word is written *saminuwanzi* "he empties". In *KT.B.* iv, 68, 20, *irkhanzi* seems to signify "offer" libations, and *irkhus* is used of "subject" seas (Hrozny, *HKB.* i, p. 100, l. 17).

The whole paragraph of the Tablet in which these words occur may, accordingly, be translated as follows:—

34. I GIS BANSUR u-nu-wa-an-ta a-na AN UD
 1 dish as furniture to the Sun-god
 da-a-i I GIS BANSUR u-nu-wa-[an-da]
 take; 1 dish as furniture
35. a-na AN Te-li-bi-nu da-a-i ma-a-an AN-lum
 to the god Telibinus take; when the god
 a-sa-a-si zi-in-ni-e . . .
 you have seated complete [the ceremony].
36. ne-khu-uz me-khur-ma DUK pa-akh-khu-i-na-li-az
 And at the evening hour from a brazier
 pa-akh-khur pa-ni AN-lim da-[a-i]
 the fire before the god take.

37. sa-ne-iz-zi sa-me-se-iz-zi nu SAL SU-GI
It burns up (&) is extinguished ; then the priestess
 be-el AN-lim khu-uk-ku-us
of the lord of the gods the service
38. khu-uk-zi II SU ir-kha-iz-zi BIT AN-lim
intones ; twice she kneels. The temple
 kha-ad-ki na-as-ta khat-ra-a
she closes. Then forth
39. u-iz-zi a-bi-ya UD-ti u-ul ku-it-ki
she comes. There during the day nothing
 i-ya-zi
she does.
40. ma-a-an lu-uk-kat-ta be-el AN-lim pa-ni
When it is light the lord of the gods before
 AN-lim (u)-iz-zi sa-ne-iz-zi
the gods comes ; she kindles,
41. sa-me-se-iz-zi khu-uk-ku-us khu-uk-zi III [SU]
she extinguishes ; the services she intones ; 3 times
 ir-kha-iz-zi
she kneels.
42. I GAR-GIR-RA . . . a-na AN UD mas-si-ya
 1 cake . . . to the Sun-god she consecrates,
 i-na BANSUR da-a-i nu MAR[-NU]
on a dish she takes ; then milk (&)
43. GESTIN-an a-na AN UD si-pa-an-ti I
wine to the Sun-god she offers ; 1
 GAR-GIR-RA . . . a-na AN Te-li-bi-nu[-un]
cake . . . for the god Telibinus
44. a-na GIS BANSUR AN Te-li-bi-nu da-a-i
to the dish of Telibinus she takes.
 MAR-NU¹ AN-KAS-EDIN GESTIN-an . . .
Milk, native wine . . .

¹ Assyrian labanu.

45. si-[pa-an]-ti I MAS-GAL I LU a-na AN UD
she offers ; 1 full-grown kid, 1 sheep to the Sun-god
 AN Te-li-bi-nu-ya tak-san da-a-i
& Telibinus together she takes.

The first legend recorded on the tablet relates to the restoration of certain women to life and the division of the country between an otherwise unknown Khakhkhimas and his brother. Unfortunately the commencement of the story is lost, and all that remains of the first lines is: "... thy sons and daughters . . . Tessub to the wom[en says ?] . . . this he said to me . . . my sons ; if a man slays . . . he slays, afterwards he restores him to life . . . the magic which thy sons perform." The tablet then proceeds:—

- (8) ud-de-e khu-o-ma-an ti-nu-ut¹ u-i-da-a-ar
(Khakhkhimas) all the land took ; water
 kha-ad-nu-te-[es]²
providing
- (9) Kha-akh-khi-ma-as GAL-is khu-wa-an-ti a-na
Khakhkhimas the chief of the clouds,³ to
 SIS-SU tar-as-ki-iz-zi⁵ [te-it]
his brother,⁴ gave help, [saying] :
- (10) KHAR-SAG-MES-as u-i-da-a-ar GIS-SAR-ZUN
Of the mountains the water (&) of the gardens
 u-e-el-lu⁶ nu tu-el [mar-MES-KA ?]
the grass thy [sons ?]

¹ *Tinut* is replaced by the Ass. *izbat* in l. 31.

² The causative of *khad-* "to bring"; *kaddai*, *KTB.* ii, 52, 17 ; *khaddinzi*, *KTB.* iv, 60, 9.

³ *Khuwanti*, like the plural *khuwandus* "winds" or "clouds", is the participle of *khāwar* "to run away", "move quickly".

⁴ It would appear from l. 36 that the brother was Khasammiliš, an early Hittite king, whose name is identical with that of the Greek Kasmeilos, the leader of the Kabeiri.

⁵ Or "offers service", as in the Legal Code, where it is used with *aruwan*.

⁶ Cf. *KTB.* iv, p. 80, l. 13 : *nussissan uēllus khalissi asarunissi sublessi lē lukuwaitta* "for him the grass grows not for his ox-stall, his sheep-fold, his stable". In the next sentence *uelkuwan* is probably a scribal error for *uēlluwan*, and we should read : *istu ASAG SU-massi-kan aggalit uēlluwan*

- (11) wa-ar-su-la-as SE-MES pa-is-ga-ta-ru¹ nu-us
with irrigated grain shall plant ; these
 li-e ti-in-nu-[mi]
[I] do not take.
- (12) nu-u-SS-an XX KUR-MES GUD-ZUN LU-ZUN
They in 20 lands the oxen; sheep,
 UR-KU-ZUN SAKH-ZUN ti-in-nu-[zi]
dogs (&) pigs take ;
- (13) MAR-MES kar-ta-as-ma khal-ki-us [u-ul] ti-in-nu-zi
but the sons . . . the wheat do [not] take.
 tak-ku . . .
If . . .
- (14) nu-ma-as-ta-an² GU-UN DAR (?) URUD
 . . . *a talent of copper*
 tu-uz-zi-ya-an-za khar-zi . . .
the army has . . .
- (15) nu-us u-ul ti-in-nu-zi ma-a-an-ku-it-ta
these they do not take. When
 khu-o-ma-an . . .
the whole [had been divided]
- (16) a-pa-sa pa-it AN IM-ni te-it ki-i ku-it
he went ; to Tessub he said that thus
 ki-sa-at . . .
it has happened . . .

lê uizzi "so that from the field for his hand with the mattock (?) there comes no crop of grass". *Aggali* may be borrowed from Ass. ; in *KUB.* iii, p. 94, 21, *aggantas khālali* is explained by the Ass. *ekim appanu* "shaft (?) of the spindle" (with *appanu* cf. the Tel el-Amarna *appanannu*). *Aggantas* here has no connexion with *agganzi* (Arzawan *aggas*) "he is loyal". *Uellu* occurs again in *KTB.* iii, p. 41, 23 : *bargaus KHAR-SAK-ZUN lântat khâlîdes khârîes lântat AN Tessub-as uellu lântat* "the high hills Tessub bedews, the deep valleys he bedews, the grass he bedews".

¹ Cf. *païskattaru*, *KUB.* iv, p. 2, 40, where it is followed by the acc. *wakhan* ("circle" ?).

² *Numastan* is an adj. agreeing with GU-UN. A verb *numaizzi* "he wipes" occurs in *KTB.* v, 2, 26. Perhaps we have to supply "If [there are mines]" at the end of the preceding line, and interpret *numastan* (or *nu-wastan* ?) as "half" or "quarter".

- (17) a-si Kha-akh-khi-ma-as at-ti-is-si an-ni-is-si
Finally Khakhkhi-mas to his father (&) his mother
 te-iz-zi . . .
says : . . .
- (18) ki-i az-zi-ik-ki-ta-ri ak-ku-us-ki-it-ta-ri . . .
when (?) he eats (&) drinks . . .
- (19) kab-bu-wa-at-tin ku-tu-un u-ul ku-it-ki
do you count ; a deficiency (?) of nothing
 AMEL SIB-LU AMEL SIB-GUD . . .
let shepherd (&) oxherd [ensure].
- (20) a-pa-sa ud-de-e ti-in-nu-ut AN IM-sa u-ul
So he the land caused to be taken & Tessub did
 sa-a-ak-ki[-it]
not know.
- (21) AN IM-as AN UD-i bi-i-e-it i-id-din-wa ¹
Tessub to the Sun-god a house had given, &
 AN UD-un u-wa-te-it
the Sun-god he brought.
- (22) pa-ir AN UD-un sa-an-khi-es-gan-zi ² na-an
They go. The Sun-god he seeks ; him
 u-ul u-e-mi-ya-[zi]
he finds not ;
- (23) AN IM-sa te-iz-zi nu-wa-ra-an ku-it kha-an-da
& Tessub says : Him since never
 u-ul u-e-mi-ya-[mi]
do I find ;

¹ I imagine that *wa* is the Assyrian and not the Hittite copulative, since it is attached to the Assyrian phrase *biet iddin*. The text would appear to have been translated from an Assyrian original. The "Sun-god" seems to be the king.

² *Sankheskit* is rendered by the Ass. *itekhhhi*, *KUB.* i, 37, 22, and the Legal Code shows that it had the sense of "seeking" or "visiting", *uemiya*—signifying "to find".

- (31) ... [iz-]bat TAK bi-ru-lu u pi-ri nu a-bu-un-an
 ... *he takes, beryl & ivory. So him*
 Kha-akh-khi-ma-as iz-bat¹
Khakhkhimas took.
-
- (32) ... wa AN Gul-as-sa-an AN MAKH
Again ... Gula's (daughter?) the Supreme goddess
 khal-zi-is-tin tak-ku-wa a-bi-e a-ki-ir ...
you call; & if there they die ...
- (33) ... e-ya im-ma a-ki-ir MU I-as a-bi-e-el
 ... *verily they die for one year their*
 URUD (?) -DE-as Kha-akh-khi-ma-[as] ...
 ... *Khakhkhimas ...*
- (34) ... Kha-akh-khi-ma-as AN IM-ni te-iz-zi ku-u-si-wa
 ... *Khakhkhimas to Tessub says: The dowry*
 bi-is-sa-at-ti ...²
thou hast remitted ...
- (35) ... nu-si khu-o-ma-an-te-es a-ki-ir MU I-as
 ... *all are dead. For one year*
 ki-i-ni³ GAL-ri ...
for a possession (?) to the chief ...
- (36) ... nam-ma khar-si MU-I-as
 ... *Then thou wilt have (it). For one year*
 AN Kha-sa-am-mi-li-as SIS-MES-SU ...
of the deified Khasammilias the brothers ...
- (37) ... an-ni-ik-ni-es MU I-as a-bu-u-us
 ... *For one year them*
 Kha-akh-khi-ma-as u-ul iz-bat
Khakhkhimas did not take.

¹ The "Sun-god" Telibinus becomes the Hittite king.

² *Bissatti* may be a contracted form of the verb *bessia*- "drive away".

³ *Kîni* seems to be from *kî* "deposit", the signification of the passage being: "For 1 year [the property goes] to the Chief for a possession. Then thou wilt have (it). For 1 year the brothers of Khasammilias are [the owners?]."

- (38) . . . a-bu-u-us khal-za-is AN IM-as Kha-akh-khi-im-mi
 . . . *them he called. Tessub to Khakhkhimas*
- (39) [te-iz-]zi ki-is-sa-ra-as-mi-is-wa GAL-ri-ya
says: My hands to the chief
 an-da da-me-en-[kir]
give abundance;
- (40) . . . ya da-me-en-kir¹ tak-ku-wa ku-u-us-sa
 . . . *they give abundance. But if . . .*
 NIN-MES-us SU-ZUN-us

- (41) . . . SI-ZUN mi-ta-wa li-e e-ip-si²
 . . . *the . . . do not take.*

-
- (42) . . . AN IM-ni tar-as-ki-iz-zi a-ut-ti-wa
 . . . *to Tessub he gave help, & thou didst*
 TUR-MES-as-ma-as . . .
see [the . . .] of my sons.

- (43) . . . wa-as-sa-an ne-bi-si pa-i-mi
 *to heaven I gave.*

- (44) . . . NIN-MES-us khu-is-nu-ut
 . . . *the women he restored to life.*

REVERSE

1. . . . na-is AN EN-ZU-NA SI-e-it . . .
 . . . *he sent, & the Moon-god was leader . . .*
2. [AN-MES-as ud-da-]ar KA-GAL-as kas-man
The word [of the gods] at the gate accordingly
 SI-e-it AMIL-MES SU-GI
was leader; the priests (&)
 SAL[-MES SU-GI]
priestesses

¹ From the same root as *damēda*, Ass. *dussu*, "fat," "abundant."

² This passage is unintelligible to me and I suspect an error in the text. The form in -us denotes the acc. pl., and *kāssa* ought to be either *kās* "these" or *kāssan* "wages", "dowry".

3. . . . an-zi u-ug-ga SAL An-na-an-na-as e-es-mi
 . . . & I a nursing-mother (?)¹ am.

The lines following are too much mutilated to yield any sense. Then we have :—

9. . . . AN Te-li-bi-nu-sa ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki na-ak-ki-es-zi
 . . . And Telibinus up to this time was friendly,
 u-ga AN-MES-as ud-[da-a-ar]
 & I the word of the gods
10. . . . ma-akh-khi-ta-an mu-ga-mi² AN UD-sa
 recited, & the Sun-god
 te-iz-zi AN-MES-as ud-da-a-ar pa-it . . .
 says : the word of the gods has marched . . .
11. . . . na-az-mi sa-ku-wa-a³ UM-MA AN MAKH . . .
 . . . in full thus the Supreme
 goddess [says] :
 nu ma-a-an AN UD-us a-as-su ku-it . . .
 When the Sun-god wealth [grants] . . .
12. . . . ti li-ga⁴ IX-an pa-a-u ku-is
 . . . of the liver (?) 9 let him give : he who is
 AMIL MAS-DU nu-ut-ta I LU pa-a-u
 poor to thee 1 sheep let him give.
13. [AN UD-u ?] wa-as AN Te-li-bi-nu-wa-as-sa
 Of [the Sun-god ?]⁵ & the god Telibinus
 mu-ga-u-wa-as qa-ti
 the story is finished.

¹ This can hardly be a proper name. It must, however, denote the reciter of the legend : was she the mother of Khakhkhimas ?

² In *KUB.* iii, p. 103, 5, *mugawwas* is translated *tazimtu* "dirge". Cf. *KUB.* ii, p. 3, 10: AN-MES-KA *mugai* "thy gods she invoked".

³ In the Legal Code *sakuwân* means "equivalent", "in full".

⁴ In *KT.B.* i, p. 85, 11, compared with p. 84, 9 and 10, *ligies* is *terdu* and *gabidu* "the liver", while according to 85, 11, *lêgan* signified [zum]ru "body" ([tera]nu = li-e-gan, [zum]-ru = IM-TE-AN "ditto").

⁵ According to *Rev.* 34 the offerings were made to the Sun-god and Telibinus ; the preliminary history would consequently have been recited in their honour.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.—In l. 8 *khad-nu-tes* or *khat-nu-tes* is the causative of *khad* or *khat*, found in *khaddai*, *KT.B.* ii, 52, 17 (where it is used of an unleavened cake), and *KT.B.* iv, 60, 9 (where it refers to pork). The root seems to signify “to prepare food”. In *KUB.* ii, p. 20, 1-4, we read: “Thus says the great king of Kussar (Garsaura): my royal father held an assembly ([*ni*]ninkî); he took a pebble (*passilan*); they gave grain; [on the side?] of a mountain they kindled a fire (*pakhhkhur parir*); the bakers pounded (*khubbir*) the grain; a great millstone did they provide (*khattannir*); they (then) ceased to use it” (*san sami*[*nuzi*]).

A. H. SAYCE.

PHILOLOGICAL NOTE

The Sumerian ideogram *nu-mu-su* has been universally translated by *almattu* widow. It occurs in the *Code of Hammurabi*, § 177, 22 : 55; *Epilogue* 61. The word is written *nu-ma-su*, Urukagina, Cone B, xii, 23, with Var., Cone C, *nu-ma-nu-su*. See also Gudea, Statue B, vii, 43; cf. Thureau-Dangin, *SAK.* 52, note q. The extract from a Sumerian law code, V Raw. 24, No. 1, Rev. 6-7, has *nam-nu-mu-un-zu-a-ni mi-ni-in-tuk*, and a Constantinople variant, C. 4523, Obv. ii, 6-7, *nam-nu-mu-zu-a-ni mi-ni-in-tuk*; Meissner, *Assyriologische Forschungen*, ii, 70. This phrase is probably to be rendered *ina almanûti-ša ihuz* he married her in her widowhood. Cf. Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, 5, 1, *bitu šuātu al-ma-nu-tam illak*.

nu-mu-su does mean *almattu*, an equation which results from two variants published by Professor Clay in *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*, vol. iv, Nos. 15 and 16. In No. 15, l. 11, the omen is *mar al-ma-at-ti i^ukussa i^uabba-at*, and in No. 16, l. 9, *mar NU-MU-SU i^ukussa i^uab-bat*. This is clear confirmation of the meaning. Although the monumental texts of Urukagina, Gudea, and Hammurabi, which can leave no doubt concerning the sign *SU*, persistently

give this reading, the sign *ZU* is to be expected. *nu-mu-zu* should mean "she that knew a male". It is difficult to account for the accepted Babylonian writing with *SU*.

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21st July, 1924.

SANSKRIT MASCULINES PLURAL IN -ANI ?

In his note in this *Journal* of July last, p. 449 f., Dr. Thomas appears to misapprehend the point of my remark on p. 293 ib., and I must therefore restate it in a somewhat expanded form.

Dr. Printz in *Bhāsa's Prakrit*, p. 26, has quoted from "Bhāsa" a few accusative plurals in *-āṇi* belonging to *a*-stems that usually are masculine. The defenders of the Bhāsa-theory see in these forms genuine masc. accus. plurals, and compare them to similar phenomena in the inscriptions of Asōka. To my thinking, this is utterly unnecessary. It is well known that in popular Sanskrit there was from quite early times a frequent tendency for masc. stems in *-a* to become neuter; Dr. Thomas himself in his edition of the *Bṛhaspati-sūtra* has given us some notable instances. In the Prakrits this tendency neuterwards was very much stronger, and soon led in many cases to a more or less complete confusion between masc. and neut.; a striking instance is furnished by Caṇḍa, quite an early authority on Prakrit, who quotes as correct Prakrit the startling *dēvāṇi rakkhantu* (i, 4), where *dēvāṇi* is of course intended for masc. nom. plur., but actually is in form neuter. Seeing then that this change from masc. to neut. was so extremely common from early times in popular Sanskrit and in the Prakrits, it is surely most natural to suppose that a form like *kusumāṇi* in "Bhāsa" is a result of it, and most perverse to dig out a far-fetched explanation from the inscriptions of Asōka. The real Prakrit acc. plur. of masc. stems in *-a* was, as Pischel says, either *-ē* (as in Pali) or *ā*; the *Matta-vilāsa*, as I have shown in *BSOS*. III, i, confirms the *-ē*.

As regards Dr. Thomas's other remark, I would venture to draw his attention to the important article "Deux Nouveaux Traités de Dramaturgie Indienne" by Professor Sylvain Lévi (*JA.*, Oct.-Dec. 1923, p. 193 ff.), where it is shown (1) that in their *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra quote a verse from a *Svapna-vāsavadatta* ascribed by them to Bhāsa, and describe the situation in which it occurs, neither of which can be traced in the Trivandrum play, and (2) that Sāgaranandin in his *Nāṭaka-lakṣaṇa-ratna-kōśa* quotes without mention of the author a passage from a *Svapna-vāsavadatta* which also does not agree with the Trivandrum text. Thus there were certainly at least two plays of that name; and, unless Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra were grievously mistaken, the one by Bhāsa was *not* the Trivandrum play.

After this it is hardly necessary to add that there are also two *Kalyāṇa-saugandhikas*.

L. D. BARNETT.

ON SINA CEREBRALS

As the discussion between Colonel Lorimer and Dr. Grahame Bailey regarding the pronunciation of certain *Ṣiṇā* sounds originally arose from an inquiry made by me, may I be permitted to make the following remarks.

If we accept, for the sake of argument, the accuracy of Dr. Bailey's assertion that "even for a well-trained ear, to distinguish between cerebrals and non-cerebrals or between aspirated and unaspirated sounds is a matter of extreme if not insuperable difficulty (except for one who has made the distinction from childhood)", we have, on the other hand, Colonel Lorimer's statement, with which I would ask to be permitted to express my full agreement, that "there are *prima facie* grounds for distrusting an untrained Indian's judgment in discriminating between cerebrals and non-cerebrals" in a language not familiar to him. *Ex hypothesi*, an Indian, even if untrained, has made the distinction from childhood, and we are therefore

driven to the conclusion that the only possible arbiters are trained Indians and those fortunate phoneticians who, like Dr. Bailey, have been born among the sounds and who have used them all their life. Having got this small body of judges, it is disconcerting to find that they do not agree among themselves. For one highly trained Indian—Khān Sāhib ‘Abdu’l-Hakīm Khān—who probably at the time that he wrote knew more than any person living about the languages of the countries north and south of the Hindūkush, where he served for many years, and who gave me carefully prepared specimens of nearly all of them, marked several Ṣiṇā sounds as cerebrals which Dr. Bailey considers to be dentals. Who shall decide when doctors disagree? Under these circumstances, may a mere looker-on venture to state how, after hearing both sides, the matter strikes him?

In the first place it is necessary to make it quite definite that we are discussing sounds, and sounds only—not letters. Ṣiṇā is not a written language, so that we must not allow ourselves to be misled by talking of cerebral letters when we are referring only to sounds (cerebral or otherwise) as heard in that language. Let us first consider the question of the sound which Colonel Lorimer and Dr. Bailey both represent by the letter *t*, with or without diacritical marks. For our present purposes there are only three possible sounds so represented. They are :—

1. A dental surd stop.
2. An alveolar surd stop.
3. A cerebral surd stop.

Colonel Lorimer says that in Ṣiṇā there are no dental surd stops, and (with certain secondary exceptions) no cerebral surd stops. Normally every sound in Ṣiṇā that can be represented by the letter *t* is alveolar or, at the most, post-alveolar. “They are certainly not cerebrals.”

As I understand Dr. Bailey, he maintains that the language contains both dental and cerebral surd stops, and no alveolars. He, however, adds that in modern Indian vernaculars cerebrals

are also post-alveolar or pre-cerebral. I confess that I do not understand this last statement. I do not see how an alveolar sound of any kind can be described as a kind of cerebral, any more than how a square can be described as a kind of circle. What is probably meant is that cerebral *letters* are sometimes used to represent a sound which is not cerebral but which is post-alveolar or pre-cerebral. In other words that a certain Indian letter can be used to indicate two, or perhaps three, different sounds. This, of course, frequently occurs in the case of languages which have alphabets; but it cannot be said for *Ṣiṇā*, which has no alphabet.

As Dr. Bailey points out, the matter is one of definition. In both cases the *sound*, not the letter, is defined by describing the method of its production. Colonel Lorimer, following Mr. Noel-Armfield, defines a cerebral sound as follows (I quote his own words, not the abridged version given by Dr. Bailey): A cerebral sound "is produced with the tip of the tongue somewhat curled back so as to come in contact with the highest part of the roof of the mouth, that is somewhere about the junction of the hard and soft palates". Let us call the sound so defined "Cerebral A". Dr. Grahame Bailey objects to the point of articulation stated in this. He says, "the proper point of articulation is *anywhere* on the hard palate behind the teeth ridge." Let us call the sound so defined "Cerebral B". In spite of this objection, the A definition is in good company. Let us begin with the earliest teachers of Indian phonetics—the authors of the *Prāṭisākhya*s (roughly 500 B.C.). An example of what they say is "of the cerebrals (*mūrdhanya*), or sounds formed at the highest part of the mouth cavity (*mūrdhan*), the tip of the tongue rolled back (*jihvāgraṁ prativēṣṭitam*) is the producing organ".¹ This is not modern, but it is endorsed by Wackernagel,² quoting Sievers *Phonetik*, § 147, for the pronunciation of the present day.

¹ Ath. V. *Prāṭisākhya*, i, 22. For the meaning of *mūrdhan*, see Whitney, l.c., and also Wackernagel, *Altind. Gr.*, § 143.

² l.c.

The Indian grammarians do not deal much with phonetics, but we may quote the *Siddhānta-kaumudī* on Pāṇini I, i, 9, which tells us that the place of contact of the cerebral sounds is the *mūrdhan*. The Prātiśākhya definition holds its force, amongst literate Indians of Benares, down to the present day.

Coming to later times, we find the Bihār Missionary Beligatti¹ saying that the sound represented by a cerebral letter is produced "*lingua paululum inversa, et palatum leniter percutiente, quo blēsè pronunciat*".

For modern times, I take three grammarians who are admittedly authoritative. Platts² says that "in pronouncing" the sounds represented by cerebral letters "the tip of the tongue is applied to the back part of the roof of the mouth". Kellogg³ says, "the tongue should be well thrown back, so as to strike, not the gums, as in the English *t* and *d*, but the roof of the mouth." Navalkar⁴ says, "in pronouncing Marāṭhī cerebrals the tip of the tongue is turned round, and forcibly struck against the palate." It will be observed that this last-named author fulfils Dr. Bailey's requirement of being born among cerebrals, and of using them all his life. Note also that all these authorities, from 500 B.C. to the present day, make the production of a cerebral sound conditional on the tip of the tongue being rolled back (not simply elevated). Most of them insist, in addition, that the point of contact is the highest part of the roof of the mouth, or, at least, the back part of the hard palate. As for the others, if the tip of the tongue is really rolled back, I do not see what other part of the palate it could touch. If the contact is in the front part of the palate, or near the gum ridge, the tip of the tongue cannot then be rolled back, unless its speaker is a chameleon. That is just the difference between an alveolar or post-alveolar sound, on the one hand, and a cerebral

¹ *Alphabetum Brammhanicum* (Rome, 1771), 29 ff.

² *Hindūstānī Gr.*, 5, 6.

³ *Hindī Gr.*, 15.

⁴ *Student's Marāṭhī Grammar*, 5.

sound on the other. Dr. Bailey says that "probably no cerebral [as defined by Colonel Lorimer and the *Prātiśākhya*s] is ever heard between Cape Comorin and the Pamirs", and I have not sufficient knowledge to criticize so universal a negative, even when modified by a "probably". But the statement which he combats has apparently been current in India, where these cerebrals are used, for two millenniums and a half.

We now come to the B cerebrals. In the description of these there is no mention of the tip of the tongue being rolled back, but the proper point of articulation is said to be "*anywhere* on the hard palate behind the teeth ridge". It is also stated that in modern Indian vernaculars cerebrals are also post-alveolar or pre-cerebral. I need not repeat what I have said about the latter equation. No one can exceed me in my appreciation of Dr. Grahame Bailey's power of hearing differences of sound, and I readily admit that when hearing a sound *written* as a cerebral, he sometimes hears an alveolar sound, instead of a cerebral. But this does not mean that cerebrals are alveolars. It means only that the alphabet in question is imperfect. As for his general statement about the point of articulation, I must confess that I have sought in vain for any authority that supports it. The nearest approach to such that I have found is what Newton says on p. 3 of his *Panjābī Manual*, viz. that cerebrals "must be pronounced with the tip of the tongue on the roof of the mouth, a little further back than when vocalizing the corresponding English letters". This closely corresponds to one of the infinite number of aspects presented by definition B, and it comes from the Panjāb, where, at least of late years, Dr. Bailey has chiefly resided. This has suggested to me that there may be local variations in the method of production of sounds represented in writing by cerebral letters. It is quite possible that in the Panjāb there may be alveolar *t*'s heard side by side with cerebral *t*'s, or even that what elsewhere in India are cerebral sounds are, in the Panjāb,

sounded as alveolars. If this is the explanation of the varying experiences of Colonel Lorimer and Dr. Bailey, there is nothing more to be said, except that it is not safe to give a general definition for the whole of India based on the peculiarities of one locality.

That there can be local variations of these sounds is borne out by various considerations. In the first place, there is the history of the letter *r*. In the Midland this represents a cerebral sound.¹ This is a commonplace, and I need give no reference. In the East, and in the Dardic languages and the extreme North-West, this letter represents a sound (and has done so since Aśoka's time) which is so purely dental that it is looked upon by native phoneticians as identical with the dental sound represented by the letter *l*. The phrase *ra-layōr aikyatā* is a stock expression in the mouths of the Paṇḍits of these parts.

A second consideration is that in Gujārātī the sound indicated by cerebral letters—which in other respects is produced as described in the Prātiśākhya, with the tongue curled backwards—has its point of articulation slightly different, viz. in the front part of the palatal dome—i.e. not alveolar or post-alveolar, but slightly pre-cerebral.²

A third consideration is based on my own experience. In the nineties of the last century, I imported a Kāshmīrī Paṇḍit to Patna. Half his time he spent at my table helping me to edit Kāshmīrī texts. The rest of his time he spent among the compositors in a local printing office, superintending the production of a Kāshmīrī book. The proprietor of the Press, while full of admiration for the Paṇḍit's learning, told me privately that his men found difficulties in understanding him, even when he spoke in Sanskrit. For instance, they never could be sure, when he was dictating Kāshmīrī, whether he was referring to boiled rice (*bata*) or

¹ The sounds of *r* and *r̥h* are classed by Indian scholars as hyper-cerebrals (*mūrdhanyatara*).

² Taylor's Gr., 3.

to a Brāhman (*baṭa*). Indeed, so slight, in the language spoken by Kāshmirī Paṇḍits, is the difference between their so-called cerebral (but really alveolar) and dental sounds, that in poems written by them in that language they have no hesitation in rhyming one with the other—a thing unheard of in India proper.¹

To sum up, the word “cerebral” is intended as the equivalent of the Indian word *mūrdhanya*, and that word has a special definite meaning, and we have no right to use it in any other sense. If Dr. Bailey finds sounds which do not agree with the definition of *mūrdhanya*, he cannot use *mūrdhanya*, or its English equivalent, “cerebral,” to indicate them. That the sounds which he describes exist, I readily admit, but they must be called by some other name.

I would therefore suggest that, as a question of definition, we should follow Colonel Lorimer in saying that the *t*-sounds of Ṣinā are nearly all alveolar (much as in English), but that in some words they are post-alveolar, but never dental or cerebral. The test of a cerebral letter, according to all authorities, is the rolling back of the tip of the tongue, with a contact at the highest part of the palate, and unless this occurs, the resultant sound is not cerebral.

In this note, I have confined myself to the sounds represented in Roman characters by the letter *t*, and no space has been left for the consideration of the other sounds touched upon by Dr. Bailey; but much of what I have said applies to them also. I may, however, add that I am not convinced that Colonel Lorimer’s “English *r*” is a cerebral *r*, as stated by Dr. Bailey. As pointed out above, the sound of the letter *r* is not that of a pure cerebral, but is hypercerebral. For pure cerebrals, the test is the same as before—the point of contact and the rolling back of the tip of the tongue,

¹ A striking example is found in the use of the Kāshmirī verb *pāṭhun*, to become. This has a dental *th*, but in certain idiomatic expressions in common use it is spoken with an (?) alveolar (written as a cerebral) *ṭh*. Thus, we have the very common interjection *aṣṭi-pāṭhi* (not *pāṭhi*), “may that be my luck also.” So, the Ksh. for “fist” is *muṣṭi*-, not *muṣṭi*-.

and I do not understand on what grounds Dr. Bailey speaks so positively. I myself can quote numerous examples in other languages, in which the sound represented elsewhere by *ḍ* is sounded (and even sometimes written) as a dental *r*. For instance, the word *ghōḍā* is in Bihār commonly pronounced, and sometimes even written, *ghōrā*, not *ghōṛā*.

As for aspirates, it is again a question of degree—this time of aspiration. Colonel Lorimer compares the aspiration of *Ṣiṇā* to the normal slight aspiration observed in the English pronunciation of voiceless plosives, e.g. when we sound “pit” as “p^hit^h”. If we desire to indicate the exact sounds, are we to write *p*, *p^h*, or *p^h*; *t*, *t^h*, or *t^h*? A similar question arises in *Ṣiṇā*. Colonel Lorimer represents the sound of the word meaning “to do” by *t^hōiki*, and Dr. Bailey by *thōiki*. Others, such as Biddulph or Leitner, represent it by *toiki*. It is difficult to say which is wrong, and it is equally difficult to say that all are not right. It depends on the amount of aspiration and on the way in which that amount is to be represented. My experience of the allied Kāshmīri leads me to the provisional opinion that the amount of aspiration differs according to the personal equation of the speaker or according to locality. That is to say that, in regard to a non-literary language like *Ṣiṇā*, before we can define the amount of aspiration, we must find our standard pronunciation, with which the aspiration or non-aspiration of any particular speaker can be compared. This has not yet been done for *Ṣiṇā*, and till that has been done we can make no general statements about aspiration in that language.

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A NOTE ON KUNDAMALA

Dr. F. W. Thomas, in his interesting note on the recently published *Kunda-mālā* in *JRAS.*, April, 1924, p. 261, raises a legitimate doubt regarding the genuineness of the attribution of its authorship to the Buddhist logician Dinnāga. Attention may be drawn in this connexion to Professor Lévi's

account of the *Nāṭya-darpaṇa* (in *JA*, t. cciii, Octobre-Décembre, 1923, at p. 195), where the author of this dramatic work is said to have quoted a *Kuṇḍa-mālā Vīraṇāga-nibaddha*. Professor Lévi's conjecture that this work is the same as *Kuṇḍamālā nāṭaka* by Nāgayya, mentioned by Burnell 168a (cf. Aufrecht, under Nāgayya), lacks corroboration; for this *Kuṇḍa-mālā* appears to consist of five acts only. The *Dhīraṇāga* of the Tanjore copy may not unlikely be this *Vīraṇāga* of the *Nāṭya-darpaṇa*. The *bhādanta* *Dhīraṇāga* of the *Subhaṣitāvalī* may or may not be the same person.

In the Preface to this book mention is made of Anaṅgahaṛṣa Māyurāja as the author of two plays, entitled respectively *Tāpasa-vatsarāja-carita* and *Udāṭṭa-rāghava*. Now, the Berlin MS. of the *Tāpasa-vatsarāja-carita* (Weber, No. 2166), of which I had the good fortune of consulting a rotograph transcript in the Bonn University Library, reads the name of the author as Anaṅgahaṛṣa Mātrārāja (and not Māyurāja), which is accepted by Hultzsch (*GN*, 1886, No. 7, p. 224), Sten Konow (*Ind. Drama*, § 93), and others. On the other hand, Māyurāja (without the other name Anaṅgahaṛṣa) is cited in the *Sūkti-muktāvalī*, and is considered by Bhaṭṭanātha Svāmin (*IA*, lxi, p. 139 f.), Sten Konow (op cit., § 94), and others to have been the author of the oft-quoted *Udāṭṭa-rāghava*, and not of the other drama. Is there any authority for identifying Mātrārāja of the *Tāpasa-vatsarāja-carita* with Māyurāja of the *Udāṭṭa-rāghava*, as the statement cited above would apparently imply?

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THE MORIYAS OF THE SANGAM WORKS

The Mōriyas of Pippalivana (lit. pepper-forest) are well known as a republican tribe, who lived on the Himālayan slopes north of Magadha and Kōsala, and claimed a share of Buddha's relics on his death in 544 B.C. We hear of them again in connexion with the Mauryas of Magadha (324 to

187 B.C.), whose origin is obscure, and the traditions about whom are conflicting. Candragupta is said to be the son or grandson of Mahāpadma Nanda or his predecessor by Murā, a Śūdra woman; but the Buddhist account that he was a Mōriya, through his father or mother, is the most probable explanation of his family name, and the Sanskrit form Maurya was mistaken for a metronymic, and led to the invention of a Murā to account for the name. The statement in the historical drama *Mudrā-Rākṣasa* (c. 600 A.C.) that his allies against Nanda were mostly mountain tribes confirms this account of his origin. It has been supposed that the Murā theory finds support in Khāravēla's Hāthigumphā inscription; but the passage referred to, i.e.,

राजमुरिकाले वोधिर्नच चोयठन्नगसत्तिकंतरियं उपादयति

really means that in the year 164 (of the first continuous era in India—the Samvat=106 A.C.) Khāravēla repaired a cave that had been in ruins since the time of King Muriya (of Kalinga). For the last time we hear of the Mauryas in the Kōnkaṇ in the 6th, 7th, and 8th centuries A.C. They seem in some obscure way to be related to the northern Mōriyas.

In the Tamil Sangam works they appear with Prākṛit names in four passages, recently much discussed, the *Puranānūru*, No. 175, and the *Ahanānūru*, Nos. 69, 251, and 281. The passages are almost identical in expression, and evidently refer to the same event. But in *Puranānūru*, No. 175, we have a variant reading *Ōriyar* for *Mōriyar*, and it is the reading adopted by the old scholiast, who does not even notice the reading *Mōriyar*. It has been argued that the scholiast's reading is correct, and should be adopted even for the lyrics from the *Ahanānūru*. But the latter has been critically edited by Mr. R. Rāghava Ayyangār, one of the greatest living Tamil scholars, and in none of the three poems from it is *Ōriyar* given even as a variant reading. For *Puranānūru*, No. 175, too, we have only the authority of the scholiast, for neither the word *Ōriyar* nor its supposed meaning "Nāgas or Vidyādhara" is met with elsewhere in Sanskrit

or Tamil literature. It is certainly not one of the synonyms given in lexicons for Nāga and Vidyādhara. Evidently the scholiast relied on the corrupt text before him, and did not trouble to collate other manuscripts of the *Puranānūru*, or even compare the lyrics from the *Ahanānūru*, but gave the interpretation that he thought suited the context best, accepting the reading. We can, therefore, safely conclude that the true reading must be *Mōriyar*, and not the unmeaning *Ōriyar*.

The context in the lyrics from the *Ahanānūru* is that the hero has gone in search of wealth to distant lands beyond a mountain, famous in South Indian history as that through which the Mōriyas invaded the Tamil country. The mountain is described as the snow-capped peak, towering to the skies (*vinṇura ōngiya paṇi irum kunṇam*), which certainly cannot be the Hīmālaya, as none would go beyond it in search of wealth, and as all the known Mōriyas lived to the south of it. The peak was not located, as it was evidently well known to the poets' contemporaries; but the *Puranānūru* No. 175 refers to the sun resting on a cleft in the mountain during its passage beyond. The peak must, therefore, be in the Western Ghats, as the sun moves from east to west; and the Mōriyas must have come from beyond it, i.e., from the Kōṅkaṇ. They came, it is said (*Ahanānūru*, No. 251), to help the Kōśar against Mōhūr, who is referred to in a similar connexion elsewhere (*Madurai-kkāñci*, lines 508-9 and comm.) as Palaiyan Mōhūr, the general of the Pāṇḍya Neḍunceliyan, the hero of the *Talai-ālaṅkānam*. The Kōśar ruled in the Tuḷu land (*Ahanānūru*, No. 15), and the advance-guard of the Mōriyas were the Vaṭukar (*Ahanānūru*, No. 281) of Erumai-nāḍu, i.e. Mahisha-maṇḍala (a country confused by the late Dr. Fleet with Māhishmatī, the capital city of the Anūpa country, along the Narmadā), now known as Mysore (*Ahanānūru*, No. 253). These facts confirm the inference that the Mōriyas, too, like their allies, the Kōśar and the Vaṭukar, must have come from the west coast. It is to

distinguish them, evidently, from the old Mōriyas that they are referred to as *new* Mōriyas (*vamba Mōriyar*) in *Ahanānūru* 251. This sense of *vamba* is met with in *Puranānūru* 3 also, though it is not its usual meaning. As the Mōriya invasion took place in the time of Neḍunceliyan, the poets evidently refer to a contemporary event. The battle was fought at the Podiyil hill (*Ahanānūru*, No. 251; *Kuruntōhai*, No. 15), which is evidently referred to as the southern peak (*ten diṣai mātiram*) in *Ahanānūru*, No. 281. The Podiyil hill is identical with the Malaya mountain, which forms the southern end of the Western Ghats, and the Kōśar came to it from Nallūr, evidently their capital city in the Tuḷu land (*Kuruntōhai*, No. 15).

It is thus clear that the Mōriyas of the Sangam age were identical with the Mauryas of the Kōnkaṇ, and that they invaded South India with the Vaṭukas (perhaps the modern Baḍagas of the Nilgiris) to help the Kōśar from Nallūr against Paḷaiyan Mōhūr at the battle of the Podiyil hill.

The Mauryas succeeded the Traikūṭakas as rulers of Kōnkaṇ only after 494 A.C., when the latter were still ruling there (Kielhorn, *List of Inscriptions in N. India*, No. 393). The Sangam age must, therefore, date after 500 A.C., as the works referred to here are all Sangam works. The *Tol-kāppiyam* also, which is the earliest extant Tamil work, and the only work that can be referred to the pre-Sangam period, must be dated after 400 A.C., as it refers to horary astrology (*Poruḷadhikāram-sūtra*, 135), borrowed from Paulus Alexandrinus, who wrote in 378 A.C. This chronology removes the gap of 400 years and more hitherto supposed to exist between the Sangam and later Tamil works, when the former were assigned to the second century A.C. and the latter to the seventh century A.C. and later. It also gives a much-desired continuity to the history of the life and literary activities of the Tamil people, which may now be traced in detail and with certainty.

K. G. ŚANKAR.

TRIVANDRUM.

21st November, 1923.

JRAS. OCTOBER 1924.

THE SVAPNA-VASAVADATTA OF BHASA

In further prosecuting the search for records of the *Svapna-Vāsavadattā* I have now fortunately obtained documentary authority in support of my position. A well-known work on rhetoric is the *Bhāva-prakāśa*, written in the 12th century A.D. by Śārādā-tanaya, and accepted as authority by Vidyānātha and others. In the eighth Adhikāra thereof the author, who is dealing with the features of the ten kinds of Rūpakas, after describing the five Jātis mentioned by Subandhu, viz., Pūrṇa, Prasānta, Bhāsvara, Lalita, and Samagra, says :—

“प्रशान्तरसभूयिष्ठं प्रशान्तं नाम नाटकम् ।
 न्यासो न्याससमुद्भेदो बीजोक्तिर्बीजदर्शनम् ॥
 ततो ऽनुद्दिष्टसंहारः प्रशान्ते पञ्च सन्धयः ।
 सात्वती वृत्तिरत्र स्यादिति द्रौहिणिरब्रवीत् ॥
 स्वप्नवासवदत्ताख्यमुदाहरणमत्र तु ।
 आच्छिद्य भूपाद् व्यसनाद् देवी मागधिकाकरे ॥
 न्यस्ता यतस्ततो (स्यास्य ? न्यासाद्) मुखसन्धिरयं भवेत् ।
 न्यासस्य च प्रतिमुखं समुद्भेद उदाहृतम् ॥
¹ पद्मावत्या मुखं वीक्ष्य विशेषकविभूषितम् ।
 जीवत्यावन्तिकेतद् ज्ञातं भूमिभुजा यथा ॥
 उत्कण्ठितेन सोद्वेगं बीजोक्तिर्नाम कीर्तनम् ।
 एहि वासवदत्तेति क्व यासीत्यादि दृश्यते ॥
 सहावस्थितयोरेकं प्राथ्यान्यस्य गवेषणम् ।
 दर्शनस्पर्शनालापैरेतत् स्याद् बीजदर्शनम् ॥
 अत्रोदाहरणं—
 चिरप्रसुप्तः कामो मे वीणया प्रतिबोधितः ।
 तां तु देवीं न पश्यामि यस्या घोषवती प्रिया ॥
 किं ते भूयः प्रियं कुर्यामिति वाग् यत्र नोच्यते ।
 तमनुद्दिष्टसंहारमित्याहुर्भरतादयः ॥”

These passages show that Vāsavadattā was separated from Vatsarāja and entrusted to Padmāvatī (as in the first act), that Vatsarāja believed that Vāsavadattā was alive (*vide*

¹ For this sloka refer to *Svapna-Vāsavadattā* with commentary (3rd edition) at p. 113, act v. .

fifth act), that the king feelingly called for Vāsavadattā by name and so on (as in the fifth act), and that the king, having obtained the viṇā Ghoshavati, searched for Vāsavadattā, its possessor (*vide* sixth act)—all as in the *Svapna-Vāsavadattā*; and further the verse चिरप्रसुप्तः कामो मे वीणया प्रतिबोधितः, found in the sixth act, is actually quoted.

Moreover, in the *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* of Bhojadeva, who lived in the eleventh century, a work on Rhetoric, accepted as authority by Vidyādhara, author of the *Ekāvali*, the *Svapna-Vāsavadattā* is mentioned by name, and the plot of the fifth act is thus described :—

“खमवासवदत्ते पद्मावतीमखस्यां द्रष्टुं राजा समुद्रगृहकं
गतः । पद्मावतीरहितं च तदवलोक्य तस्या एव शयने सु-
ष्याप । वासवदत्तां च खमवदस्मि ददर्श खमायमान-
श्च वासवदत्तामावभाषे । खमशब्देन चेह स्वापो वा
खमदर्शनं वा खमायितं वा विवक्षितम् ॥”

(12th Prakāśa of the *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*.)

What greater authority is required than what is furnished by these two writings, the *Bhāva-prakāśa* and *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* ? Had I obtained these before, there would not have been the slightest discussion over my view that Bhāsa was the author of this *Svapna-Vāsavadattā*. Luckily my opinion has now been vindicated.

T. GANAPATI SASTRI.

TRIVANDRUM.

"KUR.KUR = HELLEBORE

My identification of "KUR.KUR as *Hyoscyamus* (AH. 103) is wrong. In AM. 90, 1 r., 20, a plant "a-ta-i-ši heads a receipt : it occurs also as "pi(= wa)-ta-i-ši (Ebeling-Unger, *Archiv f. Keilschr.*, i, 36, ll. 3, 8). Although it is a rare name, its very position suggests that it is important, and probably a synonym for a well-known drug ; and from these passages it is neither "tarmuš, "maštakal, "šāšu, "imhurašrā, uhulu karnanu, "haldappānu, "nuhurtu, "annuhara, "azallū, "urnê, "kazal,

"*karan šelibi*, or "*dilbat*. A comparison of the two receipts in *Archiv.* (for *illatu*, "saliva," not *Kraft*, as Ebeling and Unger, and "too much saliva") with the similar *AM.* 31, 4, 11, suggests that "*ataiši*" = "*KUR.KUR*, one of the common drugs (*AH.* vii). We can now restore *CT.* xiv, 25, 25 (*AH.* 19, § 9 *AV.*) as "*at(t)-i-[-šu]*, a form of "*ataiši*, obviously עֲטִישָׁה (= "atishoo") "sneeze".

"*KUR.KUR*, thus "sneeze-plant", is already known (*AH.* 103) as a plant of the mountains, with power over heart (intelligence), common (*AH.* vii); externally for anus, eyes, throat or ears in wool, foul breath, toothache (*AM.* 30, 3, 13), too much saliva, and "hand of ghost" (see *JRAS.*, 1924, 452, 4): internally, drink, for "hand of ghost", stomach, urine, dyspnoea, purging (or vomiting? alone in beer), travail (alone in beer), by fumigation: enema.

A charm was written about it: it springs up in Makan, and the Moon-god . . . , and the Sun-god brought it down from the mountains: its roots fill the earth, its horns pierce the sky, and it seizes on the hearts of moon, oxen, sheep, asses, dogs, pigs, men, and women.

This clearly must be the *nieswurzel*, "hellebore," the black n. being *Helleborus niger*, L., and the white n., *Veratrum album*, L., both being sternutatory (the latter markedly so, Stillé and Maisch, *Nat. Dispens.*, 1690: Dioscorides, iv, cxlviii, and the former sufficiently, *Encycl. Brit.*, 11th ed., xiii, 235, of helleborein: J. Humphrey, *Drugs in Commerce*, 64). In ancient times "hellebore" appears to have been confused, but so long as both *helleborus* and *veratrum* are sternutatory, "*ataiši*" will be one or other of them. Their respective descriptions are:—

Veratrum: album, L. ("white hellebore"), mountains and rough places (Diosc., *ib.*), Caucasus (Boissier, *Flora Orient.*, v, 171; not in Post): prescribed by Diosc. for eyes, menses, killing the embryo, causing vomiting and sneezing. Stillé and Maisch say that in poisonous doses it causes heat in the stomach, vomiting, vertigo, etc.

Helleborus: "black hellebore": probably here *H. orientalis*, Lam. (cf. *Enc. Brit.*, ib. 235), Greece, Asia Minor (*Index Kewensis*, s.v., but several other kinds possible), found by Sibthorp in mountainous broken ground, with thick black rhizoma (*Penny Cyclop.*, xii, 112): of the hellebore, *Enc. Brit.* says: "The flowers have five persistent petaloid sepals, within the circle of which are placed the minute honey-containing tubular petals *in the form of a horn* (italics mine) with an irregular opening." The ancients prescribed it for insanity, bile, menses, bladder, bronchial maladies, fistulas, scabies, toothache (esp. by fumigation), warts, and to kill embryo (Diosc. iv, cxlix: Pliny, *NH.* xxv, 21: Ibn Baithar, No. 773), but as a modern drug it is in disfavour as a violent gastro-intestinal irritant (see *Enc. Brit.*, ib., Stillé-Maisch, ib., 808; L. Murray, *Apparatus Medicaminum*, iii, 55).

"*KUR.KUR* thus coincides very closely in almost every way with the ancient black hellebore; but even in Assyrian times it is possible that white and black were confused. *H. foetidus*, L. (South Europe), may perhaps be the "*PI.PI.NU.NU* or "*PI.PI.PI.TAK* of *AH.* 19, *PI.PI* being "foetid" (*AH.* 52).

R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON.

DRAKHME AND STATER IN KHOTAN

Attention has not, I think, been called to the mention of these Greek coins, or weights, in the Kharoṣṭhī documents discovered by Sir M. A. Stein, and edited by Messrs. Boyer, Rapson, and Senart in *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1920). As the matter is of some interest, it is worth while to cite the passages:—

(a) p. 15, No. 43: *etaṣa putra Livarajhṃa kanaga śakasyami kampo 1 suvārṇa-sadera 2 ladha*, "his son Livarajhṃa (= Lpivrasma¹ of p. 32) has obtained . . . 1 kampo and 2 gold staters."

¹ = Iranian *Frya-rasman* "battle-loving"?

(b) p. 118, No. 324: *imade mamnuśaga pratikara suvarna satera 2 trakhma 2*, "for this man the price (ransom, etc.) is 2 gold staters and 2 drachmas."

(c) p. 150, No. 419: *Anandaśa krida tita muli suvarna sadera 1*, "bought from Ānanda . . . price 1 gold stater."

That the words *sadera* (*satera*) and *trakhma* are here really the Greek *στατήρ* and *δραχμή* no one, I conceive, will question. But it is also of interest to note that in the transaction described in the document from which the passage (b) is taken one of the parties is the Vasu Yonu. It is probable that the *Yonu* here, as also the *Yona* on p. 15 (No. 46), and accordingly the *Yoni Kamśa* on p. 26 (No. 75), the *Yonu* on p. 29 (No. 79), the *Yonu* on p. 50 (No. 129), and the *Yona* on p. 79 (No. 204), are Greek in the same degree as the measures named. In most of these cases the word is apparently used as a proper name; but that is no serious objection, since in the documents we have, as was pointed out above (*JRAS.* 1921, p. 279), no lack of parallels.

In the country of Kesh (Ki-shwang-na), where Hiuen-Tsang found that "The language differs somewhat from that of other countries. The number of radical letters is twenty-five; by combining these they express all objects around them. Their writing is across the page, and they read from left to right" (Beal, i, p. 38), the Greek alphabet (for no other can be meant) seems to have persisted long, and possibly M. Foucher is discovering remains of it in Balkh. But we shall hardly find Greek further east.

F. W. THOMAS.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

PALI DHAMMA. Vornehmlich in der kanonischen Literatur.
Von MAGDALENE und WILHELM GEIGER. 4to, 129 pp.
München: Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie
der Wissenschaften, 1921.

There was another wise man of Southern Germany who saw the way of the worlds as "unresting, unhasting". So here and so only now are we mindful of a work which, it too, is after these three years in no way a thing of yesterday, nor is likely to become so after many more such triplets of time. The lasting value of such a more or less exhaustive inquiry into classic Pali uses of the term *dhamma*, -ā, is patent to all who have sought thoroughly to grasp and rightly to word it in European languages. They know that in none of these is there any one word to equate the Pali word. They know that *dhamma*, -ā in the manifold evolution of Buddhist culture served as a great magnet attracting to itself, as concept, various meanings and emphases. Thus from Vedic culture came to it the legal meaning of "right" (*le droit*) and of order (*ṛta*) conceived as cosmic and prior to god-concepts. Far later, the analyses of Buddhist commentators realized a complexity in the term's meaning, and did their best to make this patent. A little later still, metaphysic, for which the commentators had no ability, but of which Vasubandhu was capable, show *dhammā* to have superseded in importance (for his little world) the older *dhamma*, and to mean, for his Pluralism, a number of irreducible ultimates. In the Piṭakas of the Canon how interesting (if a little baffling) is it to see the meeting-ground of all this attracted matter, both of older and contemporary other-culture, as well as the germs of later developments, in that notable trinity of patchwork: Vinaya, Sutta, Abhidhamma! And all of it clustering on to the loadstone of the little, handy, current word *dhamma*, used probably without

any more pregnant meaning than the *kērugmos* or “preaching” so frequent in the Christian gospels, by the founder and his disciples, and also by questioners. “What is this *dhamma*, they would ask, by which you train your disciples?” (*Dīgha*, iii, 40). “Whose *dhamma* have you been studying?” “Enough, friend!” he would say, “I will teach you *dhamma*.” And *dhamma* was not just preachment, but bearing on the “ought to be done”, for the meaning of *a-dhamma* as unlawful was a very integral quality. Nor need that check us in rendering *dhammā* in the Piṭaka usage by “things”, whenever it is clear that “doctrines” are not meant. For “thing” may be a pretty colourless word now among us of England, but a Scandinavian, or a Lithuanian (if Skeat be right) would not see it as such. For such there is still plenty of the “right”, the “fit”, “law”, in the word “thing”. We have “fact”, “phenomenon”, to help us out for the actual—why not try to restore the normative force in “thing”?

But the Buddhist editors could not see a simple *kērussōn* (an *akkhāmana*) in *dhamma*. Generation after generation had gone by since the founder’s day, building up a trinity—as churches will—of transcendent names. We have easily come to recognize the Buddhology in Buddhism, and the Sanghology was there very early. We have not so clearly recognized the cult of Dhammology. The Theravādins put a pregnant word in Gotama’s mouth when he a-dying said the Dhamma was to be his successor.

Bearing this standpoint of becoming, of *werden* ever in view in respect both of the word and the scriptures, we hail, in this thesaurus of assorted references by Dr. and Mrs. Geiger, an indispensable friend to the Pali student for purposes of reference. (For reading through, hardly; no more than we “read” a dictionary. And the authors describe their work as a *Beitrag* to a dictionary.) Just here and there they speak less like the modern historical scholars they are, more like the old-world Piṭaka editors. Thus: “the world-law of the eternal becoming and passing away it is that the Buddha preached”

(p. 5). I wonder if Gotama did? It is not given as his gospel in the first addresses, nor in his charge to his first missionaries. So I add the *caveat* to our welcome.

They go even further than those editors in the words "The quintessence of the Buddha-teaching is : *ye dhammā hetupphavā tesam hetum . . .*" (p. 85). This later tag came to be notable enough, but it is evidently interpolated in the one passage in all the Piṭakas where, as I believe at present, it occurs (*Vin.* i, 40, 41), and where it is a pretty bad misfit with the prose refrain of that and many contexts : *yam kiñci dhammam . . .* Compared with *this* it is a great stride in the *werden* of Buddhology. *This* says just "all is *anicca*"; *that* says "the Buddha tells the causal history of all caused things". In either case these words are not the "quintessence" of the message of that true helper of man who substituted the way of the good life for an amoral cult of priestdom, ritual, and sacrifice, and for the barriers between man and man of social rank.

Here, surely, and not in any doctrine about cause, is the quintessence of Gotama's *dhamma*. Much more he doubtlessly must have talked about with this thoughtful man and that in his long devoted life. He must himself have learnt much in those talks. And probably that ascetic view of causation imputed to him, and which he shrank from uttering, and did not at first bring forward, came into those talks. It became part of the Dhammology cult, because it appealed to an ascetic "sanghological" ideal:—Stop the *cause* of sorrow (craving, birth-death), and you stop sorrow.

And so long as we check all modern labelling, by East and by West, of this or that as "central" or "quintessential", with the question : "when" and "where" did this begin to be held as such? we can thankfully study such works of excellent service as this on Dhamma.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

Recent Books on India

- 1.—STUDIES IN SOUTH INDIAN JAINISM. By M. S. RAMASWAMI AYYANGAR, M.A., and B. SESHAGIRI RAO, M.A. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, v + 327 pp. Madras : Premier Press, 1922.

This volume constitutes the first of a series of books bearing the title of the Vizianagram Maharaja's College Publications, and the two contributors are both lecturers, in history and economics, and in English respectively, in the Maharaja's College at Vizianagram. It comprises two monographs, occupying respectively with appendices and indices 183 and 144 pages, which are numbered separately. The first monograph deals with South India Jainism generally. The writer, who quotes a number of Tamil authorities in the original, arrives at the conclusion that the Jains wielded great influence in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, but that this influence gradually diminished. The rise of Śaiva Nayanars and their organized efforts to stamp out Jainism, and the conversions of Kun Pandya and of the Pallava king led to the downfall of the Jains in the Tamil land about A.D. 750, and after that, owing to further persecution at the hands of the Vaishnava Alvars, the Jains, by the end of the tenth century, ceased to occupy a position of any importance or prominence.

The second monograph deals with Jainism in the Andhra and Karnata districts of the Madras Presidency, and most of the authorities, which are cited, are in the Telegu language. The view adopted as the basis of the thesis is that Jainism was probably pre-Mauryan and that its influence, humanizing and cultural, was working in this locality before the Asokan version of Buddha's teaching reached it, the prevalence of its characteristic doctrine of Ahimsa having prepared the Andhras and Kalingas to receive the Buddhist teachings favourably. There are three chapters in this section of the volume, one of which deals in a very interesting way with the progress of the study of epigraphy bearing on the subject, while another is occupied with Jainism as embodied in Andhra-Karnata

literary tradition. Both these monographs are well written and show a fair and critical spirit in discussing the far from easy questions which present themselves for solution and which are in some cases candidly admitted to be at present incapable of solution.

- 2.—THE RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES AND CUSTOMS OF THE PARSEES. By JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, 211 + 484 pp., 4 plans. Bombay: British India Press, Mazagaon, 1922.

This exceptionally interesting book may be said to constitute the culminating point of a long and laborious lifetime devoted throughout to Iranian studies. How fruitful this lifetime has been in literary output both in English and in Gujarati may be gauged from the long list of works by the author which follows the preface and list of contents of this book. It is now thirty-one years since the Government of India conferred on Doctor Modi the title of Shams-ul-'Ulama and more than twenty years have elapsed since the present writer had the pleasure of an interview with him in Bombay and received from him a very generous gift of books and a great deal of valuable advice which have both aided greatly in the subsequent prosecution of the study of Avestan and Pahlavi. The present book is an amplification, on a very full and elaborate scale, of an article contributed by Doctor Modi on Parsi ceremonies and customs to Hastings' *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*. It first deals in succession with the matters connected with births, marriages, and funerals. The next three chapters deal with the special purificatory ceremonies, the *padjab*, *nahn*, *bareshtnum*, and *riman*, and with the ordinary purificatory processes and customs in daily life. The third section consists of two chapters treating the initiation ceremonies, the first dealing with the *naojot*, the initiation of a child into the Zoroastrian fold, and the second with *navar* and *martab* (a word, unlike most of the technical terms of this type, of Arabic origin, akin to مرتبة), the two stages of

initiation into the priesthood. The fourth section contains three chapters dealing with consecration ceremonies relating respectively to the sacred fire and fire-temples, the tower of silence, and certain essential requisites, e.g. *gaomez* and the sacred white bull, connected with religious ceremonies. These four sections occupy 259 pages of the book. The remaining 225 pages constitute one large section, devoted to the ceremonies, which are purely liturgical. Four chapters deal with the inner liturgical ceremonies, the Yasna, Visparad, Vendidad and Baj ceremonies. The last four chapters are concerned with the outer liturgical services, the Afringan (in which the use of flowers plays a prominent part), the Farokshi (prayers for, and invocations to, the dead), the Satum (a hymn of praise for the dead), and finally several large groups of minor ceremonies which it is not necessary to mention in detail.

In treating all these subjects the author has followed the advice given to him by the late Professor Mills, of Oxford University, to be "absolutely exhaustive as to details". It is not possible to imagine anything more complete and exhaustive than the treatment meted out by Doctor Modi to each of the subjects indicated. They are all handled with profound learning and scholarship and illustrated by a wealth of philological and anthropological lore derived from the extensive reading of a long life. The result is a work of surpassing interest which will serve to constitute an enduring monument to the writer so long as Iranian studies are cultivated. It is to be regretted that the general get-up of the book cannot be described as worthy of its contents, the paper and typography being of poor quality.

- 3.—THE COMMENTARY OF FATHER MONTSERRATE, S.J., ON HIS JOURNEY TO THE COURT OF AKBAR. Translated from the original Latin by J. S. HOYLAND, M.A., Hislop College, Nagpur, and annotated by S. N. BANERJI, M.A., Professor of History, Mahindra College, Patiala. 7½ × 5, lxviii + 220 pp. Oxford: University Press, 1922.

Father Montserrate died in 1600 at Salsette, but very little is known about his early life. When Lisbon was devastated by the great plague in 1569 he was a member of the monastery of St. Martha and showed great zeal in tending the sick and helping the destitute. He was a member of the first Jesuit mission to the court of Akbar which left Goa in November, 1579, and reached Fatehpur Sikri at the beginning of March, 1580. They were well received, and Father Montserrate was shortly afterwards appointed tutor to Akbar's second son, Murad. In 1581, he accompanied the Emperor as far as Peshawar, when Akbar marched against his half-brother Mirza Muhammad Hakim, who had invaded the Panjab. He afterwards proceeded with the rearguard of the Mughal army to Jalalabad. On returning from this expedition Father Montserrate remained at Fatehpur Sikri for some time until, irritated by the shifty conduct of Akbar and the promulgation of the Din-i-Ilahi, he went to be with Murad at Agra. In April, 1582, Akbar sent an embassy to Europe, and Montserrate accompanied it as far as Goa, where he remained until 1588, in which year he was ordered to proceed to Abyssinia. He had spent part of the intervening time in writing, at the direction of the Provincial of Goa, an account of Akbar and his Empire. This manuscript he took with him in the hope of finishing it in Abyssinia. He never reached that country, however, as the vessel in which he was sailing was seized by the Arabs and he remained in captivity until he was ransomed in 1596. His health had been broken by his troubles and he only lived four years after his release. He had in the meantime finished his Commentary at Sana'a in Arabia during his captivity in December, 1590. This Commentary, for some unexplained reason, never reached Europe. The MS. found its way to Calcutta in the beginning of the last century, and it was eventually discovered in 1906 in St. Paul's Cathedral Library. The Latin text, carefully edited by Father Hosten, S.J., was published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1914, and it is now a matter of extreme satisfaction

that an adequate English translation of the crabbed and difficult Latin original, with a most illuminating introduction and very useful marginal notes, has been given to the world. The importance of the work as an original historical authority can hardly be exaggerated. It throws fresh light on a period of Indian history which is of the highest, indeed unique, interest. It supplies, as the introduction justly claims, "a hundred sidelights upon different aspects of the Emperor's character, his grim severity, his humour, his munificence, his penuriousness, his keen and critical insight, his credulity and superstition." The author shows a vein of dry and caustic humour, but his journal is filled with bitter attacks on Islam. It has been fairly said, however, that his intense bigotry adds to the value of his testimony to the greatness of the Mughal civilization, because if an observer so prejudiced against the very basis of that civilization furnishes so favourable a picture of it the reality must indeed have been supremely great. A portion of the journal, consisting of tales of no historical value, collected by Montserrate about Jenghiz Khan and Timur, has been judiciously omitted from the commentary and relegated to an appendix. It may be remarked, in conclusion, that the account given on pp. 196-8 of Akbar's personal characteristics will be of quite exceptional interest to all admirers of the greatest of the Mughals.

- 4.—THE PRIVATE DIARY OF ANANDA RANGA PILLAI. Translated from the Tamil by order of the Government of Madras. Edited by H. DODWELL, M.A., Curator, Madras Record Office. Vol. vii, 1919; vol. viii, 1920. 9 × 5½, xxv + 478 pp. Madras: Superintendent Government Press, 1922.

These two volumes comprise Ranga Pillai's diary from April 1st, 1750, to April 30th, 1751, and from May 3rd, 1751, to December 8th, 1752, respectively. The material in the first of them is distributed very unevenly from a chronological point of view, as nearly the whole volume deals with the events of the

seven months embracing April–October, 1750, and there is a deplorable lacuna extending from October 29th up to April 16th of the following year. The second volume is much more continuous, the March and April of 1752 being the only months which have no entry at all relating to them. It cannot really be said that there is much matter of vital or absorbing interest in either volume, though there is much that will repay reading, both from the point of view of psychological analysis and from the standpoint of the historian anxious to have as many sidelights as possible on a period immediately preceding a supreme crisis in the history of European interference in India. At the end of the period covered by the first volume the French seemed everywhere successful. Whenever the English had attempted to interfere adversely to the French they had done so in a half-hearted manner which led to nothing. As Ranga Pillai remarks, they were like the jackal who burnt his skin in stripes to imitate the tiger and perished in anguish. Yet already on September 28th, 1750, he had recorded the arrival of Thomas Saunders, as Governor of Fort St. David, a cold, austere, and silent man, before whose implacable hostility the brilliant successes of Dupleix were destined to melt away, and who, before his own return to England, was to witness the recall of his great rival. The second volume shows the beginning of the fall of Dupleix, and exhibits him as an emotional and excitable man, though thoroughly unscrupulous in his methods. The index to the volume contains no less than 30 references to Clive, but on verifying them it was found that with the exception of three or four slight incidental mentions of Clive's name in the diary they all refer to footnotes in which the name of Clive occurs.

- 5.—THE LATER MUGHALS. By WILLIAM IRVINE, I.C.S. (retired), edited and augmented with the history of Nadir Shah's invasion by JADUNATH SARKAR, I.E.S. Vol. i, 1707–20; vol. ii, 1719–39. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Vol. i, xxxii + 432 pp.; vol. ii, 392 pp. Calcutta: Sarkar & Sons, 1922.

These two books constitute not only an admirable and fitting coping stone to the edifice of historical research begun by the late Mr. Irvine, but furnish an interesting and convincing instance of the satisfactory manner in which it is possible for European and Indian scholars to co-operate. Professor Jadunath Sarkar, a part of whose excellent monograph on Aurangzib has already been noticed in a recent review, has not only revised and completed the unfinished part of Irvine's work and made substantial additions to it, but he has contributed a highly interesting biographical sketch which shows how much was lost to Indian historical studies when Irvine died without being able to complete the work which he had begun in 1890, and which had been delayed by his undertaking the edition of Manucci's travels. This intermediate task delayed the execution of the big historical project, as it occupied seven years of hard work, and it has so happened that it now constitutes Irvine's chief title to fame as a scholar and historian. William Irvine's official career in India began and ended in the same district, Saharanpur, and covered only the minimum period of twenty-five years (1863 to 1888) qualifying him for the full pension. He had, during his service in India, shown his interest in, and his competence for dealing with, Indian history by the monograph, published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1878-9, on the Bangash Nawabs of Farrukhabad. His best official work was connected with the district of Ghazipur, in which he acted as Settlement Officer and later as Collector for a total period of seven years. He had acquired in India a very large collection of Persian MSS. and had become unusually proficient in reading them. With such materials at hand and with a fine knowledge of European languages, which opened up to him the original Portuguese and Dutch records, he was exceptionally well equipped for the task which he had chosen as his life-work, a history of the later Mughal Emperors which was to cover the century from the death of Aurangzib in 1707 to the capture of Delhi by the English in 1803. Students of

Indian history must greatly regret that the work as planned never reached completion. It would have been an immense gain if Irvine had been able to continue his self-imposed task up to 1765, the year after which the Persian records cease to be of primary value. As it is, we have to be very grateful for the present work which carries on the history of the later Mughals to the year 1739, and we must content ourselves with expressing the hope that Professor Sarkar, who is better equipped perhaps than any other living historical scholar to complete Irvine's work, may have the time and energy to carry out as far as possible Irvine's original design, and may be able to utilize a good deal of fresh material which was not available in the lifetime of the designer.

- 6.—BENGALI PROSE STYLE (1800–57). (Ramtanu Lahiri Fellowship Lectures for 1919–20.) By RAI SAHIB DINESH CHANDRA SEN, B.A. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xxxi + 153 pp. University of Calcutta, 1921.

This little book of 144 pages emanates from the author of several books, more especially a history of the Bengali language and literature and a monograph on the Vaiṣṇava literature of mediæval Bengal, which have been very favourably received by European scholars. It contains an interesting sketch of the development of modern Bengali prose, illustrated by a considerable number of quotations, both lengthy and brief. Mr. Sen is, as his previous output has abundantly proved, a man of great learning, sympathy with literature, and scholarly tastes, and this rather slight sketch of his bears traces of all these qualities. It consists of six chapters, the first of which deals with Bengali prose before Raja Ram Mohan Roy, while the second discusses the grammatical peculiarities of old Bengali prose. The third chapter is concerned with the advent of English education and the influence of English scholars and missionaries, in particular, on Bengali prose. Mr. Sen pays a very generous and appreciative tribute to the work done by the great

Missionary, Dr. Carey, and gives a short outline of his long career of 41 years in India. The fourth chapter discusses Raja Ram Mohan Roy and his school. The fifth, which is the shortest, deals with words and phrases which have undergone a change since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The last chapter gives specimens of the style of Vidyasagar and Akshay Datta. The book closes abruptly and there is no general summing-up at the end of the kind which might have been expected, if the writer had not disarmed criticism by his frank preface, which shows that the book merely consists of a collection of lectures dictated from a sick-bed for the benefit of students who were offering the subject of Bengali prose and its history for examination purposes.

- 7.—SOME CONTRIBUTIONS OF SOUTH INDIA CULTURE. By S. KRISHNASWAMI Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xxx + 431 pp. University of Calcutta, 1923.

This big book naturally contains a great deal of matter, but it is written in a very uninteresting style and does not seem to lead anywhere or to establish any definite position. The writer is plainly a scholar who has acquired a considerable amount of knowledge, but he is not a clear thinker and he has not the gift of setting out his conclusions in a positive and definite form. It would be very difficult for any one after reading it to give any satisfactory answer to the obvious question suggested by the title of the book, viz. what are the precise contributions which South India has made to general Indian culture?

- 8.—FROM AKBAR TO AURANGZEB. A Study in Indian Economic History. By W. H. MORELAND, C.S.I., C.I.E. $9 \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, xiii + 346 pp., 2 maps. London: Macmillan & Co., 1923.

This valuable book is a continuation of Mr. Moreland's excellent study of the condition of India in 1605 at the death of Akbar. The writer, as in his previous work, marshals his facts with extreme skill and writes with admirable clearness

and freedom from bias and prejudice of all kinds. He has again succeeded in making what might otherwise have been a dull subject full of fascination and interest. As he explains in his preface, the period selected for the theme of this book has, apart from dynastic considerations, a unity of its own. It is marked by the elimination of the Portuguese, the establishment of Dutch and English merchants in the country, and it covers the most significant stages in the progressive deterioration of Akbar's administrative institutions. Mr. Moreland points out that it was the Dutch, not the English, who succeeded to the mastery of the Asiatic seas enjoyed by the Portuguese, and that the neglect hitherto, both by the Dutch and English historians of the subject of Indian commerce at this stage, is a matter to be deplored. The Dutch sources of information are definitely superior to the English sources in both quantity and quality, but Dutch scholars have not unnaturally devoted most of their energies to the history of their great island-empire rather than the affairs of a mainland in which the Dutch have retained no footing, while ignorance of the language has prevented most English and Indian historians from using even the published materials available in Dutch. Mr. Moreland's own book goes a great way towards remedying this omission, and the very full bibliographies, which follow each chapter, will enable historical students to test his conclusions, which are invariably put forward in a very moderate and unprovocative tone. The account given of the early spice trade and of the gradual development of trading in cloth and indigo and other commodities is a very attractive narrative. Mr. Moreland undoubtedly has the rare gift of dealing with a thorny and intricate subject in such a way as to make it of enthralling and absorbing interest. It would swell this notice to quite unreasonable length to discuss even briefly any of the economic questions raised by this book, but it may be said without being venturesomely dogmatic that the final conclusion arrived at in it by the author, viz. that while India benefited

by an increase in the efficiency of the marketing agencies at her disposal, she suffered from the intensification of the economic parasitism which was destroying her productive energies, is one which it will be found exceedingly difficult to refute.

- 9.—STUDIES IN PARSEE HISTORY. By SHAHPURSHAH HORMASJI HODIVALA, M.A., Principal, Bahauddin College, Junagarh, Bombay. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6$, 349 pp., 25 plates. Bombay, 1920.

This book is merely a collection of papers on questions connected with the early history of the Parsis in India. Out of these ten papers no less than six were read during the years 1913 and 1914 in Bombay before the Society for the Promotion of Zoroastrian Research, while one was read in 1913 before the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. It does not appear from the preface, in which the author states with engaging frankness that his book is the product of twenty-five years of industrious study of the subject, and of long-continued search for new materials and sources of information in all directions, that he has subsequently subjected these papers to any process of revision or amplification. The present reviewer must, while fully acknowledging the obvious indications of great zeal and industry apparent everywhere in these papers, admit at the same time that, with one exception, the papers included in this volume are highly technical and uninspiring and likely to make an appeal to a very limited public. The exception is the fourth essay, which is now published for the first time. This contains a full translation with useful footnotes of a most interesting Persian poem, the *Qissa* of Sanjana. This poem was written by a Parsi priest in A.D. 1600. The writer, Bahman Sanjana, gives in 864 lines the earliest traditional account of the flight of the Parsis from Persia, when they sought refuge in India to escape from persecution at the hands of the followers of Islam. An English translation of this poem was made in 1844 by Eastwick and

was published in the first volume of the *Journal* of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. That version was, however, full of errors, and there can be no doubt that the present translation, though couched in rather unidiomatic English, is much more reliable. This volume, besides the ten essays, contains at the end a very interesting collection of facsimiles of ancient documents bearing on Parsi history, which adds considerably to its value.

- 10.—A FORGOTTEN EMPIRE (VIJAYANAGAR). A Contribution to the History of India. By ROBERT SEWELL, Madras Civil Service (retired), M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 9$, xi + 427 pp. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. First published in 1900, reprinted in 1924.

This reprint, now published twenty-four years after the original edition, has been executed in Saxony by the Rodar process. It contains Mr. Sewell's fascinating narrative of the rise and fall of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar in Southern India. The rapid rise, the amazing grandeur and prodigious wealth, and the sudden and complete disappearance of the capital of this kingdom, constitute together one of the most remarkable phenomena in the history of India, or indeed of any country. It grew with almost magical rapidity to incredible wealth, power, and magnificence, its rise starting in the fourteenth century a few years before the battle of Crecy, while less than seven years after Elizabeth came to the throne of England it fell with a suddenness even more surprising than its rise. More than half of this substantial volume is devoted to an account, comprising seventeen chapters, contributed by Mr. Sewell himself, in the course of which he describes in a graphic manner the foundation of the great city of Vijayanagar, the three dynasties of kings who held sway over it, and its ultimate disaster. The rest of the book, apart from the index and appendices containing useful genealogical tables, consists of a translation from the Portuguese of two chronicles written about 1520 and 1535 by two Portuguese

travellers named Domingo Paes and Fernao Nuniz, who visited Vijayanagar when it was at the very zenith of its splendour. The narratives of these travellers furnish a very vivid picture of the enormous riches concentrated in the city of Vijayanagar at that period. An earlier Italian traveller, Nicolo, who visited the city in 1420 or 1421, relates that it had a circumference of 60 miles and contained ninety thousand men fit to bear arms, while the whole army of the state exceeded a million in number.

Ultimately the arrogance and aggressiveness of the Hindu king, Râja Râya, whose immense revenues were derived from as many as sixty seaports and very large territories and dependencies, brought about a coalition of four powerful Musalman princes, the rulers of Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Ahmadpur, and Golkonda, against him, and a great battle took place at Talikota on the 23rd January, 1565. The Hindu army is estimated by the historian Firishtah as amounting to 900,000 infantry, 45,000 cavalry, and two thousand elephants, but although the preliminary stages of the battle went in favour of the Hindus, it ended in a complete and crushing victory for the Musalman confederacy, the Hindu king being captured and decapitated on the field of battle. The victorious Musalman hosts proceeded to the capital, which they sacked and destroyed with ruthless ferocity. The prodigious wealth, which had accumulated in Vijayanagar, may be realized from the fact that 550 elephants laden with gold, diamonds, and precious stones, valued at over a hundred millions sterling, had already left the city in the company of panic-stricken princes of the royal house, as soon as tidings of the disastrous defeat had been received from fugitive soldiers. Mr. Sewell describes very vividly the violence and the iconoclastic fervour with which the splendid city was reduced to ruin and its magnificent temples and elaborate sculptures burnt and smashed. Vijayanagar has never recovered from this deadly blow, but has remained a scene of abiding desolation and ruin.

It may be remarked in conclusion that the typography and general get-up of this very useful reprint are excellent, but although a good deal of trouble was taken by Mr. Sewell over the spelling of Hindu proper names, there are many errors in Musalman names. "Hussain" for "Husain", "Asada Khan" for "Asad Khan", "Ain-ul-Mulkh" for "Ain-ul-Mulk" may be cited as typical and frequent mistakes, which have been reproduced in the reprint.

- 11.—THE OCEAN OF STORY, being C. H. TAWNEY'S translation of SOMADEVA'S *Katha-Sarit-Sagara*. Edited by N. M. PENZER, M.A., F.R.G.S., F.G.S., in ten volumes. Volume I. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$, xli + 335 pp. London: printed privately for subscribers only by Chas. J. Sawyer, Ltd., Grafton House, 1924.

The publication of the first volume of the series of ten volumes, which this work will eventually comprise, is a noteworthy incident in Oriental scholarship, and deserves to be heralded with unreserved congratulation. Tawney's translation of the *Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara* was originally published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in their *Bibliotheca Indica* series (1880-4). That translation is now practically inaccessible. The present ambitiously conceived project will render the original translation available in an improved form, accompanied by notes and appendices which will, it is calculated, make this edition eight times as large in bulk as its predecessor. Charles Henry Tawney (1837-1922) was a man of great scholarly ability and of zealous industry throughout a long life. A Senior Classic of Cambridge, he had, before attempting to translate the *Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara*, proved and improved his knowledge of Sanskrit by rendering into English two Sanskrit plays (the *Uttara-Rāma-Carita* of Bhavabhūti, and the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa) and two of the "Centuries" of the poet Bhartṛhari. The following quotation from the preface to the last translation, will show that Tawney regarded the function of a translator from an eminently sane

point of view :—" A certain amount of fidelity to the original even at the risk of making oneself ridiculous, is better than the studied dishonesty which characterizes many translations of Oriental poets."

The translation now reproduced is, it is hardly necessary to state, a sound and reliable one, and it is almost equally superfluous to add that the subject-matter of the Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara is of very great interest, comprising as it does, a collection of folk-lore and folk-stories, which it would be difficult to parallel in quantity and quality. What, however, makes the present publication of remarkable and surpassing interest is the wealth of anthropological lore poured forth lavishly in the footnotes and appendices. There has been nothing like it before, except in Burton's *magnum opus*, and Mr. Penzer is obviously an ardent disciple of Burton, though his treatment of erotic *arcana* is much more scholarly, reserved, and impersonal, than the method sometimes adopted by Burton. The present volume contains four appendices, covering 82 pages, dealing respectively with the mythical beings mentioned in the story, the use of collyrium and *koḥl*, the *dohada* or craving of the pregnant woman as a motif in Hindu fiction, and lastly and at considerable length, the history and development of sacred prostitution. In addition to this, there are notes appended to many of the chapters of the story on such subjects as *deisul* or circumambulation, the chastity index motif, the external soul motif, the Garuḍa bird, the Paisācī language, the Gāndharva form of marriage, communicating by signs, the entrapped suitor motif, and the magical articles motif, besides a great quantity of footnotes, many of which are of fascinating interest. The general get-up of the book, the paper, and the binding, is of first-rate quality. The work when completed, will be a notable addition to the library of every scholar from every point of view. The present writer has found no errors in the book, except an apparent blunder on page 104, where reference is made to " the eurosh of the Zend ". This is unintelligible, and may be a mistake

for surosh (the modern Persian سروش), an equivalent for the Avestan sraosha.

- 12.—THE NATIONS OF TO-DAY, A NEW HISTORY OF THE WORLD : INDIA. By Sir VERNEY LOVETT, K.C.S.I., M.A.
9 × 6, 295 pp., 2 maps. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

The writer of this book may, without exaggeration, be said to have accomplished a supremely difficult task with an astonishing degree of success. To make an adequate and attractive compression of the whole history of India into 232 pages, and give a clear and vivid picture of each of its widely differing stages, while preserving due proportion and refraining from over-stressing one period at the expense of others, was in itself sufficiently difficult. This feat has been performed with an ease which disguises its intrinsic difficulty, but the real triumph achieved by Sir Verney Lovett is the treatment, in the last quarter of the book, of the period beginning with the outbreak of the War in 1914, and ending in 1923. The style throughout is clear and logical, devoid of any straining for effect, and the tone both judicial and stimulating, without being provocative. The multitudinous modern problems of political India are discussed with an impartiality and fairness, which cannot fail to create admiration in the minds of those who understand their complexity. As a typical example of the judicial spirit which characterizes the book, a few sentences dealing with the thorny Amritsar question may be quoted :—
“It appears that all through those terrible minutes his (General Dyer’s) mind was filled to overflowing with three considerations, the futility of all previous measures, the continuous attempts to isolate his force, the certainty that if it were swept away, massacre and destruction would reign unchecked far and wide. We must deeply regret that the thoughts which possessed him left no room for cooler observation or for the natural compassion which must otherwise have interposed. But there can be no doubt that he was confronted

by a terrible and highly critical emergency, and by a wide impression that the arm of the Government was paralysed."

It would be very difficult, though these words were written before the recent ventilation of the Amritsar affair in the law courts, to improve on them as a final pronouncement on the matter.

The book begins with an introduction dealing in a very luminous manner with the geographical, ethnological, and political divisions of India. The main history is divided into four parts, the first embracing the Hindu and Muhammadan periods up to the battle of Plassey, the second dealing with the British period up to 1861, the third carrying on the account of British rule up to 1914, and the last, as already stated, bringing the narrative of Indian political developments down to the present day. The rest of the book provides useful chronological tables and an ample bibliography, along with an admirable and clearly written section of 45 pages dealing with the economics of India, i.e. its agriculture, forests, mines, commerce, railways and finance, for which Mr. H. R. C. Hailey is responsible.

The typography and the general appearance of the book is, as in all other volumes of this excellent series, of an attractive nature, while the spelling of Oriental names of places and persons is on the whole consistent and accurate. The omission of the final *h* in such names as Siraj-ud-daula (p. 71) and Habib-ulla (p. 211) and the retention of Babar for Babur, the form now accepted by scholars, are among the very few exceptions which the writer has noticed.

R. P. DEWHURST.

ECONOMIC CONDITION OF ANCIENT INDIA. By J. N. SAMADDAR. 8vo, xvi + 166 pp. University of Calcutta, 1922.

This book contains six lectures delivered by the author, who is a lecturer in History, before the University of Calcutta during 1922. Each lecture deals with one subject, the

Vedas, Manu, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, and the Buddhist Jātakas, selects from those authorities a large number of passages regarding agriculture, trade, the handicrafts, coinage, etc., and seeks to indicate what economic conditions are implied therein. He calls the lectures pioneer work, and that is a right description, for he does not observe chronological order in the times that those works deal with and relate to. For instance, he does not consider whether the author of the Rāmāyaṇa, in depicting economic matters, really knew and described those of Rāma's time or attributed thereto those of his own later age. He accepts the statements of each authority as good for a particular period, and does not co-ordinate and check the whole. Otherwise, he discourses pleasantly and rather optimistically upon the matters selected, and often has judicious criticisms on the views of others.

EASTERN BENGAL BALLADS, MYMENSINGH. By DINESH CHANDRA SEN, D.Litt. Vol. I, Pts. I and II. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, cviii + 322 pp., 11 plates, 1 map. University of Calcutta, 1923.

Songs and ballads have been handed down orally and recited among the peasantry in the district of Mymensingh in North-East Bengal, and Chandra Kumar De, a poor man who had been fascinated by them during his local visits as rent-collector, began writing about them in the local Journal *Sourabha* in 1912. His notices attracted Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, who then helped him and engaged him in 1919 to recover all the ballads that could be discovered there. This was done, often with great difficulty, because reciters did not always know the whole of a ballad, so that the portions were discovered piecemeal and sometimes confusedly. Dr. Sen has now edited ten ballads as a first instalment in this work, the ballads (Maimansimh-Gītikā) in pt. ii and English translations in pt. i.

The Bengali of the ballads is the peculiar dialect of East

Bengal, which differs from that of Calcutta in various respects, and is of real interest and value in phonology and vocabulary, as the reviewer can vouch from personal knowledge, some results of which are shown in his *Vocabulary of Peculiar Vernacular Bengali Words*, published by the Bengal Asiatic Society. The English version is not a close translation, but a free rendering which gives the matter and spirit of the original. The ballads belong to the last three or four centuries. The dramatis personæ are Hindu and Mohammedan, chiefly Hindu, yet not Hindu of the orthodox type, for the conditions are those of freer country life, and youth and maiden meet in true love episodes. The stories are charming, both happy and tragic, and are told generally in simple language, fresh with country scenes and feelings, and illustrated with pretty sketches by a Bengali artist. The characters are finely and often nobly delineated, and the heroines display the highest ideals of Bengali womanhood. Dr. Sen has discussed each ballad in a preface, and has prefixed to the whole a long introduction investigating their origin, variety, nature, recitation and value, and the political condition of that district. The ballads should stimulate interest among students of Bengali, and the English version will charm all readers.

F. E. PARGITER.

Recent Books on Near East

STUDIEN ZU DEN ASSYRISCHEN TEXTEN AUS KAPPADOKIEN,
von JULIUS LEWY, Dr. Phil. 13 × 8½, 85 pp. Im
Selbstverlage. Berlin, 1922.

An autographed book of 84 large pages (excluding the title, dedication, contents, and corrections) has enabled the author, notwithstanding the extra space occupied by written words, to give an interesting contribution to this subject. In the four chapters which follow the introduction, he treats of the dative verb-suffixes in old Babylonian and Assyrian compared with

those used in the Cappadocian dialect; the demonstrative pronouns in old Assyrian and in Cappadocian; the writing of the divine name Sin in the names; and old Assyrian speech and the beginnings of Assyria. Translations of 13 Cappadocian inscriptions follow.

The wedding-contract from Contenau's *Tablettes Cappadociennes* (No. 67) is interesting. Aman takes a wife under age, and engages not to marry a second (during her lifetime). He has to go and claim her within two months, otherwise her relatives have the right to seek another husband for her. The text ends with a personal appeal: *Ahīa la ugaza*, "My brother, delay (?) not."

DIE DENKMÄLER UND INSCRIFTEN AN DER MUNDUNG DES NAHR EL KELB, von F. H. WEISSBACH. (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung des Deutsch-Türkischen Denkmalschutz-Commandos, herausgegeben von Theodor Wiegand, Band 6.) 14×10½, 56 pp., 30 plates. Berlin und Leipzig, 1922.

How the monuments sculptured in the rock at the mouth of the "Dog river" have attracted travellers, explorers, and learned men may be judged from the bibliography given by Dr. Weissbach on pp. 52-4, which contains no less than 81 names, and the titles of 95 works dealing with them. Among these names are not a few scholars of deathless fame.

The work is done with all Dr. Weissbach's thoroughness. He describes the river and its surroundings, gives a history of the discovery of the sculptures, and translates the whole series—Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Greek, Latin, and Arabic. The Assyrian reliefs are six in number, and that giving the portrait of Esarhaddon (p. 25) is interestingly characteristic. The inscription of Nebuchadrezzar seems, from what remains of it, to have been practically a duplicate of that at Wadybrissa, which describes the king's constructions at Babylon, and speaks of "the freeing of the Lebanon district from 'the foreign foe'," the construction of a

road, etc. The 14 lithographed views at the end are good and interesting.

MUSÉE DU LOUVRE—DÉPARTEMENT DES ANTIQUITÉS ORIENTALES. Textes Cunéiformes, Tome 5. Textes Economiques d'Oumma, de l'Epoque d'Our, publiés par HENRI DE GENOUILLAC. $12\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, 8 pp., 47 plates. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, 1922.

A portfolio of 50 plates with a "Foreword" describing concisely the nature of the contents of the inscriptions published therein, this work will appeal to Assyriologists on account of the details of Sumerian (and Semitic Babylonian) life of the period when they were written, together with the nature of the work and the occupations of that old-world city known to Assyriologists as Umma, and to the Arabs as Jokha (from the old Sumerian *Giš-uĥa*, the values of the component parts of the ideograph for the name). According to the explanations given we may gain information as to the organization of labour, agricultural operations, and Sumerian industry in general, including the occupations of the basket-caulker, the weaver, the perfumer, etc. Of special interest, however, is the inscription No. 6041, which gives us the names of a number of Sumero-Akkadian cities, among them being *Gudua* (Cuthah), *Giš-uĥa* (Jokha), or Umma itself, *Amarda* or Marad, *Mu-ur* (possibly the Mur where Rimmon was worshipped), *Bāb-ili* (Babylon), and many less known or quite unknown. As the Editor's remarks indicate, it is an exceedingly interesting series, and he points out that there is as much history in these modest texts as in some of the royal annals—indeed, one sees therein more of Sumerian civilization and life. M. de Genouillac is to be congratulated on a very interesting publication.

THE FIRST TWELVE CHAPTERS OF THE BOOK OF ISAIAH.

A new translation from the Hebrew. By H. W. SHEPHERD, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, 22 pp. Cambridge: Bowes & Bowes, 1922.

This is an improved rendering of the most important portion of the Prophet's utterances, and will be appreciated by all Old Testament students, notwithstanding some ambiguous renderings. A few notes would have added greatly to the value of the translation, "which is part of a larger work," wherein, doubtless, the critical material needed to give the whole rendering its full value will be found. There is much to be done in this direction, and Mr. Shepherd is manifestly well qualified to do it.

ABHANDLUNGEN FÜR DIE KUNDE DES MORGENLANDES.

Band XVI, no. E. Die sogenannten hetitischen Hieroglypheninschriften—Ein neuer Beitrag zu ihrer Entzifferung, von CARL FRANK. Leipzig, 1923. Ivo.

A book of about 80 pp. traversing the whole subject, and using largely, as basis, the studies of Sayce, Campbell Thompson, Cowley, and Garstang. All these scholars are regarded as being on the right track, and as having given, in their studies of the subject, important contributions to the decipherment of these enigmatical texts. The reconstruction of the syllabary is mainly based—and apparently satisfactorily based—upon the proper names, in which those of the provenance of each inscription naturally holds the first place. All the details are given in every case, and the accompanying hieroglyphs enable the reader to follow the arguments easily. Grammatical lists, transcriptions, and a list of 104 signs are given.

All scholars interested in the history of the near East will hope that Professor Sayce and his followers (and Dr. Frank must be regarded as one of them) are on the right track to attain the solution of the riddle of these mysterious records.

THE ASSYRIAN HERBAL. By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON, M.A., F.S.A. 8 × 13, xxvii + 294 pp. London: Luzac, 1924.

Notwithstanding that this book is reproduced in MS. style, it will probably come as a surprise to many that the

Babylonians and Assyrians had such a wide knowledge of botany as its volume implies. As every Assyriologist knows, however, the tablets inscribed with explanations of names of plants are very numerous, and were only neglected by the pioneers of the study because they were of less importance than other explanatory lists for the interpretation of the historical texts, legends, etc., which first attracted their attention.

The book is divided into sections, to the number of 86, followed by an index of Assyrian, Sumerian, Syriac, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and even Indian words, though these last are exceedingly few in number. Noteworthy is the list of the Sumerian and Akkadian words which have passed into the Western languages. It cannot be said that the comparisons are in every case satisfactory, but there is a sufficient number that are absolutely certain. Thus, it would seem that we are indebted to the Assyro-Babylonians for the words *asa* (*foetida*), saffron (from *Azupiranu* (where does the ϵ in the Arabic form come from?)), carob (*harubu*), cummin (*kamunu*), cherry (*karsu*), nard (*lardu*), myrrh (*murru*), and possibly poppy (*pa-pa*). Besides these, several Greek and Latin derived words are quoted.

There is hardly a more interesting section of philology than the study of Babylonian botany, and an examination of this exhaustive monograph upon the subject is sure to furnish quite a number of attractive things. Thus, "the herb of the serpent" and "the tongue of the serpent" are explained as being "the herb dog's tongue". This has many names in the lists, and is identified by the author with "hound's tongue, *cynoglossum*". It was used, among other things, as a drink to hasten accouchement, as a stomachic, and for dyspepsia. Many details concerning the medicinal uses of this plant are given. Mysterious is the plant-name *ayab alkali*, "the enemy of food." "Appears to suggest an emetic or poison." "*Ayaba SA* (= *šir'ani*), 'enemy of muscle,' may refer to cramp or paralysis caused by poison."

It seems to be explained by *ellipu*, and would then be a synonym of the herbs *masmas* and *maškadi*.¹

But the book is full of valuable information, identifications, and suggestions, and is a work of which the author may be well content. The greatest fault is the method of reproduction, due, doubtless, to the exceedingly high cost of printing at the present moment. To all appearance the method used was the tripograph, and the faintness of the impression in the case of some of the pages, added to the uncertain lines and blotlike blurs in the case of others, renders the book, for my sorely-tried eyes, well nigh unusable. Patrons of learning are rare, but in the interest of science, the gift of a generous donor, or a grant of some fund for publications, is a thing greatly to be desired, and if obtained, would almost (if not quite) justify the scrapping of the whole edition. I admit that it is better to have the book as it is rather than not have it at all, and all Assyriologists will be thankful to Professor and Mrs. Campbell Thompson for their labour in reproducing it—but oh, for the clearness of type!

T. G. PINCHES.

Notices of Assyriological Works

1. DIE PROVINZEINTEILUNG DES ASSYRISCHEN REICHES. By EMIL FORRER, Dr.Phil. 9 × 16, 149 pp., 2 maps. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1921.

A mass of details takes shape in this illuminating little work. We distinguish the three degrees of a state's relation to the empire: mere obligation of tribute, supervision by the *zābil kuduri* (later the *qêpu*) who watched over Assyrian dues, and annexation to the empire proper; and between the earlier division of this empire into provinces under governors (*šaknūti*) and into subordinate regions under officials (*urāšî*), and its later division, after Tiglathpileser III, into

¹ Or, with the determinative prefix and another (Sumerian) reading for the last two characters, (*šam*) *maš-ju-silim*, "(the herb) 'Oracle speaking success'"—compare the plant-name "Speedwell".

districts (*paḥātê*) immediately subject to the central government. For the material details Dr. Forrer makes a skilful use of the eponym-lists and the Aššur-stelæ. All eponyms were governors: therefore the eponym-list for a sufficiently long reign will ordinarily provide a list of the existing provinces. These results are supplemented from the stelæ, which, apparently, might be set up only by governors, and which add to the governors' titles that are known from the eponym-lists other territorial names to denote, as it often seems, the subordinate *uras*-ships of the province in question.

Other sources used by the author are the (fiscal ?) lists of lands and cities, especially (p. 52) K. 4384 in 2 *R.* 53, No. 1. As to this text, it may be useful to observe that some of the readings in *R.* are mistaken. A new collation, suggested to me by annotations of Strassmaier in my copy of *R.*, seemed to give the following readings. 30a: ^â*Im-gûr* (𐎶) ^{iu}*Enlil* (𐎶) [Forrer, i, 6: ^â*Hi-gi* ^{iu}*Enlil*]; 46a: ^â*Bûr-šarri*, ^â*(?)KA-KAS* [Fo. i, 22: ^â*Bûr-šarri-iḫ-mûr* (?)]; 42b: ^â*Dûr* ^{iu}*ILLAT-a* (?) *-a* (although the first *a* appears much like PA) [Fo. ii, 18: ^â*Dûr* ^{iu}*Harran-šadû-u-a* (?), with suggestion of error for . . . ^{iu}*Bêl-Harran-šadûa*, on which n.prop. an argument is based: but note ^{iu}*ILLAT-a-a* as n.prop. in King, *Bab. Boundary Stones*, p. 60, 23]; 8b: ^{mâ}*Ia-e-na* (as in *R*) [Fo. iii, 8: ^{mâ}*Ia-[m]a-na*]; 12a: LAM + KUR-RU^{ki} (Šuruppak) [Fo. iv, 12: KAS-SU (?) -RU^{ki}]; 23a: [^â*ni*/^{mâ}*ni*] *I-ni-lu* [Fo. iv, 23: [. . .] *i-ni-iḫ*]. The first, second (nearly), fourth, and sixth of these readings are also those of Strassmaier.

In elegant little maps (1:5,000,000) Dr. Forrer has contrived to exhibit the organization of the empire in every stage of development.

2. HISTORY OF ASSYRIA. By A. T. OLMSTEAD, Professor of History, Curator of the Oriental Museum, University of Illinois. 9½ × 6¾, xxx + 695 pp., 80 plates, map. New York, London: Scribners, 1923.

This is something of a *magnum opus*. Preliminary special studies have been appearing for many years in the American

oriental, legal, historical, geographical, and political journals ; and the author has in preparation new editions of the historical records of the principal Assyrian kings. Professor Olmstead was well prepared to write the much-needed history of Assyria.

There are added the attractions of 177 excellent illustrations, coloured frontispiece, gorgeous cover, and a moderate price withal (30s.).

It is a special feature of this history that the official records have been so happily supplemented from the Assyrian Letters. Here we benefit in advance by the work on the Letters which Professor Waterman is about to publish. The narrative is put together largely in the phrases of the original texts. This method gives piquancy to what would otherwise be rather dull, and—reason given by the author—effects the right psychological reaction.

To make some errors in 800 pages is human. Derivation of Boghazköi cuneiform from the Cappadocian (p. 34) is probably an error (*Sitz. d. preus. Akad.*, 1919, p. 1031) ; the father of Hattusilis is far from being "the first known king of the Hittites" (35) ; but in these matters it was perhaps impossible to incorporate the newest results. P. 16 (on the writing) : "our earliest records . . . show that the [pictographic] meaning of these signs had been completely lost" is astonishing, even if modified by p. 573. Two well-known figures from Nimrud are designated Marduk and Tiamat, although the dragon is rightly referred to as "he" (102). The old interpretation of "taking the hands of Bel" (181, 405) is probably wrong (Thureau-Dangin, *Rit. accad.*, 146³). Did the orange grow in Assyria in Sargon's day (270) ? Maš'udi says that it was introduced into Iraq and Syria from India by way of Oman after A.H. 300 (*Marūj* 32, near end). "Nergal, the Arab sun-god" (23) is surprising. It seems a pity that a peculiar transcription, Urta, for the usual Ninūrta, has been adopted throughout and so popularized : one objection is *KAR.* 31, obv. 10, ^a*Ninu-urta*. On p. 54, with apparent reference to the thirteenth century, "Dilmun . . . was an island in the

Persian Gulf, noted for its pearls" is misleading; the curious thing is that Tilmun, though probably Bahrain, is *not* noted for its pearls in cuneiform literature—rather for wood, copper, bronze, dates, onions. In the map *Ushu* has another situation than that indicated on p. 418 f. (is it perhaps חֶסֶה (*h*), Jos. 19, 29, and so further north than in map or text?).¹

The popularism of the work is strongly marked. The fair pages are kept as free as may be from footnotes, typographic distinctions, and other usual and useful devices of science; there are no tables—not so much as a list of kings; there is no formal chronology; "bibliography is reduced to a minimum"; results are generally given without argument or any hint of possible or actual controversy.

The first and last pages are an apology for the Assyrians. Apparently the author finds them in most ways superior to the Babylonians. As for atrocities, their kings pretended, from vanity or political motives, to be more frightful than they really were. They were not worse than other imperialists. . . . I wonder much (also) at the claim: "We must recognize that the firm foundation of modern imperial organization was laid by the Assyrians" (p. ix; similarly p. 650).

It will be obvious that many minor imperfections would not prevent this from being now the most reliable general history of Assyria.

- 3, 4. OXFORD EDITIONS OF CUNEIFORM TEXTS (INSCRIPTIONS).² Edited under the direction of S. LANGDON, Professor of Assyriology, Oxford. Vol. i: THE H. WELD-BLUNDELL COLLECTION in the Ashmolean Museum, vol. i: SUMERIAN AND SEMITIC RELIGIOUS AND HISTORICAL TEXTS. 12½ × 10, iv + 60 pp., 45 plates. Vol. ii: The WELD-BLUNDELL COLLECTION, vol. ii:

¹ For a future edition it may be useful to indicate formal slips in 38, 21 (= Telibinus); 59, 1 (= Babylonia?); 64, 26 (confusion of Musri?); 213, 20 (end); 235, 19; 333, 32; 489, 1 ff.; 499, 2; 689[a], 32.

² *Inscriptions* in the title of vol. i is changed to *Texts* in that of vol. ii, because (I think) *OECT.* makes a safer abbreviation than *OECI.*

HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS, containing principally the Chronological Prism W.-B. 444. iii + 36 pp., 7 plates. By S. LANDGON, M.A. London: Oxford University Press, 1923.

These volumes contain principally material purchased by Mr. H. Weld-Blundell in Iraq. Certain imperfections in the editing are explained by the desire of the indefatigable author to bring out the W.-B. texts before departing for the excavations at Kiš last winter. His readers will be sincerely grateful for the prompt publication of the important texts that occur in both volumes. It would be out of place in these circumstances to notice any faulty expressions; but perhaps a few trifling errors of a different kind may be usefully noted. W.-B. 169, iv, 17, *Innini, thy great son* [*dumu gal-zu*] *Sin is glorified* makes Innini mother of her father; rather *great(ly) wise* (or *much-knowing*) *daughter of Sin*. W.-B. 190, 3: probably *bur itti-šu*, cf. l. 4 f. W.-B. 198, 1, read *Ašur-našir-pal*, and probably add *Maš* at the end of l. 2; correct to *Maš* in 199, 3; in W.-B. 444, i, 20, vii, 31, 33, transcription differs from copy; former is right (collated).

Vol. i contains twenty texts from the W.-B. collection and two others. It would be impossible to do justice in a short review to the liturgical pieces here edited with so much appreciation. I will give instead the remaining space to the legend W.-B. 162, which is probably the most generally interesting, and to which Professor Langdon also gives the place of honour. In the following interpretation of the story, which sometimes differs from Professor Langdon's, my own suggestions are italicized. It will be seen that, whether these suggestions are justified or not, the legend is very significant for Sumerian origins. I, 1-17 (broken): something has happened at Šuruppak and Uruk. I, 18-20 (scene, probably at Dêr on the Elamite border): Lugalbanda tells Innini that *Ensigga has risen upon her, and destroyed the fields* [*^aEnsigga = green-lord; a water-god?* Doubtful: but the following exploit of Lugalbanda, whose foe is never plainly named, may well be

the Urukian variant to the fundamental legend of Ninurta, conqueror of river-dragons]. I, 21-II, 1: the hero therefore sets out for Sumer, to save his mother's city of Uruk. After a conflict with dragons, he reaches Kullab, suburb of Uruk. II, 2-16: here (*at the sanctuary of Innini?*) he meets Enmerkar, king of Uruk, *who is found at prayer, claiming Innini's favour towards his city*. II, 17-28: *Lugalbanda adds a prayer from himself*. II, 29-III, 4 gives two responses by Innini, in answer to the two prayers. Enmerkar is to return to Uruk (i.e. *from the suburb*), while his *cousin* Lugalbanda, like a young boar defeats the enemy; Innini herself will then come to Kullab: *Enmerkar is exhorted to have courage and to trust Innini and her son*. III, 5-13: Lugalbanda proceeds to expel the enemy, even from the seven-mountains; *and when the enemy can no more surround Innini in the gipar (on the seven-staged ziggurat)*, she arrives at Kullab. III, 14-23: she rejoices in her son, *and with some disdain for the people whom he, unsupported, has just rescued*, she asks him: "Why is it thou alone that hast brought the tidings from Šuruppak?" (*apparently the scene of the conflict*). III, 24-IV, 12: he answers by reminding her of *Enmerkar's prayer for favour, and his own commendation thereof*. IV, 13-end: she is placated, and promises blessings to Uruk and Šuruppak, *principally in the matter of water and fertility*; but if the citizens are not worthy of her, she will go back to Dêr.¹

Vol. ii. A preliminary account of W.-B. 444 was Professor Langdon's contribution at the centenary celebrations of the Society. This precious document gives for the first time

¹ I, 19: *ba-*, reflex.; *-e-*, 2nd pers. loc. infix. I, 20: *igi-ba-ab-hul* certainly = he destroyed. II, 13: *mar-tu galu še-nu-zu*, possibly = "the flood, the rebel"; but there is no necessary reference to the existing situation. II, 31: *šeš-a-a-ne-ne* = Brother of their [the Urukians'] father, i.e. brother of Enmerkar, who is (I, 27, etc.) son of Babbār, who is brother of Innini, who is mother of Lugalbanda, who is therefore cousin to Enmerkar. III, 2: *me-e* (?), 1st pers.; so also enclit. *-me-nam* II, 39, III, 1. III, 4: *bara*, prohibit (cf. 3). III, 12: *-da*, locat. (or conjunct.); *numma-*, reflex.; *-aš*, = *a-šu*. III, 23: *Šuruppak* co-ordinated with *eri-ta*.

the nearly complete canon of 133 sovereigns of the land, with their capitals and regnal years, from the beginning—when kingship “descended from heaven”¹—until the dynasty of Isin. It bristles with points of interest . . . The title of the volume invites one to attend especially to the chronology. Many matters of detail are now cleared up in the annotations. In the (less important) table, pp. 22–6, are signs of haste. Is it possible that Mesilim could belong to the dynasty of Awan? He would be earlier, according to the scheme, by some seven or eight centuries than Entemena of Lagaš; the latter’s inscription, *SAK.* p. 36, n., and what is known of the history of Lagaš, suggest a far shorter period. Moreover, “Ila-Shamash” would live about five centuries after Mesilim, although the former’s script is the more archaic. Pp. 23 f. show a sort of conflation of two different systems: Lugalzaggisi would be reigning c. 3023 and c. 2833.

But it is to the *absolute* chronology that the author has devoted special attention in this work. He reports a new investigation by Dr. Fotheringham of the astronomical date in the sixth year of Ammizaduga on which pre-Babylonian chronology depends. Dr. Fotheringham decides upon 1916–15 B.C., a year between Father Kugler’s former date 1972–1, which has become generally accepted, and that proposed by the same in 1922, viz. 1796–5. Result—the usual dates are to be reduced by 56 years. But this is not all. The new list makes it nearly certain, as our author points out, that the dynasty of Akšak was contemporary with *Kiš III*—surely also with *Kiš IV*. Probably, too, Dr. Weidner’s unpublished theory (cf. p. iii—and already in 1922, C. T. Gadd, *Early Dynasties*)—that *Uruk III* (and obviously part of *Agade*) synchronize with *Kiš IV*—must be accepted. The synchronisms from Lagaš will fit in nicely. I think also that the antique-looking *Uruk I* (and perhaps

¹ The author has pointed out to me that his translation of *ē*, which has been criticized, is supported by the parallel—*šar-ru-tum i-na ša-ma-i ur-da-am* (Etana-Myth, e.g. *KB.* vi, 584, 22).


Ur I) in the south were contemporary with *Kiš I* in the north : the unification of the Land probably took a certain time. Finally, the figures substituted for the mythological periods of the early dynasties may be too high. One may justifiably operate with an average based on the eighty trustworthy numbers from *Mari* onwards : this is *c.* thirteen years to a reign. From all this it follows that, so far as the present document is concerned, the post-diluvian tradition *need* not go beyond *c.* 3500 B.C.¹ Professor Langdon gives *c.* 5500.

5. ASSYRIAN MEDICAL TEXTS, from the originals in the British Museum. By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON, M.A., F.S.A. $13\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$, vii pp., 107 plates. London : Oxford University Press, 1923.

This notable contribution to Assyriology contains the text of 660 cuneiform medical tablets (excluding joins), for the most part hitherto unpublished, from the library of Ašurbanipal. It is interesting that that king was much concerned about his health—as may be seen in the extracts from the letters in Olmstead, *Hist.* 411–14 ; and one has only to study Mr. Campbell Thompson's bibliography (p. iii) to see how very much—at least absolutely—the medical collection from Kuyunjik exceeds all others. (For completeness the medical texts from Boghazköi, in *KUB.* iv, could now be added to the bibliography.) The tablets are, of course, mostly copies from older ones. The author notices in this connexion that remarkable reference in K. 4023, iv, 22 ff., to a tradition from "the ancient rulers [NUN-ME^{pl}-e, rather *sages*] before the Flood . . ." Assyriologists will be pleased to have on plates 104 f. the full publication of this often-quoted tablet.

In the *Proceedings of the R. Society of Medicine*, xvii, 1924, 1–34, is a first instalment of translations—without transcription, but with full annotation. Many new words for the lexicon. As already in *The Devils*, the author makes much

¹ 2076 (end of Isin) + 691 (as in list, taking best or average of variants : Langdon's figures would give *c.* 677) + *c.* 40 (*Kiš IV*, before synchronism with Agade) + *c.* 13 (*Kiš III*) + 136 (*Mari*) + 559 (43 kings \times 13) = 3515.

use of Syriac analogues : often with good success, but sometimes, perhaps, without necessity—in the onion-cure for dry eyes (8, 1, 11) is not *ḥašû* “squeeze” (?) as quotable as  Af. “rub”? The minerals, plants, and animals used in the pharmacopœia create many little problems. On plants a work to be entitled *The Assyrian Herbal* is promised. This is very good news. In the identification of stones the author is sometimes on the side of caution. Is not KA-MI (trans., p. 7) probably black basalt, and possibly to be transcribed *šalamdu* (Boson, *Les métaux and les pierres* . . . 25, 58⁴, etc.) ; and DAG-GAZ (ibid.) something similar to cinnabar, like the next word (cf. Haupt, *OLZ.* xvi, 493) ? In the fascinating term DAG-PA *ša 7 DARⁿ-ša* (pl. iii, No. 2, 16) it is tempting to find a “ziggurat stone with its 7 colours” (cf. *é-PA*). AN-KAL *ēnū* (9, 1, ii, 32, etc.), rendered *pupil of the eye*, may be transcribed (*KAR.* 102, 12) *lamassat ēnū* = guardians of the eyes (?). Ebeling, *MVAG.* 1918, ii, p. 73, understands *eyebrows*, which will not suit our ophthalmic (?) case : but *eyelids* might be considered.

It goes without saying that Mr. Campbell Thompson's copies are beautiful and clear.

The following are four publications concerning “Hittite” :—

6. KEILSCHRIFTTEXTE AUS BOGHAZKÖI. 4 Heft. Autographiert von E. FORRER. (= 30, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, 4 Heft.) 14 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 10, 80 plates. Leipzig : Hinrichs, 1920.
- 7, 8. DIE BOGHAZKÖI-TEXTE IN UMSCHRIFT. 1 Band : Einleitung : Die Keilschrift von Boghazköi. Von EMIL FORRER. 48 pp. 2 Band, 1 Heft : Geschichtliche Texte aus dem alten Chatti-Reich. Autographiert von EMIL FORRER. 56 pp. (= 41, u. 42, 1, Wissensch. Veroff. d. D.O.G.). Leipzig : Hinrichs, 1922.
9. KLEINASIEN ZUR HETHITERZEIT, eine geographische Untersuchung. Von ALBRECHT GÖTZE. (= Orient u.

Antike, herausg. von G. Bergsträsser u. F. Boll, 1.)
 $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6$, 32 pp., map. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1924.

Those of the ten thousand fragments of text from Boghazköi which belong to Constantinople or to Germany are published as follows. The Orient-Gesellschaft has brought out six fascicules of autographed copies (1916–23) in the well-known *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* [recognized as *KBo*]; not to be confounded with the new series *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* [*KUB*], with similar contents, but published by the Berlin Museum. We have for review *KBo*. 4. *KBo* has now ceased to appear, and since 1922 the Orient-Gesellschaft publishes instead *Die Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift* [*BoTU*]. These are not (usually) transcriptions of texts published elsewhere in cuneiform, but texts newly published in transcription alone. The first two fascicules are for review. Like *KBo*. 4 they are the work of E. Forrer, a Hethæologist of the first rank. I venture little more than a descriptive account of these volumes.

6. The contents of *KBo*. 4 are miscellaneous—religious, historical, and (No. 12, according to Dr. Forrer) a patent of nobility. All are Kanisian,¹ except the Luwian glosses in No. 11. The religious texts are a ritual, an exorcism, prayers, and examples of that peculiar form which is characteristic of Boghazköi—descriptions of religious functions. Of these No. 9, according to the subscription, refers to a feast of the gods Dah-šum-šar and Ilbaba (name of the personal god of Sargon of Agade, which occurs often at Boghazköi, cf. Weidner, *Boghazköi-Studien*, 6, 97 f., on this significant fact); No. 13 had been introduced to us already by Hrozný, *Bogh.-Stud.* 5, 44. The historical texts include annals of Mursilis (No. 4); the rest are treaties.

¹ Dr. Forrer first proposed *kaneisch*—from the city Kaneš (now rather pronounced Kanis)—as a name for the ordinary language of Boghazköi. It is not quite certain that the name is justified, but it seems right, anyway, to abandon “Hittite” (as a linguistic term) to the language so named in the texts. A no less violent change of vocabulary has been achieved in the case of “Akkadian”.

7. The transcribed texts are introduced by a volume on the script and the method of transcription. The following is of general interest. The orthography of Boghazköi suggests a derivation from that of the Babylonian *schools* in the Hammurabi period; and Dr. Forrer now proposes that the writing was introduced, not by trade, but by scholars sent by the Hittite kings to study in Babylonia. (More likely, perhaps, the Hittite king—like Charlemagne—procured the services of foreign scholars at his own court.)

Only ten signs were polyphonic with phonetically unrelated values. Two tables give the values arranged alphabetically (303), and the signs (709, all variants being—most usefully—included). The first list gives, besides the transcription, the pronunciation, subdivided into Babylonian, Kanisian, and Harrian (with Hittite and Balaic). Thus Dr. Forrer's transcription of phonetically written words does not necessarily indicate pronunciation: e.g. *š* (in transcription, corresponding to Babylonian pronunciation) is to be pronounced *s* in Kanisian. The method of transcription has certainly been elaborately planned; and having mastered its principles and the conventions as to characters, dots, strokes, scratches, and exclamations, one discovers the advantages of this new way of publication.

8. 2 *BoTU* contains texts of unusual importance, all connected with the history of the early empire. A king-list printed on the cover gives twelve Hatti kings between the time of Naram-Sin and c. 1775. Can Bimbiras come between Hattusilis I and Mursilis I? In spite of No. 23A, §§ 7-8?

The following will give an idea of the value of the contents. No. 1 is a fragment from the Kanisian version of Sargon's campaign against Burushanda, i.e. of the recently recovered *šar tamhari* epic. Nos. 3, 4, and 5 are about Naram-Sin. No. 3, i, 8 ff., mentions seventeen kings (so already *CT.* 13, 44, obv. ii, 18) who were allied against him; among them a king of Amurru, by name Ag-va-a-a-ru-va-aš! No. 5 mentions

the famous SA-GAZ, apparently as in the service of Naram-Sin. It is becoming pretty clear that these were West Semitic soldiers of fortune, called in their own language *habiri*, which word probably means neither *bandits* (being sometimes used in a good sense), nor *allies* of the civilized powers (being capable of a bad sense, as the ideogram shows), but *companions*. Nos. 7 and 8 are inscriptions of the Great Kings of Kussar, apparently a seat of empire before Boghazköi. (The cuneiform of No. 8 is now in *KUB.* i, 16.) Then come texts of kings of the Hatti. It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of No. 23, which gives a summary history of the Hittite kingdom before Telibinus. (Constructed from eight fragments already partly published in *KBo.* iii, 1 [cf. *KBo.* i, 27; and now also *KUB.*]: would that Dr. Forrer had assisted us when possible with such references!) Finally five texts give lists of offerings to numerous deceased kings and queens.

9. Herr Götze seems to have studied all published texts from Boghazköi that contain geographical data, and the results are embodied in a very useful pamphlet. A coherent system of identifications may sometimes be sufficiently tested at a single point: anyway, space allows me to take up but one. Let it be that first considered by our author, the vexed question of Kizwadna. This land certainly touched a sea and included a Comana: but which sea and which Comana? Herr Götze puts it between the Euxine and the Iris; a rival theory, on the Mediterranean and about the southern Comana. It seems to me that the one fact, of those adduced, which definitely makes for the northern position is the location on the Kizwadnan border of a city Saliyas (*KBo.* i, 5, col. iv, 45; cf. p. 4), which is also on the border of Datassas (*KBo.* iv, 10, obv. 29; cf. p. 18), which was near Kuwaliya-Mira and was probably in N.W. Asia Minor (Musilis-treaty, § 3; *KUB.* vi, 41, etc.; see p. 17). [It should be said that Professor Sayce, *Journ. Hellen. Stud.*, 1923, 45 f.—not known to Herr Götze—

has also examined *KBo.* iv, 10, and locates Tarkhuntas (i.e. Datassas) N.W. of the Gulf of Antioch, identifying some of its cities there, one of the most striking equations being Biassas = mod. Piyas (Baiae) : Herr Götze, however, probably rightly reads this name *Pi-taš-ša*, supported by *Πηδασος* (in Mysia), *Πηδασις* (in Caria), and *Pdš* in the Egyptian Kadeš-lists; moreover, *Pedassa* would be correct according to Forrer's tables.] A thin chain of proof for a northern Kizwadna seems to exist : but it would be more satisfying if Herr Götze had answered the article of Mr. Sidney Smith in *Journ. Egypt. Archæol.*, 1922, 45-7.

10. EARLY ARCHITECTURE IN WESTERN ASIA : Chaldæan, Hittite, Assyrian, Persian. A Historical Outline. (In series : The Origins of Architecture.) By EDWARD BELL, M.A., F.S.A. $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xvi + 252 pp., map. London : Bell, 1924.

About a third of the book contains summaries of the early history of the lands in question. These are not altogether satisfactory, being based—almost inevitably—on works that are to some extent superannuated. On the other hand, the parts of the book that are principal show—as we should expect from the author of this series—an expert knowledge of ancient architecture.

Mr. Bell is specially interested in the genetic relations of the national styles of the ancient East. An important conclusion is the Hittite or Anatolian-Syrian origin of much ancient art. The voluted capital would have come from Anatolia both to Ionians and (in the form shown by the Khorsabad relief) to Assyrians ; the Hittite influence is seen also in the Greek frieze and in the Assyrian (and Persian) wall-decorations. Again, in the ancestry of sphinx-like figures, and in that of the winged disk and its relatives, the link between Assyria and Egypt would be Hittite. This is probable : for an Egyptian architect at a Hittite court see *KUB.* iii, 67, rev. 1 ff. ; Götze, p. 27. A section on the architecture of Urartu, as known

from Sargon's reliefs, would probably have further confirmed Mr. Bell's theory of the Anatolian antecedents of Greek architecture. The book is very well illustrated.

E. BURROWS.

THE HOME OF AN EASTERN CLAN. A Story of the Palaungs of the Shān States. By Mrs. LESLIE MILNE, F.R.A.I., M.R.A.S. 9 × 6, vi + 428 pp., 25 plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924.

About fourteen years ago Mrs. Leslie Milne gave us her beautiful volume on the *Shāns at Home* (John Murray, 1910), although in 1921 she published an elementary Palaung Grammar, containing a valuable introduction by Mr. C. O. Blagden. The volume now before us has been written on the same pleasant lines as the first, and with the same strong sense of humour. We have in it an account of a people who are little known, for the Rumais, or Palaungs, inhabit the far-off Northern Shān states, parts of which are situated distant from roads or railways, seldom visited by Europeans, and perhaps never before by a European lady. The general reader will find much to interest him in the book, but to ethnologists and folk-lorists it will appeal strongly, specially those who are seeking further information about the Mōn-Khmēr peoples. There is a detailed and most interesting account of the tribe, not a page of which is dull or too crowded with vernacular names, and there are many interesting folk-tales. Amongst the last is the story of "I-Bai", in which we have the account of a cannibal father, who killed his baby girl and served her up in a curry which the mother ate unwittingly. This tale is on much the same lines as that of the Khasi, ka Likai, except that in the Khasi tale the mother threw herself down a precipice and afterwards became a waterfall. Besides this folk-tale there are other points of similarity between Palaungs and Khasis, e.g. the dress of the Palaung female, which is described as resembling the hood and coils of a snake, which is very like that of the Khasi

woman; and the numerous points of contact between the Palaung and Khasi languages which have been referred to before by Sir George Grierson, Logan, Schmidt, and Blagden. There are, however, some points of dissimilarity. The Khasis observe the matriarchate and practise it to this day, women are the owners of all real property, descent being reckoned through the female. This does not appear to be the case with the Palaungs. The Khasis erect memorial stones, and in particular stones to their reputed primeval ancestress. There is no mention of any such Palaung custom. The Khasis burn their dead and preserve the ashes in clan or family ossuaries. The Palaungs bury their dead, except in the cases of some of their chiefs who are burnt. The Palaungs are Buddhists, the Khasis, except those who have become Christians, are animists. The practice of divination by the breaking of eggs, so prevalent amongst the Khasis, does not seem to obtain amongst the Palaungs, who on the contrary appear to have adopted the Shān custom of foretelling events by means of the femur bones of fowls, which are scraped of every vestige of flesh, small bamboo splinters being inserted into the foramina. The diagram given on p. 273 in this connexion is similar to those we have seen in the possession of some Ahom *deodhais*, or priests, in Assam, the Ahoms being, of course, Shāns. Mrs. Leslie Milne is to be heartily congratulated on the result of her long and patient studies of a tribe hitherto almost unknown, except to the readers of the *Upper Burma and Shān States Gazetteer*, and we are deeply grateful to her for having presented to us her conclusions in such a readable and convenient form. Her beautiful photographs and the excellent index are useful additions.

P. R. GURDON.

THE CHILDREN OF THE SUN. By W. J. PERRY, M.A.
 $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xv + 552 pp., 16 maps. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1923.

In this work an attempt is made to prove that all civilization is essentially one, being derived ultimately by diffusion

from a single centre, to wit Egypt. The author supports this thesis by a comparative study of an enormous number of facts covering a very large part of the world's area and derived from a great many different sources, of very varying value. It is permissible to doubt whether such an all-embracing thesis can ever be strictly proved. But even if it were only "invested with a considerable degree of probability", this line of research is no doubt an interesting and legitimate one and many readers might well be grateful for a scientific classification of the facts compared, though they might not agree with the author's inferences from them. Civilization presents many problems. Why does it crop up here and not there? Why does it tend to decay after it has reached a certain point? Why does it, where it exists, show a relative uniformity of character? And why is such uniformity often impaired by the absence of certain elements that are found elsewhere?

To some of these questions the old school of anthropologists, so far as it dealt with them at all, replied that human minds and needs are much the same everywhere, except in so far as environments differ and on occasion individuals of exceptionally original mentality are born who start new movements which may or may not develop further according to local circumstances, favourable or otherwise. The new school represented by the author of this book finds these explanations unsatisfactory. It regards the relative uniformity of the human mind as a mere *a priori* assumption, and, by implication at any rate, counters it with another, namely that nothing was ever invented or discovered more than once and that real originality was confined to one small centre. It is, however, difficult to understand why one region, and one only, should have been so singularly favoured by fortune. We must believe, it seems, that the rest of the world waited indefinitely in an attitude of passive and patient receptivity until Egyptian ideas percolated to it by slow degrees.

What then is the "archaic civilization" which is supposed

to have been thus diffused? Mr. Perry enumerates fifteen elements of it, including *inter alia* such diverse matters as agriculture by means of irrigation, certain uses of stone, pottery-making, metal-working, the sun-cult, certain kinds of human sacrifices, mother-right, totemic clans, and exogamy. It is only by a considerable stretch of the term "civilization" that some of these can be included under it, but he is entitled to define his terms in his own way. He accounts for the diffusion of the elements he enumerates by the theory of an early and widespread search for valuable materials such as gold, pearls, copper, etc. The "Children of the Sun", adventurers from the supposed original civilized centre, wandered over a great part of the earth to seek such things, and some of them settled down in places where they found them and there propagated all or some of the elements of their own civilization.

It is certainly a curious and heterogeneous list. Social systems are not easily imposed nor are they objects of barter like pots or knives; they grow up from deep-seated and very ancient roots. One would have thought that mother-right, for example, was not a thing that even a primitive savage need have required to be taught by immigrants of higher culture. Its substratum, the uniquely intimate relationship of a child to its mother, is obviously everywhere a simple matter of observed fact, whereas fatherhood is in essence an act of faith and a pious opinion. It is, therefore, quite in harmony with this fundamental fact that traces of mother-right have been found practically all over the inhabited world. Why suppose that in every case (except one) they are of alien introduction? Totemism, again, involves ideas of the close relation of man to animals, plants, etc., which seem to belong rather to the childhood of the race than to any influence from a higher civilization; and the exogamy that so often accompanies it is susceptible of several explanations, none of which has so far been conclusively proved to be the right one. Mr. Perry would derive exogamy from "a compact between

the two sides of the ruling group, whereby intermarriage took place" (p. 382). But intermarriage is one thing, exogamy is quite another; and the hypothesis of a sort of *contrat social* of *exclusive* intermarriage strikes one as an eighteenth century conception somewhat incongruous in a modern environment. Is it credible that such a widespread institution, presumably corresponding to some real or supposed need, or based on some idea which we have not as yet been able to recapture, was imposed from without on an enormous number of savage tribes by foreign rulers who for some unexplained reason (perhaps a reason of state) had adopted it for themselves? And why should the cult of the ubiquitous sun have awaited a long delayed foreign introduction?

Some years ago an erudite German tried to find the original source of all civilization in Babylonia. Now it has been shifted to the valley of the Nile. But recent researches in Mesopotamia seem to indicate that Egypt may find its old rival in the field again. And if a single centre of civilization is to be postulated, who knows that somewhere or other on earth there may not have been one more ancient than either of these two? Few countries are fortunate enough to have a climate that can preserve their most ancient records from decay. In that respect, it must be conceded, Egypt and Babylonia have indeed been highly favoured by nature. But that fact does not suffice to prove that either of them was the oldest civilized centre; and anyhow, is there any real need for a *single* centre as a sort of *deus ex machina*?

I have referred to the multifarious variety of the materials from which the main thesis of this book is built up. It would take half a dozen specialists to test or sift them in their entirety, and sometimes they have been rather too much for Mr. Perry. I can only attempt to follow him in a few matters of detail affecting a small department of his researches, and must leave the evidence drawn from India, America, etc., for others to discuss, merely remarking in passing that his

inveterate Euhemerism turns Asuras, Garudas, and Nagas into rival tribes of men. But I note with some surprise his statement (pp. 104-5) that the Polynesians left India about 450 B.C. (though another authority cited in a footnote would make their point of departure the Persian Gulf). To say nothing of the astonishingly late date, all linguistic evidence (for what it is worth) connects them not with India or Persia but with the coast of Indo-China, especially the eastern part thereof. It is more than doubtful whether the Malays "originated in the Menangkabau district of Sumatra", and it is quite certain that "their earliest migrations" did not "date from about A.D. 1160, when they settled in Singapore" (p. 109). This entirely apocryphal date is based merely on calculations of the lengths of reigns of Malay rulers as given in the *Sējaraḥ Mēlayu*, a Malay "historical" work of the early part of the seventeenth century, whose chronology was utterly disproved by myself more than a quarter of a century ago. Moreover, one does not see the relevance of such a statement, which is followed by others about the spread of the Hinduized Javanese, Islamized Bugis, etc. Nobody ever denied that many races have migrated, but what has all this to do with the diffusion of an archaic civilization which *ex hypothesi* must have happened (if at all) a great many centuries before these relatively recent movements? Elsewhere (pp. 83, 86) Mr. Perry repeats the exploded legend of Phœnician influence and a Phœnician script in Sumatra. The supposed Phœnician script of Sumatra is most indubitably merely a local modification of Southern Brahmī, and in this case the author relies with undue confidence on Gerini (whose own sources are cited in his *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography*, p. 597, n.). I do not stress such minor inaccuracies as the application of the name "Austronesian" to the Austroasiatic group of languages or the spelling of "Talaing" as "Tailing" (p. 95). But it seems worth while to point out that Mr. Perry's sources are not always unimpeachable. Incidentally, it must be recorded that a long Biblio-

graphy and full Index make it easy to thread one's way amongst them.

I cannot venture to anticipate the degree of acceptance which these new theories may achieve. For my own part, I must confess that in spite of the learning and ingenuity of this new school, in which Mr. Perry holds high rank, I remain entirely unconvinced.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

Works on Indo-China and Indonesia

ARS ASIATICA V: BRONZES KHMERS. By GEORGE CœDES.

13 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 10 $\frac{1}{2}$, 63 pp., 51 plates. Paris and Brussels: G. van Oest et Cie., 1923.

This beautifully illustrated descriptive catalogue of bronzes is based upon data gathered by P. Lefèvre-Pontalis in the public and private collections at Bangkok, the royal palace at Phnom Penh, and the museums of Cambodia and the French School at Hanoi. It is preceded by an Introduction dealing with former publications on the subject and a general description of the objects dealt with. These objects, in various alloys of metal that may, for short, be classed under the generic term "bronze", are of special interest both from the artistic and the iconographical point of view, being mostly statuettes of Hindu or Buddhist divinities and worshipful personages (Buddhas and Bodhisattvas), or else adjuncts to religious rites, such as bells, candlesticks, etc. They illustrate the development of a branch of Indian art in the old kingdom of Cambodia, which was artistically the most important region of Indo-China.

The author, while frankly pointing out that small bronzes are easily transported and that, generally speaking, the place of origin of any individual piece is unknown, lays down certain canons which, in his view, make it possible to distinguish Cambodian bronzes from those of Siam and India proper. It must be admitted that, broadly speaking, these various schools have strikingly characteristic differences. But in

view of the fact that among the specimens here illustrated as Cambodian there are several varieties of styles, it may be permissible to doubt whether the Cambodian origin of them all is absolutely certain. There are here, at any rate, materials for a fruitful comparative study, which, however, the present reviewer is not qualified to undertake; and in any event the author's careful and learned descriptions, together with the excellent plates, will be an invaluable assistance to all future students. It would have been much more convenient if the sheets of tissue paper that protect the plates had been bound with the volume: lying loose as they do, they continually get displaced every time one looks at a plate, and if the book is consulted as often as it deserves to be, they will certainly become crumpled, soiled, and eventually destroyed in the handling.

WIR MENSCHEN DER INDONESISCHEN ERDE. III. DER INTELLEKT DER INDONESISCHEN RASSE. By RENWARD BRANDSTETTER. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 6, 30 pp. Lucerne: E. Haag, 1923.

In this third part of his study of Indonesian Semantics Dr. Brandstetter examines the terms involved in the expression of such ideas as perception, thought, abstraction, judgment, intellect, etc., and by means of an analysis of a number of examples drawn from many languages shows that the intellectual processes of the Indonesians are much the same as those of the Indo-European races. His data certainly suffice to disprove the allegations made by some authorities that the Indonesians are incapable of abstract thinking and deficient in the perception of differences in certain ranges of sensation. For my own part, I should be disposed, on other grounds, to reject the second charge entirely; it is notorious that Indonesians are accurate observers of natural objects, particularly as regards flowers and trees. As for abstract thought, probably Dr. Brandstetter would concede that though quite capable of it, they are not more inclined to

spend their time at it than the generality of mankind everywhere else. The average man has too many other things to do, and perforce, or by natural inclination and preference, leaves speculative thought to a select few who have a liking for it and also leisure to indulge in it. Dr. Brandstetter's handling of the linguistic evidence is, as usual, scientifically exact, and he is characteristically lucid in the exposition of his thesis.

BRITISH NORTH BORNEO. By OWEN RUTTER, F.R.G.S., F.R.A.I., with an Introduction by Sir WEST RIDGEWAY, G.C.B., etc. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xvi + 404 pp., 42 illustrations, 2 maps. London, etc. : Constable & Co., Ltd., 1922.

This is a very excellent work by a competent writer with local experience, and contains pretty nearly all that need be known about the country with which it deals. Its geography, native population, history, administration, forests, agriculture, minerals, native customs and folk-lore, etc., are treated in successive chapters in a very readable, interesting, and lucid manner. There is a useful bibliography, a good index, and an appendix of statistics, to which is added a valuable (though too brief) comparative vocabulary of words from seventeen native dialects (besides Malay) with English equivalents, and the illustrations are well chosen and well reproduced.

UN ROYAUME DISPARU. LES CHAMS ET LEUR ART. By JEANNE LEUBA, with a Preface by LOUIS FINOT. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, 207 pp., 28 illustrations (including 1 map and 1 plan). Paris and Brussels : G. van Oest et Cie., 1923.

As M. Finot points out in his Preface, this little work, though preceded by several publications dealing with the same subject, nevertheless supplies a real need. Champa is still a *terra incognita*, not merely to the general reader but even to many other people who ought to know better. Mme. Leuba has availed herself of the results of the latest researches, in some of which she herself co-operated, and has produced a handy

volume which by its simple style and lucid exposition is quite suited to the non-specialist, while it is on the other hand up to date and scientifically correct. In the first part of it she deals with the Cham nation's past in history and art; in the second with its decadent present, its habits, folk-lore, and religions. As an outlying colony of Indian culture, flourishing in the Middle Ages but now overwhelmed by alien conquest and hopeless decay, Champa has a very peculiar importance to students of Indian civilization, and especially students of Indian art. They will welcome this meritorious and unpretentious work, the value of which is much enhanced by its illustrations and a useful bibliography.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

Reviews on Indian Subjects

CHAITANYA AND HIS AGE. By RAI BAHADUR DINESH CHANDRA SEN. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xxviii + 425 pp. Calcutta, 1922.

BEHULA: Translated from the Bengali of Rai Bahadur Dinesh Chandra Sen. By T. W. PETAVEL and KIRAN CHANDRA SEN. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$, xxiv + 100 pp. London: Luzac, 1923.

A STUDY OF CASTE. By P. LAKSHMI NARASU. 7×5 , ii + 160 pp. Madras: Raghavulu, 1923.

THE BHAKTI CULT IN ANCIENT INDIA. By Professor BHAGABAT KUMAR SHASTRI. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5$, xxxix + 417 pp. Calcutta: Bannerjee & Co., 1922.

Rai Bahadur Dinesh Chandra Sen, in his book on Chaitanya and his Age, surveys the spiritual condition of Bengal before the advent of Chaitanya, proceeds to discuss the biographical literature of the Vaishnavas in Bengal and to investigate its reliability. A critical account of Chaitanya's life, travels, and teaching based on these sources follows. The book is a valuable exposition of the Vaishnava attitude and its conception of God as revealed in Chaitanya, but it is

exceedingly difficult to get at the real Chaitanya through the legendary accumulations that have gathered round him. The author makes a valiant attempt to do so, but it is impossible to improve on Professor Sylvain Lévi's judgment on Chaitanya in a preface to this book, "l'humanité ne le reclame pas comme un de ses grands hommes; elle ne le reconnaît pas, parcequ'il l'a méconnue."

It is remarkable that the story of the trials of Behula and of her father-in-law has not appeared before in an English version. The story has been an exceedingly popular one in Bengal for centuries, and in this translation will make a much wider appeal. The translation is very well done, but the introduction is much too diffuse.

In his little book *A Study of Caste* Mr. Lakshmi Narasu discusses theories of the origins of caste in ancient India, the rise of Brahmanism, the history of caste in the later Hindu, Muslim, and British periods. The author holds that a democratic form of government cannot be evolved in India while caste organization counteracts consciousness of liberty, and pleads for its abolition. He argues his thesis with reasoned moderation.

The history of the origin and development of the Bhakti cult in ancient India would be an interesting and important subject in competent hands. Unfortunately the author of this work is quite unable to control his pen, and the reader will have difficulty in tracing the subject at all through the deluge of words that constitutes this book. He does come back to bhakti from time to time in the text, but ancient India disappears completely at a very early stage in the proceedings. In the prophetic words of Sir Ali Baba, K.C.B., "words and phrases come gurgling forth, without reference to the subject or to the occasion, to what has gone before or to what will come after."

THE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF THE MARATHAS. By SURENDRANATH SEN. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, xviii + 633 pp., 10 plates. Calcutta, 1923.

HISTORICAL GLEANINGS. By B. CHARAN LAW. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, x + 101 pp. Calcutta: Thacker & Spink, 1922.

SPEECHES AND DOCUMENTS ON INDIAN POLICY. Edited by Professor A. BERRIEDALE KEITH. 2 vols., xxxi + 364 + 386 pp. Oxford, 1923.

Dr. Surendranath Sen has given us a most careful and comprehensive work and has shown that the work began so well by Ranade is being continued in competent hands. The fact that the Maratha kingdom lasted for a century and a half should be sufficient to dispel the idea that the Marathas were mere bands of marauders. It comes as a surprise, however, to see what a wealth of material there is for the study of their constitutional and administrative history. The author investigates the origin and development of their institutions, analysing the influence of traditional Hindu systems of polity and of those of their Muslim neighbours. The book is a most valuable addition to the publications of Calcutta University.

Mr. B. C. Law's little book containing six essays on ancient Indian History, in which he has collected from Buddhist sources a vast amount of information regarding Taxila as a seat of learning, wandering teachers of Buddha's time, the influence of the five heretical teachers on Jainism and Buddhism, Buddhaghosha and his commentaries, the Licchavis and Buddha and the Niganthas. We are most grateful to the author for collecting these essays in permanent form.

Professor Keith has made a selection of speeches and documents on Indian policy from 1758 to 1921 to illustrate the history of British relations with India and the development of responsible government in India.

HINDU ETHICS. By JOHN MCKENZIE. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xii + 267 pp. Oxford: H. Milford, 1922.

GOTAMA BUDDHA. By K. J. SAUNDERS. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, 111 pp., 1 plate, 1 map. Oxford University Press: H. Milford, 1922.

No one so far appears to have devoted attention to the historical study of Hindu ethics as a separate subject. Mr. McKenzie's book is an endeavour to concentrate definitely on the ethical side of Hindu teachings and the bearings of religious doctrine on the moral life. The subject is a very large one, and in one volume it is impossible to give more than a general conspectus of various phases of Hindu ethical teaching. Mr. McKenzie begins by examining the beginnings of ethical thought in the Rig-Veda, and rightly emphasizes how rudimentary any system that might be traced there is. The evolution of the doctrine of Karma is next traced, and ideas underlying *dharma* are fully investigated. The author proceeds to discuss the ethical aspects of the various systems of theology and philosophy from the Upanishads, through the Buddhist and Jain systems, the Bhagavadgita, the "six systems", the Bhakti movement, and various modern movements. A valuable concluding chapter estimates the practical contributions of Hinduism to ethical thought, for much of the criticism in the book is naturally of a destructive kind. Mr. McKenzie has covered a very wide field most successfully, and has produced a book which will be of great value not only to the Western student of ethics but also to the educated Hindu.

Mr. K. J. Saunders has added another to the many biographies of Buddha. His little book is a valuable addition to the Heritage of India Series. The author is well acquainted with the sources and he writes with sympathy.

THE SPIRIT OF ISLAM. By the Right Hon. SYED AMEER ALI. 9 × 5½, lxxi + 516 pp., 1 plate. London: Christophers, 1922.

DIE RENAISSANCE DES ISLÂMS. By A. MEZ. 9 × 6, iv + 494 pp. Heidelberg, 1922.

HISTOIRE DE L'ASIE. Vol. III. By R. GROUSSET. 10 × 6½, iii + 308 pp., 6 maps. Paris, 1912.

A new edition of Syed Ameer Ali's sympathetic study of the life and ideals of the Prophet of Islam was long overdue. The present volume has been entirely rewritten and considerably enlarged. Two new and important chapters discuss the Imamate and the idealistic and mystical spirit in Islam. The object of the book is to give Islam its proper place in the history of religions, to explain its rapid spread and appeal to the minds of millions, and to show what it has done for the elevation of humanity. The first part of the volume outlines the life and preaching of Muhammad in reverent and sympathetic fashion. The Prophet's life is shown as a noble career of work faithfully done with an unfailing enthusiasm and courage. Emphasis is laid on the curiously modern aspect of much of his teaching. The second part of the book deals with the ideals of Islam, the idea of a future life, the wars of Islam, the status of women, political and sectarian schisms, the literary, scientific, and philosophical spirit of Islam. The author's knowledge of what has been written on Islam by Arabs and Europeans is exhaustive, and his arguments are always supported by chapter and verse. The book perhaps is open to the criticism that it gives us too much of what is really the theory of Islam, while its criticisms of other religions are levelled at isolated cases of their practice. This is, however, difficult to avoid. The book will be invaluable to those who follow the faith of Islam, of great assistance to students of the life and teaching of the Prophet. It will require to be taken very seriously by professed opponents of Islam.

The late Professor Mez's curiously named *Die Renaissance des Islams* is a great work. It is an elaborate study of life in the Muhammadan world in the tenth century A.D. The author's lamented death while the book was still in manuscript deprived it of its final corrections, but in the book he has left a memorial which will rank him with Alfred von Kremer and Wüstenfeld and Weil. The twenty-nine chapters each deal with a separate aspect of the *Kultur-*

geschichte of the fourth century A.H., digesting with full references all the material available from the historians of the period, including sources still accessible only in manuscript. The Caliphate, the grand vizier, the exchequer, the court, slavery, scholarship, the *kaḍi*, poetry, religion, morals, trade, industry, shipping, are a few of the subjects discussed. Professor Mez's book enables one to understand what Islam was in practice in one of its periods of greatest intellectual development. It is a book to be read along with Syed Ameer Ali's *Spirit of Islam*, which it supplements in many ways, supplying the facts from Arab historians which illuminate the Syed's book.

The third volume of M. René Grousset's history of Asia is really very good, if something of a *tour de force*. None but a Frenchman could have covered so vast a subject so successfully. This volume deals with the various Mongol empires in Central Asia and Persia, modern Persia, and India, China from the Mongol period, and the history of Japan. M. Grousset has given us an admirable and accurate conspectus of the main lines of historical development in Asia in a delightfully readable form. A feature of the book is the sketch of the career of Chingiz Khan, the stories of whose cruelties have blinded historians to his great ability. We are sorry to see M. Grousset giving his authority to the late and ridiculous story of Chingiz Khan's performance in the mosque of Bukhara, which Barthold has disposed of.

J. ALLAN.

A HAUSA PHRASE-BOOK. By ALLAN C. PARSONS, M.R.C.S. (Eng.), F.R.G.S., etc. Revised by the Rev. G. P. BARGERY, Superintendent of Education, Northern Provinces, Nigeria. $7\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, v + 117 pp. Oxford: University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1923.

This is a reprint, carefully revised, of a work which has been found very useful in the past. The dialect taken as standard is that of Kano, where the best Hausa is said to be spoken.

It contains a large collection of sentences, on a great variety of subjects, and is likely to be of great service to officials and other residents in the country.

A. NUER-ENGLISH VOCABULARY. Compiled by the late C. H. STIGAND, author of *To Abyssinia through an Unknown Land*. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, 33 pp. Cambridge: University Press, 1923.

The Nuer language is spoken by a tribe living on the White Nile, in the neighbourhood of the Shilluk and Dinka. It appears to be closely allied to the last-named, and therefore belongs to Westermann's "Sudanic family". A glance at the vocabulary is sufficient to show the predominance of monosyllabic stems, and the frequent occurrence of two or more words apparently identical in form (though sometimes a difference in quantity is marked), but widely divergent in meaning, suggests the existence of tones, which are so marked a feature in Shilluk. Plurals seem, sometimes, to be formed by internal vowel change (e.g. *rām*, pl. *rōm*; *fwār*, pl. *fuōr*), but also by consonant change (*gāt*, pl. *gār*) or suffix (*gūr*, pl. *guri*). In other cases there is no change, or an entirely different word is used for the plural (*chyēk* "woman", pl. *mān*). In this respect, and in the position of the genitive after its governing noun, it more or less resembles Dinka; but it is difficult to judge, as scarcely any hints are given with regard to grammatical construction. The material here collected has suffered from the loss of the author's final revision; on p. 8 three sets of words have got into the wrong place; and no explanation is given of diacritic marks employed, such as the horizontal bars, with or without uprights, placed over some words.

A. WERNER.

THE BALOCHĪ LANGUAGE. A Grammar and Manual. By Major GEORGE WATERS GILBERTSON. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, xvi + 312 pp. Hertford: Austin, 1923.

The Balochī language is of special interest, being the most south-easterly branch of the Eranian group of languages. The people who speak this tongue removed to their present country probably at a not very remote date from the West. Generally a verse in the *Shāhnāmāh* is stated to be the earliest mention of them in history, but Ibn Khurdādbih early in the third century of the Hijra mentions them twice, once as a town between Kirman and Sind,¹ but the second time in the itinerary between the town of Fahraj and Sind he refers to the Maqāti' al-Bulūṣ,² the districts of the Bulūch, and from the statement which follows we learn that modern Balochistān was then inhabited by Indian tribes, the Zutt. This name in Arabic is generally given to Gipsies. From this we can gather that the Baloches in the ninth century of our era had not advanced as far East as their present abodes and apparently were like many of their Eranian kinsmen nomads. With the occupation of Balochistān by the British Government it became necessary to study the language of the people, and several grammars or handbooks appeared, most of which are enumerated by the author in the bibliography at the end of his work, and the results of which are summarized in a clear outline by W. Geiger in the *Grundriss der Eranischen Philologie*. Most of these books were small manuals, and the most comprehensive were a translation of the Bilūchi Nāmeh of Hētu Rām and the textbook by Mr. Longworth Dames, which are the books in use in India for the acquisition of a working knowledge of the language. Though the translation of the Bilūchi Nāmeh by J. M. McC. Douie improved the Urdū work the book had great disadvantages for practical purposes, as the grammatical notes are given on the first 20 pages, followed by vocabularies, while the greater part is filled with Balōchī sentences with the English translation opposite. The work under notice, which has practical purposes as its first aim, remedies these defects. The student gets by easy stages into the gist of the language, and by an ingenious device the

¹ p. 79, n. 2.² p. 55.

essential portions of the grammar are marked so as to catch the eye at a glance. Extremely useful also for the student who is acquainted with cognate languages are the learned notes of the author. I have always found such notes of the greatest value for gaining a working knowledge of another language. I am convinced that this work is destined to replace its predecessors, and as no expense has been spared in the get-up and printing of the book, it has a much nicer appearance than the Bilūchi Nāmeḥ in its green paper covers.

I should like to add that the author appears to express doubts as to the family of languages among which Balōchī has to be ranked, but there can be no doubt that the fundamental parts of the language are Eranian, its mother-tongue being an Eastern dialect or ancient Persian. Balōchī has actually a more ancient structure and has preserved many old forms lost in modern Persian. That many words are borrowed from Arabic and Persian is quite natural, as these came with the introduction of Islam. It is more difficult to make a statement about the words borrowed from Indian languages. The original inhabitants, if not the Brahui, were most likely Indians speaking dialects akin to Sindhī; these Indians were probably not completely expelled, but absorbed, by the conquerors. Another factor is that intercourse with India was much easier than across the barren country east of Kirman to Persia. An analysis of the vocabulary would give interesting results. The numerals, pronouns, etc., are pure Eranian, but from the rough character of the Baloch, it is interesting that all the words for humble (*ajiz*, *halim*, *gharīb*), mild-tempered (*asiḥ*) are of Arabic origin, while those for the opposite temperament are of native roots.

I am confident that this first comprehensive grammar of the language will take the place of all previous ones, and when the promised dictionary is published we shall have two standard works which will not easily be superseded.

F. KRENKOW.

JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY: 151 Iffley Road, Oxford. Third Series: Vol. II, Nos. 2 to 4.

Each of these numbers contains an instalment of Dr. Sampson's Welsh Gipsy Tales; in No. 2 Gilliat Smith has a striking article on Russian Gipsy Singers (why does he call linguistic change "deterioration"? May it not be improvement?) To No. 3 Sir Donald MacAlister contributes a Romani translation of a song by John Buchan. The learned principal is well known for ability to handle Romani in verse. For No. 4 Dr. Sampson writes a carefully thought out article on the origin of the Gipsies, in which he condemns the Dard theory. This article furnishes an illustration of a truth upon which I have more than once insisted, viz., that until Romani sounds are recorded by scholars with a thorough knowledge of phonetics we cannot have any certainty as to their nature, and conclusions based upon them are unreliable. Dr. Sampson asserts that Kafir and Dard languages make no distinction between cerebrals and non-cerebrals. This merely means that those who recorded the sounds were unable to recognize the distinction, which as a matter of fact is regularly made.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

Note

Dr. Stella Kramrisch writes to say that the paper on the "New Art" in the *Visvabharati Quarterly*, which was ascribed to her on p. 483 of the *Journal*, was written by Mr. O. C. Gangoly.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

The Society offers its congratulations to its President, the Right Hon. Lord Chalmers, upon his election as Master of Peterhouse.

Gifts.

Sir George Grierson has presented the Library with two of his works, *The Prakrit Dhātv-Ādēśas* and a *Dictionary of the Kashmiri Language*; Mr. W. J. E. Lupton has given the following numbers of the *Journal*: Present Series, 1903, Pts. I and III, and 1904, Pts. I, II, and III; Miss Sylvester Samuel, the *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, vol. x; and Mr. Beveridge has bound five volumes of Sir W. Jones' works.

The following are needed for the Library :—

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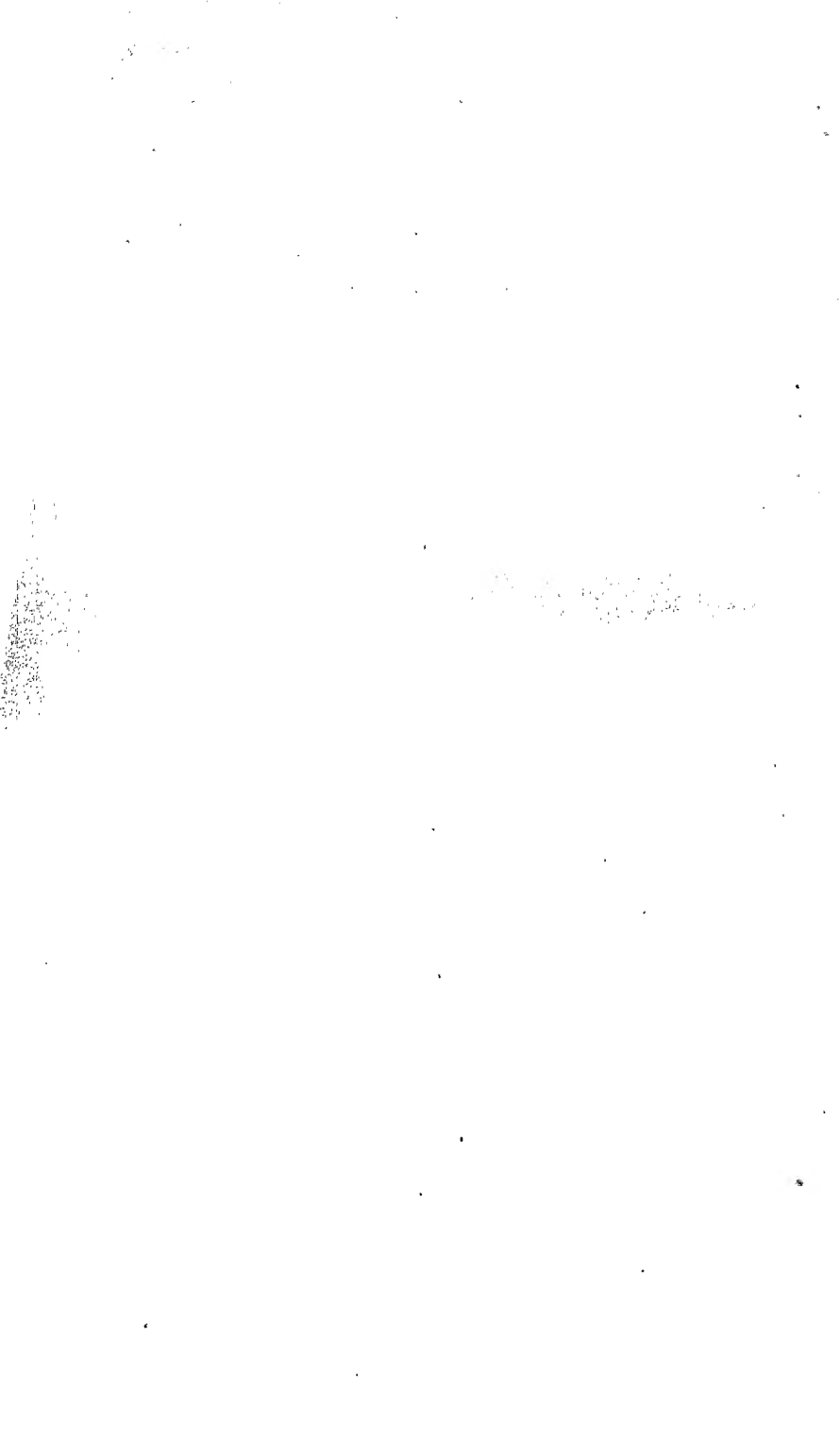
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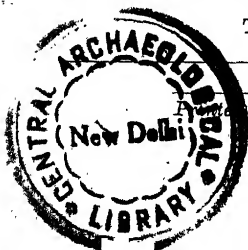
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 College.
 Indianapolis : College of Missions.
 Iowa, University of, Hist. Depart..
 Ishihama, J., Esq., Osaka.
 Ithaca : Cornell University Library.
 Jingu Kogakukwan, Japan.
 Jubbulpore : Indian Mission Disciples
 of Christ.
 Junagadh Archæological Society,
 Kathiawar.
 Kanazawa, Japan : Fourth High
 School.
 Khartoum : Director of Education.
 Kyoto : Indian Philosophy.
 Kyoto : Ryukoku University.
 Lahore : Dayanand Anglo-Vedic
 College.
 Lahore : Dyal Singh Library Trust.
 Lahore : Forman Christian College.
 Lahore : Panjab Public Library.
 Lahore : Panjab University.
 Lahore : Tilak School of Politics.
 Lechner : Herrn.
 Leipzig : Einkaufsstelle des Borsen-
 vareins.
 London : Science Library.
 Athenæum Club.
 British Museum.
 British Museum.
 East India United Service Club.
 London Library.
 Lucknow : Provincial Museum.
 Lucknow : Public Library.
 Lucknow : University Library.
 Lund : Kungl. Universitets
 Biblioteket.
 Lyon : University Library.
 Madras : Archæological Library.
 Madras : Connemara Public Library.
 Madras : Kumbakonam College.
 Madras : Oriental Manuscripts Library
 Madras : Presidency College.
 Manchester : Free Reference Library.
 Manchester : John Rylands Library.
 Manchester : Lancashire Independent
 College.
 Manchester University (Victoria).
 Manila : Bureau of Science.
 Michigan University.
 Minneapolis Athenæum.
 Mokhovaya : Institutor.
 Moscow : Istorichesky Museii.
 Montreal : McGill University.
 Muzaffarpur : Greer Bhumihar
 Brahman College.
 Mysore : Government Oriental Library.
 Mysore : University Library.
 Nanking : National South-Eastern
 University.
 Newcastle-on-Tyne : Public Library.
 New York : Metropolitan Museum of
 Art.
 New York : Missionary Research
 Library.
 New York : Public Library.
 New York : Union Theological
 Seminary.
 Oxford : Indian Institute.
 Paris : Institut de France.
 Paris : Instituto Oswaldo Cruz.
 Paris : University Library.
 Patna : B. & O. Research Society.
 Pavia : Facolta di Lettere-e-Filosofia.
 Peking : Sung Po Library.
 Peshawar : Archæological Survey,
 Frontier Circle.
 Petrograd : Academie Nauk.
 Petrograd : University Library.
 Philadelphia Library Company.
 Philadelphia : Commercial Museum.
 Philadelphia : University of.
 Philadelphia : American Philosophi-
 cal Society.
 Pittsburg : Carnegie Library.
 Pittsburg : Western Theologica
 Seminary.

Princeton : Theological Seminary. Tokyo : The Oriental Library.
 Rangoon : University College. Tokyo : Indian Philosophy.
 Rupp, O. B., Seattle. Tokyo : Dr. G. E. Morrison Library.
 San Francisco : Museum of Art. Tokyo : Sodoshu-Daigaku.
 Seattle : Washington Union Library. Tokyo : Waseda University Library.
 Sendai : Library of Coll. of Law and Toronto Reference Library.
 Literature. Toronto : University of.
 Srinagar : Sri Pratap Singh Museum. Trichinopoly : National College.
 Stationery Office. Trivandrum : University of.
 Stockholm : Royal Library. Twietmeyer : Herr A.
 Strasbourg : Bibliothèque Uni- Utrecht : University Library.
 versitaire et Regionale. Valkenberg : Ignatius Collège.
 St. Paul : James Jerome Reference Vizianagram : Maharajah's Sanskrit
 Library. College.
 Sydney : Public Library, N.S.W. Wettergren and Kerbers, Gothenburg.
 Sylhet : Murarichand College. Wien : Natural History Museum.
 Tinnevely : Hindu College. Winnipeg : University of Manitoba.
 Tokyo : Institute of History, Imperial Zurich : Bibliothèque Centrale.
 University.
 Tokyo : Imperial University, College
 of Literature.

Note.—There are other libraries which subscribe through the booksellers. The Secretary would be much obliged by the Librarians of such libraries sending their names to be added to the above list.

SUMMARY

	June 1, 1923.	June 1, 1924.
Resident Members (including S.B.A. 36) .	128	128
Resident Compounders (S.B.A. 5) . . .	14	13
Non-resident Members	724	717
Non-resident Compounders	70	71
Library Members	1	2
Free Members	3	3
Honorary and Extraordinary Members .	34	33
	974	967
Subscribing Libraries, etc.	179	176
Total	1153	1143



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